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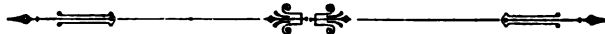


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Authoritative Christianity.

THE DECISIONS OF THE SIX SOLE ECU-
MENICAL COUNCILS:

THAT IS, THE ONLY DECISIONS OF THE
WHOLE CHURCH, EAST AND WEST,
BEFORE ITS DIVISION IN THE
NINTH CENTURY.



TRANSLATED, EDITED AND SOLD BY
JAMES CHRYSTAL, PUBLISHER,
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July, 1891.



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++ **Printers,** ++
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JERSEY CITY, N. J. U S A.



SCRIPTURE AND CHURCH AUTHORITY FOR THE SIX COUNCILS OF THE WHOLE CHURCH.

SCRIPTURE AUTHORITY FOR THEM.

Matt. XVIII., 17; "If he neglect to hear the Church, let him be unto thee as a heathen man and a publican."

I Tim. III., 15, "The Church of the living God, the pillar and ground of the truth."

CHURCH AUTHORITY.

How they are respected among the mass of those who claim to be Christians.

I.

AMONG THE REFORMED COMMUNIONS.

1. *The Voice of the ANGLICAN COMMUNION for them.*

"THOSE SIX COUNCILS WHICH WERE ALLOWED AND RECEIVED OF ALL MEN," (The Second Part of the Church of England *Homily Against Peril of Idolatry* which is in that *Book of Homilies* of which the Thirty-Fifth Article teaches that it "*doth contain a godly and wholesome doctrine, and necessary for these times.*")

2. *The AMERICAN PRESBYTERIANS on the Six Ecumenical Councils.*

Pius the Ninth, Bishop of Rome, in an Encyclical Letter dated Sept. 13, 1868, invited "all Protestants" to join the Roman Communion at the Vatican Council to be held A. D. 1869.

"The two General Assemblies of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America" by their Moderators, M. W. Jacobus and Ph. H. Fowler, replied in 1869, and among other things said, with reference to their refusal to participate in that Council of the Vatican, which began soon after, on Dec. 8, 1869, as follows:

"It is not because we reject any article of the Catholic Faith. We are not heretics * * * . We regard as consistent with Scripture the doctrinal decisions of the first Six Ecumenical Councils; and because of that consistency we receive those decisions as expressing our own faith. We believe the doctrines of the Trinity and Person of Christ, as those doctrines are set forth by the Council of Nice, A. D. 325; by that of Chalcedon, A. D. 451; and by that of Constantinople, A. D. 680." Then follows an excellent summing up on the Trinity and on the Incarnation and Christ's sole Mediatorship, which agrees with the Six Synods, and is found on page 5 below. Then they speak well of the Third Ecumenical Council. Below they condemn heresies condemned by necessary implication by the Six Councils; that is, Transubstantiation, the Roman doctrine of the Sacrifice of the Mass, the Adoration of the Host, the Worship of the Virgin Mary, the Invocation of Saints, and the Worship of Images; and, towards the end, well say,

"Loyalty to Christ, obedience to the Holy Scriptures, *consistent respect for the early councils of the Church*, and the firm belief that pure religion is the foundation of all human society, compel us to withdraw from fellowship with the Church of Rome."

The utterances of the CONTINENTAL REFORMED, that is, CONTINENTAL PRESBYTERIANS, as well as of the LUTHERANS.

The Declaration of Thorn approves the two Ecumenical Creeds, and the Confessions of the Six Ecumenical Councils. See pages 156, 157 below.

3. As to the *views of the LUTHERANS on the Doctrines of the Six Ecumenical Councils*, see further, below, pages 128 to 131.

AMONG THE UNREFORMED COMMUNIONS.

I.

How the GREEK CHURCH commemorates them.

"Be mindful, O, Lord * * * * of the Holy, Great, Ecumenical Six Synods, the First of the Three Hundred and Eighteen Holy Fathers in Nicaea; the Second of the One Hundred and Fifty in Constantinople; the Third of the Two Hundred in Ephesus; the Fourth of the Six Hundred and Thirty in Chalcedon," etc., (Diptychs in the Messina Manuscript, of A. D. 984, of the Greek Liturgy of St. James of Jerusalem, in Assemani's *Codex Liturgicus Ecclesiae Universae*.)

II.

How the BISHOPS OF ROME formerly received them.

In the *Indiculum Pontificis* or *Profession of Faith* of a Roman Pontiff after A. D. 680, the date of the Sixth Ecumenical Council, and during Century VIII., those Bishops swore as follows:

"I WILL KEEP UNMUTILATED, TO A SINGLE LONG MARK OVER A VOWEL, the holy Universal Councils also the Nicæan, the Constantinopolitan, the first Ephesian, the Chalcedonian, and the second Constantinopolitan, which was celebrated in the times of Justinian, a prince of pious memory. And together with them, and with equal honor and veneration, I promise to keep, TO THE VERY MARROW AND FULLY, the holy Sixth Council which lately assembled in the time of Constantine, a prince of pious memory, and of Agatho, my apostolic predecessor, and I promise in very truth to proclaim what they have proclaimed, and with mouth and heart to condemn what they have condemned. But if anything shall arise against Canonical Discipline, I promise to amend it, and to GUARD THE SACRED CANONS, and the constitutions of our Pontiffs, AS DIVINE AND CELESTIAL MANDATES."

The Second *Profession of Faith* of a Bishop of Rome in the end of Century VII. and in Century VIII., as given in the *Daily Book of the Roman Pontiffs*, after a full and excellent confession of doctrine, reads thus:

"Wherefore, whomsoever or whatsoever the holy Six Universal Councils have cast off, we also smite with a like condemnation of anathema. But whomsoever or whatsoever the same Six Holy Councils received, we, as sharers of the right faith, receive, and, with the same reverence, venerate with mouth and heart."

This language is general and absolute. It excepts nothing.

AUTHORITATIVE CHRISTIANITY.

THE FIRST ECUMENICAL COUNCIL; THAT IS, THE FIRST COUNCIL
OF THE WHOLE CHRISTIAN WORLD, WHICH WAS
HELD A. D. 325 AT NICAEA IN BITHYNIA.

VOL. I.

WHICH CONTAINS ALL ITS UNDISPUTED REMAINS IN GREEK AND
ENGLISH; THE ENGLISH TRANSLATION.

— BY —

JAMES CHRYSTAL, M. A.

"If he neglect to hear the Church, let him be unto thee as a heathen man and a publican. Verily I say unto you, Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven."—Matt. XVIII., 17, 18.

Christ's utterance to the whole body of His Apostles, not to one of them alone; and through them to their successors the sound God-alone worshipping, anti-creature invoking and anti-image worshipping Bishops (and to no idolatrous Bishops, who cannot be saved, (*I. Cor. I. I., 9, 10; Gal. I. I., 19, 20, 21, and Rev. XVI., 8*); and to sound Bishops only He has promised His Holy Spirit "forever" to guide them into all "truth," (*John XIV., 16, 17; John XVI., 13*); with whom He has promised to be in teaching not for one age only but "always, even unto the end of the world. Amen," (*Matt. XXVIII., 19, 20*); and only where they govern according to the VI. Synods in all things, is the Church now, in the full sense, as in the Apostles' days, "the pillar and ground of the truth," (*I. Tim. III., 15*). And no other than they have any right to teach and rule; for the decisions of those Synods depose all others.

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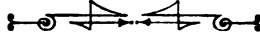
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DEDICATION OF THIS VOLUME

—TO—

THE TWO GREAT ENGLISH-SPEAKING NATIONS,

WHO AMIDST MANY FAULTS AND FAILINGS,

HAVE NEVERTHELESS FOR CENTURIES BEEN ZEALOUS TO PERIL

LIFE AND TREASURE FOR THE CHIEF TRUTH OF THE

CHRISTIAN RELIGION THAT ALL WORSHIP

IS PREROGATIVE TO GOD ALONE

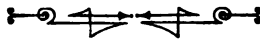
(MATT. IV., 10);

FOR WHICH HE IN RETURN HAS GIVEN THEM VICTORY ON

FIELD AND FLOOD, AND VAST EMPIRE AND

WEALTH AND ALL BLESSINGS.

MAY THEY NOT DEGENERATE AND LOSE THEM.



PREFACE.

Ours is an age of agitation of inquiry, and of sifting; aye, of changes, some for the better, others for the worse. The agitations have reached even the Greek communion, and some at least in it are growing weary of the abuses, of the superstitions, and of the idolatry and creature-worship of the middle ages. To some extent the same is true of the Roman Communion, though its strong government, like that of the Orientals, represses the outward manifestation of dissent. In the Nestorian Communion, and in that of the Monophysites, there are some few signs of a leaning, on the part of some at least, to Orthodoxy. In the Protestant world the agitation is widespread, and the changes are many. In the Anglican Communion especially the old foundations are broken up, and we see three parties at least in its pale, instead of the old High and Low:

1. A party professing to hold to the Trinity, the Atonement, to the truth that God alone is to be worshipped, and to the other tenets of its Reformed faith; and, more or less, to the Six Synods.
2. A distinctly idolatrizing, creature-worshipping and Romanizing party; and so an Anti-Six Synods party;
3. A distinctly infidelizing party; and, perhaps, we may add,
4. A distinctly Methodistic party or parties, who are united in the grievous error of putting feeling for faith, denying the necessary connection of regeneration with baptism, and making the rebirth to be merely a quickening of the Holy Ghost in the heart in non-infant years, and that without any baptism at all. This heresy has become more prevalent since the ancient, and still rubrical dipping has been laid aside, and with it that baptismal emersion, which the ancients deemed the rebirth itself (*). As a result of such errors of ignorance, which alas! dominate our land, of the fifty-five millions of Protestants in this land only about thirteen millions are regarded as members of any Church, and millions of them are without anything that is called baptism, and crowds of them are daily dying unbaptized, and without hope. Rome's forces in the fight are united; but those of Protestantism are fighting endlessly among themselves.

(*). So St. Justin the Martyr, soon after the Apostles, in Sections LXXIX. and LXXX. of his *First Apology*; Hippolytus on the Holy Theophany, Section X.; Cyril of Jerusalem, Lecture XX., Chapter IV., etc. See Chrystal's *History of the Modes of Baptism*, pages 59, 60, 62, 63, 70 and 71.

The Anglican Communion, owing to the terrible sin of its mainly married episcopate, who shirk their bounden duties to depose heretics and to excommunicate them, and owing also to the too little power in their hands to enforce any doctrine or discipline or rite, and owing to the temporal power's interference with sound men, is a wreck, and multitudes of its people have left it for other forms of Protestantism, and some for Rome. The Lutherans and the Reformed on the Continent of Europe have, in places, sunk so low as to deny the Trinity, the Atonement, and other fundamental doctrines of the Faith. In our own country and in England non-Episcopal Protestantism has been rent into about one hundred and thirty differing and warring sects, some of them holding to much of Orthodox truth, while others like the opponents of infant-baptism, the Universalists, and the Anti-Trinitarians are in fact enemies of Christ and of his Church and his Religion.

This book and this series are an Irenicon and a Guide to Ecumenical Orthodoxy at the same time.

We begin with this volume of Nicaea which contains all its *Genuine Documents*.

It will be followed in due time, if means be given us to publish with, by another volume or volumes which will contain,

1. The matter on Nicaea, which has been *doubted* by some; and
2. That which is confessedly *spurious*.

Probably there will be two or three more volumes on Nicaea; one of which will contain information and references on its Twenty Canons; and that, or another volume on Nicaea, will contain a Dissertation on the Attempt of Rome in the Fifth Century to obtain Appellate Jurisdiction over the provinces of Latin Africa and the resistance of Carthage and its suffragans to that attempt at usurpation.

One volume of Nicaea will contain another long Dissertation on the meaning of the following remarkable words in the Creed of Nicaea, which have so engaged the attention of Theologians:

*"The Universal and Apostolic Church anathematizes those who say that * * * the Son of God * * * was not before He was born."*

In that Dissertation an account will be given of the differences among the Ante-Nicene and some later Christian writers, who, while holding the Orthodox tenet that the Logos is co-eternal and consub-

stantial with the Father, nevertheless differed as to *when* He was born out of the Father; some, like Origen and Athanasius and the Alexandrian School after them, asserting that He was eternally born out of the Father; whereas, others, like St. Justin the Martyr, St. Theophilus, Bishop of Antioch, and seemingly all the Ante-Nicene writers outside of the jurisdiction of Alexandria held that He was born out of Him, not eternally, but only just before the worlds were made and to make them. St. Zeno of Verona, in the Post Nicene period, held that view as we shall see. St. Theophilus of Antioch, in accordance with this doctrine, teaches that the consubstantial Logos was eternally in the Father, that is that He was the Endiathetic Logos till just before the worlds were made, when to make them He was born out of Him, and so became *the Prophoric* Logos, that is *the Borne-Forth Logos*. Yet, whether *Endiathetic*, that is *within the Father*, or *Prophoric*, that is *Borne-Forth* out of Him, He was eternally co-eternal and consubstantial with the Father. So that both parties held that He is no creature, but very and eternal God. I will endeavor to give in full every Ante-Nicene passage which represents St. Theophilus' doctrine, and to quote St. Zeno of Verona after Nicaea. An account of Origen's opinions on that matter and of St. Athanasius' will be added.

Another Dissertation in one of the volumes on Nicaea will treat of the differences among the ancient Christians as to whether God has a body or not; and passages from them on it will be quoted; as, for instance, Tertullian will be quoted for it, and Socrates against it; and an account will be given of the difficulty between St. Theophilus of Alexandria, and the majority of his monks on that theme, and of the variance on it between St. Epiphanius and St. Theophilus, and afterwards between them and John Chrysostom, Bishop of Constantinople. We will, in the same Dissertation, treat of that question as bearing on the teaching of the Nicene Creed that the Consubstantial Logos has actually come "*out of the Father*, that is *out of the substance of the Father*, * * * *very God out of very God*." We will inquire also in that connection whether any of the Six Ecumenical Synods have decided any thing on such matters.

Of course the first volume of any set like this must contain much preliminary and explanatory matter. But when we come to the Third Ecumenical Council, the Fourth, the Fifth, and the Sixth,

the Acts, that is Minutes, will make up a large part of the volumes. The Minutes of the First and the Second are lost, though happily their Decisions remain.

And we hope that the Dissertations and the Notes and Prefatory Matter found in the different volumes of the series will prove both acceptable and useful to every Orthodox reader. And for the success of our effort to put the Sole Decisions of the whole Church before the Christian public I ask the sympathy, the prayers, the contributions, and the active co-work of every soul who is true and loyal to Christ and His Holy Church.

In this volume, in the first two chapters, I have shown how far the different Communion, West and East, claiming to be Christian, stand committed to the Six Synods and to their Doctrines, Discipline and Rites.

In Chapter III. I show that Arianism was a distinct return to the fundamental pagan and anti-Christian errors of Polytheism and Creature-Worship; and that St. Athanasius and St. Epiphanius and others of the Orthodox so regarded it. I have quoted quite a number of passages from the works of some of the Orthodox to that effect. If space permitted, I could give more from others.

In Chapter IV., I have given an account, from the original sources, of the Council itself.

Chapter V. contains important Documents which bear on the Synod.

Chapter VI. treats of its Synodal Letter;

Chapter VII. of its Creed; and

Chapter VIII. of its Canons.

The Letter, the Creed, and the Canons, are given in Greek and English. The indexes follow.

I can not close this Preface without expressing my heartfelt and deep gratitude to Almighty God that he allows me to put to press this first volume of a series of perhaps twelve or fifteen volumes, which I began, at least, as far back as 1864, and on which I have labored in winter's cold and summer's heat, till my hair and beard are growing gray in my task for God. Of late years my income, never large, has become so small that but for the aid of kind friends, to whom I here express my warmest thanks, I could not publish even this one volume. Two or three volumes, comprising all the inesti-

mably precious Acts, that is Minutes, of the Third Ecumenical Council, so valuable to every theological student, have been ready for the press for years. God move the hearts of His servants to publish them! They are the first translation of them all into English. I pray God the Father that I may be spared by His mercy for his adorable Son's sake to see all the English of the Six Councils in print, and enlightening and blessing his people before I die.

Before closing, I ought, in justice to the donors to the *Publication Fund for the Six Councils* to state that for all opinions expressed in this work I alone am responsible. As the donors belong to different parties in the Anglican Communion, some of them would differ from some of them as they differ from each other.

I here gratefully acknowledge my great indebtedness to their aid. They are:

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I deem it just to myself, and necessary, to add also that I have aimed in all my expressions to follow closely and strictly.

1. All the Doctrine, Discipline Rite and Custom of the Six Ecumenical Councils; and,
2. Where they have not spoken, to follow just as closely and

just as strictly, according to Vincent of Lerins' saying, all in Doctrine, Discipline, Rite and Custom which has been held "*Always, every where, and by all.*" Those two principles condemn the Host Worship, the image worship, the invocation of creatures, and all the other errors on Doctrine, Discipline, Rite and Custom, of Rome, and of the Orient, as well as all the heresies of those so-called Protestant writers and speakers, who are really infidelizing and anarchizing, and protest much oftener against the inspiration of Holy Scripture, and its great doctrines enshrined in the Decisions of the Six Councils, and against what is best and most primitive in the Anglican Reformation of the sixteenth century, than they do against the soul-damning idolatry of Rome, and the equally soul-destroying unbelief of the Christ-rejecting and Christianity-hating Jews.

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NICÆA.

CHAPTER I.—INTRODUCTION.

A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE SIX ECUMENICAL COUNCILS OF THE UNDIVIDED CHURCH.

CONTENTS.

WHAT THEY ARE :

1. *Their authority and reception in different Communions.*
2. *How their doctrines are regarded by Trinitarian Scholars.*
3. *How they compare in importance with local Councils and the mere Opinions of Individual Writers.*
4. *What part of them has been translated into English.*
5. *Their value to the mere historic student, and to the man who does not profess Christianity.*
6. *To what extent their Acts are well and thoroughly known.*
7. *Prospectus of this work.*

THEY ARE :

- I.—NICÆA, A. D. 325.
- II.—FIRST CONSTANTINOPLE, A. D. 381.
- III.—EPHESUS, A. D. 431.
- IV.—CHALCEDON, A. D. 451.
- V.—SECOND CONSTANTINOPLE, A. D. 553.
- VI.—THIRD CONSTANTINOPLE, A. D. 680.

What are those Synods? What is their Authority and Reception?

1. They are the only Councils of the Catholic, that is Universal Church, which the learned men of the Greek, the Latin, and the Anglican Communion agree to be binding. The Anglican rejects that of Nicæa, A. D., 787; the Latin rejects some things in it and receives others; and the Greek rejects all Councils held in the West since the division of the Universal Church in the ninth century, as merely Western and local. But the Greek professes to receive the whole of the Six before the division; the Latin professes to receive them with the exception of some few of their canons, and the Anglican Church in the second part of the *Homily Against Peril of Idolatry*, speaks of them as, "*Those Six Councils which were ALLOWED AND RECEIVED OF ALL MEN.*" And its thirty-fifth Article states that the Book of Homilies, which contains it, "*doth contain a godly and wholesome doctrine and necessary for these times, and therefore we judge them to be read in Churches by the Ministers, diligently and distinctly, that they may be understood of the people.*"

Those three Communions contain about three-quarters of all who profess to be Christians; and their scholars agree (A) in regarding them as of *Ecumenical authority, and binding.*

(B) Their scholars also agree that any later decision on dogma which contravenes them or any of them is *ipso facto* ERRONEOUS and NULL and VOID.

(C) Their scholars agree that in accordance with Christ's promises of guidance by His Spirit to the Apostles and their successors in the Episcopate, those Six Councils had the special help of the Holy Ghost to guide them into truth; and most of them would regard their decisions as infallible.

Such passages are Matthew xxviii., 19, 20; John xiv., 16, 17, 18, 26; John xv., 26; and John xvi., 7-17; and Matthew xviii., 17, 18. Compare I. Tim. 3, 16.

The *Lutheran* and the *Presbyterian* reformers of the sixteenth century spoke in terms of respect of the decisions of the Six Ecumenical Councils on the dogmas of the Trinity and of the Incarnation, and embodied them largely *in sense* in their Formularies; though they would not of course receive their canons, at least not all of them. They did not, however, fully understand them, for in the sixteenth

century they were not critically known. Hence Luther misunderstood the Third Ecumenical Synod and St. Cyril of Alexandria, and so did injustice to them both. Yet in our time as more accurate information has spread regarding them, one finds occasionally an utterance which contains much that is very good, though we can not agree with every sentiment in it. For instance, the *New York Tribune* of Saturday, September 11, 1869, has the following on a document which, as representing so large a body as it does, is quite important so far as showing, not entire, but a certain amount of respect for the Six Synods. I quote the whole of the *Tribune* article; it is as follows:

“THE AMERICAN PRESBYTERIANS AND THE ROMAN COUNCIL.

“The two General Assemblies of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, which met in this city last May, commissioned their Moderators to draft a reply to the Pope's invitation to all Protestants to embrace the opportunity afforded by the approaching Council, to return to communion with the Roman Church. This reply has just been made public. *It sets out by declaring that the Presbyterians are not heretics, because they receive all the doctrines contained in the Apostles' Creed, and set forth by the first six general councils.* Neither are they schismatics, for they believe in the true Catholic unity, recognize as members of the visible Church all who profess the true religion, and are willing to maintain communion with them provided they do not exact as a condition the profession or performance of anything contrary to the Word of God. They cannot consent, however, to participate in the deliberations of the Council, or comply with the Pope's invitation, because they hold the following principles which the Church of Rome condemns: 1. That the Bible is the only rule of faith. 2. The right of private judgment. 3. The universal priesthood of believers. 4. That the Apostleship is not perpetual, that modern prelates have no authority to teach or rule the Church, and that the Bishop of Rome has no valid claim to supremacy, Christ alone being the head of the Church. ‘As the Church of Rome,’ continues the reply, ‘excommunicates all those who profess the principles above enumerated; as we regard these principles to be of vital importance, and intend to assert them more earnestly than ever; as God appears to have given His seal and sanction to these principles by making the countries where they are held the leaders of civilization.—the most eminent for liberty, order, intelligence, and all forms of private and social prosperity—it is evident that the barrier between us and you is, at present, insurmountable.’ The document also contains

a temperate protest against the doctrines of transubstantiation and the sacrifice of the mass, the adoration of the host, the power of judicial absolution, the grace of orders, purgatory, the worship of the Virgin Mary and of images, the invocation of Saints, the doctrine of reserve and of implicit faith and the consequence of withholding the Scriptures from the people, etc., and concludes as follows: 'While loyalty to Christ, obedience to the Holy Scriptures, *consistent respect for the early Councils of the Church*, and the firm belief that pure "religion is the foundation of all human society," compel us to withdraw from fellowship with the Church of Rome; we, nevertheless, desire to live in charity with all men. We love all who love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity. We cordially recognize as Christian brethren all who worship, trust, and serve Him as their God and Saviour according to the inspired Word. And we hope to be united in heaven with all who unite with us on earth, in saying, "Unto Him who loved us, and washed us from our sins in His own blood, and hath made us kings and priests unto God; to Him be glory and dominion forever and ever. Amen."—Rev. i., 6.

"Signed in behalf of the two General Assemblies of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America.'

M. W. JACOBUS,
PH. H. FOWLER,
Moderators."

The following is the part of the utterance of the American Presbyterians, which bears on the topic of the Six Councils. I give it with much of the context for fuller information, as I find it in the Presbyterian weekly, called *The Evangelist*, of New York, of September 9, 1869:

"TO PIUS THE NINTH—BISHOP OF ROME.

"In your Encyclical Letter, dated Sept. 13, 1868, you invite 'all Protestants' to 'embrace the opportunity' presented by the Council summoned to meet in the City of Rome during the month of December of the current year, to 'return to the one only fold,' intending thereby, as the connection implies, the Roman Catholic Church. That letter has been brought to the notice of the two General Assemblies of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America. Those Assemblies represent nearly five thousand ministers of the gospel, and a still larger number of Christian congregations.

"Believing, as we do, that it is the will of Christ that His Church on earth should be one; and recognizing the duty of doing all we consistently can to promote Christian charity and fellowship, we

deem it right to say in few words why we cannot comply with your invitation, or participate in the deliberations of the approaching Council.

"It is not because we reject any article of the Catholic faith. We are not heretics; we receive all the doctrines contained in the ancient Symbol known as the Apostles' Creed; *we regard as consistent with Scripture the doctrinal decisions of the first Six Ecumenical Councils; and because of that consistency we receive those decisions as expressing our own faith. We believe the doctrines of the Trinity and Person of Christ, as those doctrines are set forth by the Council of Nice, A. D. 325; by that of Chalcedon, A. D. 451; and by that of Constantinople, A. D. 680.* With the whole Catholic Church, therefore, we believe that there are three persons in the Godhead: the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; and that these three are one God, the same in substance, and equal in power and glory.

"We believe that the Eternal Son of God became man by taking to Himself a true body and a reasonable soul; and so was, and continues to be, both God and man, in two distinct natures, and one Person forever. We believe that our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ is the Prophet of God, whose teachings we are bound to receive, and in whose promises we confide. He is the High Priest of our profession, whose infinitely meritorious satisfaction to divine justice, and whose ever prevalent intercession is the only ground of our justification and acceptance before God. He is our King, to whom our allegiance is due, not only as His creatures, but as the purchase of His blood. To His authority we submit; in His care we trust; and to His service we and all creatures in heaven and earth should be devoted.

"We believe, moreover, all those doctrines concerning sin, grace, and predestination, known in history as Augustinian. Those doctrines were sanctioned by the Council of Carthage, A. D. 416; by a more general Council in the same place, A. D. 418; by Zosimus, Bishop of Rome, A. D. 418; *and by the third Ecumenical Council at Ephesus, A. D. 431.* It is impossible, therefore, that we should be pronounced heretical without including the whole ancient Church in the same condemnation. We not only 'glory in the name of Christians, but profess the true faith of Christ, and follow the communion of the Catholic Church.' Still further to quote your own words, 'Truth must continue ever stable and not subject to any change.'"

At the end of this document they refer to certain errors which are really condemned by the Six Councils. I italicize them :

"Although this letter is not intended to be either obnoxious or controversial, it is known to all the world, that there are doctrines

and usages of the Church over which you preside, which Protestants believe to be not only unscriptural, but contrary to the faith and practice of the early Church. Some of those doctrines and usages are the following, viz.: *The doctrine of transubstantiation and the sacrifice of the mass; the adoration of the host; the power of judicial absolution (which places the salvation of the people in the hands of the priests); the doctrine of the grace of orders, that is, that supernatural power and influence are conferred in ordination by the imposition of hands; the doctrine of purgatory; the worship of the Virgin Mary; the invocation of saints; the worship of images; the doctrine of reserve and of implicit faith, and the consequent withholding the Scriptures from the people, etc.*

"So long as the profession of such doctrines and submission to such usages are required, it is obvious that there is an impassable gulf between us and the Church by which such demands are made.

"While loyalty to Christ, obedience to the Holy Scriptures, consistent respect for the early Councils of the Church, and the firm belief that pure 'religion is the foundation of all human society,' compel us to withdraw from fellowship with the Church of Rome; we, nevertheless, desire to live in charity with all men. We love all who love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity. We cordially recognize as Christian brethren all who worship, trust and serve Him as their God and Saviour according to the inspired Word. And we hope to be united in heaven with all who unite with us on earth, in saying, 'Unto Him who loved us, and washed us from our sins in His own blood, and hath made us kings and priests unto God; to Him be glory and dominion forever and ever. Amen.'—Rev. i., 6.

"Signed in behalf of the two General Assemblies of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America.

M. W. JACOBUS,
PH. H. FOWLER,
Moderators."

The issue of *The Evangelist* for September 11, 1869, which contains the above, has the following editorial on it:

"PRESBYTERIANS AND THE POPE.

"We publish this week a letter addressed 'To PRUS THE NINTH, BISHOP OF ROME,' in the name of the two General Assemblies which met in this city last May. At the first blush the writing of such a letter might seem to be a superfluous labor, an officious and almost impertinent intrusion upon one who considers himself the head of the Christian World. But any such impression is removed by considering that the first motion did not come from us, but from him; and that however august a personage he may be, inasmuch as he has made a

formal communication to us, it is on our part but civil to reply. One year ago the Pope sent forth a letter to all non-Catholic communions, inviting them to return to the one true fold—the bosom of the holy Catholic Church. Being thus addressed, we must either ignore the invitation, thereby treating it with contempt, or return an answer assigning reasons why it cannot be accepted. To the latter no objection can be offered, provided the answer is dignified and courteous, such as might proceed from a great Christian body, that respects itself, and knows what is due from those who assume to speak not only for one Church, but in some degree for the whole of Protestant Christendom.

“On this point of courtesy we are happy to say there is no fault to find on either side. The letter of the Pope itself was not supercilious or arrogant, except as arrogance may be implied in the assumption that he was the Bishop of the whole Christian world.

But it was not offensive in language. On the contrary it was intended to be respectful and conciliatory. Doubtless it was written with the sincere hope and belief that it would be the means of recalling some wandering sheep to the Roman fold.

“To this patriarchal invitation, therefore, we now return our answer, and though Presbyterians are somewhat famous for a certain bluntness of speech which is not exactly the language of ecclesiastical diplomacy, yet in this case we think it will be agreed that they are not outdone in courtesy by the Pope himself. The letter does not contain a word of anger, or even of indignant rebuke. On the contrary, it is mild and gentle; yet its arguments are none the less weighty because conveyed in respectful language. Under the velvet glove we feel the grasp of the hand of iron.

“Thus temperate in phrase, and respectful in address, the letter presents a concise VINDICATION OF PROTESTANTISM—of the attitude of non-Catholic churches toward that vast ecclesiastical despotism, which boasts so much of its unity and its antiquity. So far from admitting its exclusive claims, an appeal to history is quite sufficient to demolish these lofty pretensions, and indeed to reverse the position of the parties, to show that WE ARE THE TRUE CATHOLICS, the true successors of the Apostles, the inheritors of their faith, their order, and their worship. The letter shows very clearly, that we are neither heretics nor schismatics—neither erring from the truth, as taught in the Scriptures, nor rending asunder the body of Christ. We hold to the early faith in its simplicity and its integrity, before it was overlaid and smothered by the traditions of men. We believe in the Apostle’s creed, the most ancient symbol of Christian faith, *and accept the decisions of the first six Ecumenical Councils as not inconsistent with the higher authority of the Word of God.*

“Hence, we may claim justly that we are the true successors of the Primitive Church. We have a part in the inheritance of the

saints. The glorious company of martyrs belongs to us. We have the goodly fellowship of those who worshipped Christ in caves and catacombs. The faith of Augustine was the faith of Calvin, and to no communion of modern times does that great name—the greatest of the fathers of the Church—so truly belong as to the Presbyterians of Scotland and America.

“On the other hand, it is the Church of Rome which is the innovator on the ancient purity of faith and worship. By bringing in new doctrines unknown in the apostolic age; engrafting strange dogmas on the simple teachings of Christ; by its gorgeous worship, borrowed from Pagan temples and Jewish synagogues; and above all, by its monstrous assumption to be the only true Church, claiming supremacy and infallibility—setting up its head as the Vicar of Christ on earth, who has power to open and shut the kingdom of heaven—it has departed widely from the simplicity of the Church founded by Christ and His Apostles, and has earned the title of the Great Apostacy. So that when the Holy Father summons Protestants to return to ‘the one true fold,’ they may without offence respond by calling upon him, and upon all ‘who profess and call themselves Catholics,’ to return to a purer faith and a simpler worship.

“With this introduction, we commend to our readers this truly Christian Letter, addressed to the Bishop of Rome, which may be taken as a model by all who wish to take part in the Romish controversy. It is a model of manly argument, of plain truth expressed with Christian frankness, and yet with courtesy, and even with tenderness. This is the only way in which we can ever hope to reach our Roman Catholic brethren. It is not by denouncing or abusing them, or holding them up to ridicule or to public indignation. We are sorry to say that some of our Protestant advocates have gone to work in the wrong way. They have been so belligerent in tone, and have waged war with such relentless severity, that they have put every Romanist at once on the defensive. Thus they have alienated those whom they sought to win, have disgusted and offended where it was their duty to conciliate; and done no good to the cause of Protestant Christianity.”

The *Nestorians* receive only the first two of the Six Ecumenical Councils; the *Monophysites* only the first three.

So much on *their Authority and Reception*.

1. *How are their doctrines regarded by Trinitarian scholars?*

Answer.—All Trinitarian scholars, Greek, Latin, and Protestant, profess at least loyalty to their doctrines on the Trinity against Arianism and Macedonianism; and on the Incarnation and the two natures in Christ against Apollinarianism, Nestorianism, Monophysi-

ism, and Monothelism. No other assemblies ever held bear such despread and general authority in what professes to be of the Christian World.

3. *How do they compare in importance with local councils and the opinions of individual writers?*

Answer.—They are, of course, of vastly greater importance than the decisions of mere local synods, or of individual writers, some of which they approve as orthodox and others of which they condemn as heretical. They do, indeed, profess to follow the *written historic transmission* of the Fathers from the beginning, but expressly and as heretical some peculiar and individual, or merely local opinions, of some at first deemed Fathers by some—as, for instance, Theodore of Mopsuestia—and impliedly condemn some opinions and traditions of others.

The Six Synods stand vastly above all other Christian writings except the Bible, on whose teachings the bulk of Christians—in A. D. 680, the date of the last of them—held they alone had unflinchingly and authoritatively decided with the inspiration of the Holy Ghost.

4. *What of them has been translated into English?*

Answer.—Probably not one-tenth part of the entire matter in question.

5. *What is their value to the mere historic student, and to the man who does not profess Christianity?*

(A). They show what alone the Universal Church recognized ITS AUTHORITATIVE DECISIONS in the period of the UNDIVIDED CHURCH—in other words what ECUMENICALLY DECIDED Doctrine, Discipline and Rite was, as distinguished from what was merely *local*.

When a Christian went from the East to the West, or from the West to the East, he would find some variety in local church customs; but the faith as set forth in the Ecumenical Councils was ever the same, as were also the Universal Discipline and Rites, so far as ordered so to be by them.

(B). They were the bond of union between all parts of the Church, so that he who received them was everywhere, East and

West, recognized as a Christian; whereas he who rejected them, or any of them, as did the Nestorian or the Monophysite, was because of that rejection cut off from the Universal Church and rejected by all, and that in accordance with Christ's own teaching in Matthew 18; 17, 18.

(C). So long as the Western Roman Empire lasted, as it did till A. D. 476, Ecumenical Councils were recognized by the State to such an extent that no bishop could hold any see or enjoy its temporalities till he had accepted them. And as late as the eighth century the Popes of Rome swore to receive and to maintain their dogmas and canons. And the State received their canons as laws on Ecclesiastical matters.

The same was the case in the Eastern Empire till its fall, A. D. 1453.

The Christian Emperors obligated themselves to maintain them; and, generally speaking, could not long hold their thrones without so professing.

(D). Till A. D. 787 all Christian history and great Christian events may be said to have revolved around them, as indeed they do to a great extent still. They affect the law, the life and policy of Christian nations now; of some more, of some less.

(E). In projects for union among the great sundered parts of Christendom their reception has ever been made the first point. If any of them was rejected, union at once failed.

6. *To what extent are their acts well and thoroughly known?*

Answer.—To a small extent only, though many bishops and clergy have a smattering of knowledge on their decisions. But the price of the originals is so high, owing to their being in Greek; or sometimes, parts of them, in a Latin translation only; or to their rarity; and so few of the clergy were ever adepts in Conciliar and Patristic Greek, and of those who were, so few can find time for study in a constant round of parish or teaching duties, that it is safe to say that not more than a third or a fourth or a tenth of the prelates of the Christian World, and not more than one-tenth or one-twentieth of the lower clergy of the different Communions have ever read through these basic Decisions of their Faith.

The majority of the prelates and clergy of the professedly Christian World do not even know what some of their Definitions are, and large numbers of them hold some of the very errors for which the Third Ecumenical Council justly deposed the creature-server Nestorius. The density of the ignorance prevailing everywhere as to the decisions of that Universal Church which in Matt. 18, 17, Christ commands us to hear, under pain of being regarded "*as a heathen man and a publican*," and the consequent prevalence of heresies opposed to it, are simply appalling, and call for prompt remedy by their publication.

7. *What do we propose to do? Prospectus of this series, and what we ask of learned Christians.*

We propose to translate into English every scrap of the *Acts*, that is, to put it in plain words, every scrap of the *Minutes* of the Six Ecumenical Councils, including, of course, all their Decisions and Canons, so that the reader may feel sure that he has *the whole of the Ecumenical Documents before him*; in other words, an English Translation of the Entire Acts of the Six Ecumenical Synods, comprising all the Decisions of the whole Church, East and West, before its Division in the ninth century. Those Councils, as has been said, are :

- I. Nicæa, A. D. 325.
- II. First Constantinople, A. D. 381.
- III. Ephesus, A. D. 431.
- IV. Chalcedon, A. D. 451.
- V. Second Constantinople, A. D. 553.
- VI. Third Constantinople, A. D. 680.

The Acts, that is the Minutes as we would say, of the first two are lost; but we have their official utterances; that is, a Synodal Epistle, a Creed, and Canons from each.

We begin with the First Ecumenical Synod, and God willing, will give first, its *genuine* documents; secondly, the *doubted* matter ascribed to it; and thirdly, the *spurious* matter ascribed to it.

The Acts of the third Ecumenical Synod are, for the most part, extant in the Greek original (1). The Fourth and the Sixth remain

NOTE 1. P. E. Pusey, in his edition of the Works of St. Cyril of Alexandria, vol. vii., pt. i., *Prefat.*, pages vii. and viii., tells us where some of them are.

in the Greek. The Fifth, so far as its Decisions are concerned, is still extant in the Greek; but much of the Acts exists only in a Latin translation, which is, however, very ancient. I have seen it said that in France, or in the whole world, of that Synod there were only two manuscripts known just before the French Revolution, and one of them is now lost. When we consider the fact that some parts of such all-important writings have perished in the original, owing to the dense ignorance and corruptions and idolatries of the Church in the middle ages, we are reminded of how near the Law of Moses, the law of the Israelitish Church, came to being utterly lost in its period of ignorance, corruptions and idolatry, as told us in 2 Kings, xxii., and in 2 Chronicles, xxxiv. Oh! that among the bishops of the Christian Church, its high-priests, ἀρχιερεῖς, to use a common Greek title of our time for bishops; and among Christian Emperors, and Kings, and Presidents, and Governors, and people, there may be as keen a sense of the due value and importance of these Ecumenical Decisions in their proper place which have been practically lost to most of them for many centuries, and as sincere and active and thorough obedience to them as there was in the pious high-priest, the reforming and restoring Hilki'ah, and in the reforming and restoring and godly King Josiah, and in the reformers and restorers among the Jewish people, of the value and importance of their Church Law in its due place! God grant it, so far as it is right and wise.

Then, as the renewed knowledge of their Law and obedience to it brought them the abolition of creature service and of image worship, the restoration of all their doctrine, discipline, rite and custom, and consequent blessing for both worlds; so the renewed knowledge of our Law, defined with the Christ-promised assistance of the Holy Ghost, and obedience to it, will bring Christians everywhere the abolition of creature service and of image worship, the healing of schisms, West and East, the restoration of all their primitive and Ecumenically-defined doctrine, discipline, rite and custom, and consequent blessing for both worlds. Then will the Universal Church be one again, East and West, and regain those vast portions of the earth, which she lost by violating the Decisions of those Six Councils; I mean those areas of Europe and Asia and Africa which yet groan under the yoke of the unbelieving Turk and Moor; and she will re-people them with Christians again. Then the Church of Holy Wisdom, at Constantinople, and so many hundreds of Churches

and monasteries and nunneries and other Church property wrested from her by violence shall be restored, and shall echo again to prayer and chant to Christ; and the heavenly King shall have his own again, and the true Jehovah, triune and blessed, and none other than He, shall be invoked and worshiped. Amen, and Amen.

After Nicæa, we expect to put to press the Authentic Utterances of the Second Ecumenical Council, and other matter on it, in one volume; and then, or perhaps before, the Acts, that is the Minutes, of the Third Ecumenical Synod, the first of the Four whose Acts have reached us, which we have had ready for the press for years but cannot as yet publish owing to lack of funds. Can you not aid us in getting subscribers as well as by subscribing yourself? The decisions of Ephesus deal with the vastly important questions of the Incarnation; the controversy as to worshipping both Natures of Christ; and incidentally and yet clearly as to the sin of Relative Worship, the true anti-man-eating Doctrine on the Eucharist; the questions as to the Real Presence of the actual substance of Christ's Divinity and as to the real presence of the actual substance of his humanity on the Holy Table, and as to their oral manducation; the rights of provinces, and of autocephalous metropolitans under the canons; how we are to regard a valid succession's right to obedience when it falls into heresy; the almost forgotten doctrine of the Economic Appropriation to God the Word of the sufferings of the Man put on by Him; and the church teaching on God the Word as the Mediator; and on the sin of service to creatures; and on the XII Chapters of Cyril of Alexandria—in brief on most or all of the chief controversies involved in the Reformation, and against Roman creature-worship. No man can profess to be intelligent on Ecumenically authorized doctrine, discipline, or rite who does not know them.

Besides the notes in English, Greek, or Latin, we purpose to give large translations from the chief participants in the Nestorian controversy; from St. Cyril of Alexandria, and others, on the Orthodox side; and from Nestorius, Theodoret, and others, on that of the heretics; and a series of Dissertations on the chief points involved.

The works will contain notes, English, Greek and Latin. The Greek and Latin will make the work more costly, but also much more valuable to the scholar. And in documents so valuable the best is always the cheapest in the long run; indeed the only thing

that the scholar will be sure to get. It will be sold to subscribers at three dollars a volume, to others at four dollars.

Another matter: Learned theologians are few, and so works of a learned theological character seldom pay. The Oxford *Library of the Fathers*, the most erudite patristic collection, the best and most ably annotated translations of their kind in English, and the most critical, notwithstanding a few Romish blemishes in Newman's notes, are said, with some exceptions, not to have paid. The *Ante-Nicene Christian Library*, which in places at least is most wretchedly and most uncritically done, may have paid better; but, if it has, it has been because it is the only translation which has professed to cover the whole of the Ante-Nicene field, and because a large part of those who bought it were themselves not aware of its glaring defects. To take two instances only which have fallen under my own cognizance incidentally.

1. The great and inexcusable outrage is committed of fathering on the anti-creature-serving Methodius, Bishop of Tyre, who died a martyr for Christ about A. D. 312, one of the productions of the creature-serving Methodius of Constantinople, of the ninth century, that is, his creature-invoking "*Oration concerning Simeon and Anna on the day they met in the temple*," and that without a hint of its spuriousness (1), though years before, Murdock's Mosheim's *Ecclesiastical History*, volume 1, page 172, note 14, had well warned scholars that

"Several Discourses of the younger *Methodius*, Patriarch of Constantinople in the 9th century, have been ascribed to the senior Methodius."

That it was written centuries after the martyr Methodius' death is clear also from the fact that, as its very beginning shows, it was delivered on the Festival of the Meeting of Simeon and Anna in the temple, which was not instituted till the reign of Justin, Emperor of Constantinople, in the year of our Lord 526, or by his son Justinian, in the year 541 or 542. See in proof on that matter, the article "*Mary the Virgin, Festivals of*," page 1140, right hand column, volume 2 of Smith and Cheetham's *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*,

NOTE 1. Page 184, vol. xiv., *The Writings of Methodius*, etc., *Ante-Nicene Christian Library*. For most nauseating and sickening creature-worship in the shape of creature-invocation see the end of the Oration on pages 208 and 209, where the Virgin and Simeon are prayed to.

text and note; and note 7, page 414, volume 1, of Murdock's Mosheim's *Ecclesiastical History*.

A 2nd instance of the uncritical nature of part of the translation in the Ante-Nicene Christian Library occurs in the translation of section 2 of Tertullian's work on *Baptism*, where it renders, strangely enough, the words, "homo in aqua demissus, et inter pauca verba tinctus, non multo vel nihilo mundior resurgit;" "*A man is dipped in water and amid the utterance of some few words, is sprinkled, and then rises again, not much or not at all the cleaner.*"

The Oxford translation has more accurately here,

"*A man going down into the water, and being with few words washed therein, * * * * riseth again not much or not a whit the cleaner,*" etc.

The exact rendering is,

"*A man having been let down into the water, and having been dipped between a few words, riseth again not much or not at all the cleaner,*" etc.

Tertullian in two places witnesses that the mode of baptism in his time was the thrice dipping, that is in section 3 of his work *On the Soldier's Chaplet*; and in section 26 of his work *Against Praxeas*, where he derives it from Matthew 28; 19.

That the immersions were of the entire body, I have shown from early writers on pages 285 and 139 of my *History of the Modes of Baptism*. The mode of letting the candidate down into the water and then sprinkling or pouring water on him, does not appear, so far as I have seen, in any writing till the fifteenth century, though I think I have seen it represented in a painting ascribed to the fourteenth century in an art gallery in London. When it does appear in the Council of Florence, A. D. 1438-1439, the Greeks brand it as wrong, and as making two baptisms; (see my *History of Modes of Baptisms*, page 139). But the translator of the above place in the *Ante-Nicene Christian Library*, evidently moved by his partisan and sectarian leanings and prejudices against the old primitive and historic mode, misrenders the text in order to make it favor his wish, and so translates *tinctus*, "*dipped*," as though it were "*aspersus*," "*sprinkled*." The context and the historic facts, as well as the

Latin of this place, demand the translation which I have given. Grotius on Matthew 3, 6, remarks:

"That the ancient Latins used '*tingere*' for '*baptizare*' should excite no wonder, for in Latin '*tingo*' properly and generally signifies the same as '*mersare*.'"

Tingo does indeed sometimes mean to *dye*, but such *dyeing* was by *dipping*.

Equally definite is Rigaltius, for writing on section 8 of Tertullian's work on *Repentance*, he says of him:

"Wherever he speaks of baptism he uses the words *lavacrum*, '*tingere*,' '*intingere*,' '*ablui*,' '*mergitari*' and '*immersio*,' which do not at all mean *sprinkling*." See for the Latin of the last two passages, and a similar testimony from Rabanus Maurus of the ninth century, pages 38 and 39 of my *History of the Modes of Christian Baptism*. Compare page 83, where the Latin is found. For Rabanus in chapter 25, book I., of his work *de Cleric. Instit.*, says that βάπτισμα is translated into Latin by *tinctio*, and that the immersion of a man in water is called *tinctio*.

Matthew Poole on Matt. 3, 6, in his *Synopsis Critic.*, renders βάπτω that is "*dip*," into Latin by *tingo*, that is *dip* as he understands it to mean: see my *History of Modes*, pages 40.

Those two uncritical mistakes which I have specified above, show how much harm and ruin to Christian doctrine and Christian rite such a translation may work among the more unlearned clergy who may read it and rely on it. That series should be carefully revised and its faults corrected before another copy of it is put in circulation; for the interests of truth and of souls require that to be done.

To resume: I have said that learned theological works do not pay. This has so far been true of my attempts to publish parts of this series on the learned themes of the Ecumenical Decisions. I do not use the word learned of anything that I have written, but of the themes themselves. The subscription list thus far will not cover more than say four-twelfths or five-twelfths of the edition of this volume of Nicæa. And the persistent and wrong refusal of our Congress to agree to an International Copyright Law cuts me off from controlling the English market, which is better than our own, for the patronage of learned theology is greater there than here.

A Publication Fund made up of gifts from two bishops and fifteen presbyters, aggregates \$360, of which \$315 have been paid in. There is still a deficit of say about \$400. And that means that the translator gets not a cent for his many years of labor, nor for his expenditure of much of his small means.

Yet he proposes, if God spare his life and gives him the means, besides giving the Six Ecumenical Councils in their solid entirety in English, to pay a competent scholar to print a Critical edition of the Originals, and to pay other scholars to aid him in doing such parts of the translation of the voluminous Minutes of the last three Synods as he may not have time to do.

Furthermore he has on Nicæa and on the Second Ecumenical Synod Dissertations to show the thorough Scripturalness of their two Creeds; and a Dissertation on the words in the Nicene Creed which have given rise to so much comment, namely :

"The Universal Church anathematizes those who say that * * *the Son of God*. * * *was not before He was born.*" These words bear on the doctrine of the Eternal Birth of the Logos. John Henry Newman in note II., page 416 of the Fifth edition of his *Arians of the Fourth Century*, shows that before the Nicene Council the opposite tenet, that is the Non-Eternal Birth view, is found in a number of writers, and that of all the schools in the Church the Alexandrian alone is distinctly clear of it. Newman, with his strong Roman prepossessions, holds that the view of the Non-Eternal Birth is rightly reprobated where it is reprobated. It should be added, however, that the doctrine of the Eternal Birth of the Logos is not affirmed in any of the Six Ecumenical Synods, though, of course, His eternal co-existence with the Father, and His consubstantiality with Him are. In my Dissertation on that theme I have endeavored to give more fully than exist elsewhere *the statements* of those Orthodox Fathers of the Ante-Nicene period who held that the Logos was always from all eternity in the Father, as (to use the language of St. Theophilus, Bishop of Antioch, who died a martyr for Christ about A. D. 177 or 183,) "*the Word in and through the Father*," (ὁ Λόγος ἐνδιὰθετος); but did not become "*the Word borne forth*," (ὁ Λόγος προφορητός), till he was born out of the Father just before the worlds were made to be the Father's instrument in making them. Besides I have endeavored to give fully the statements of the other writers of

the Ante-Nicene period who held to that doctrine, and of some Post-Nicene Fathers who maintained it.

And on the other hand I have traced in brief the Eternal-Birth doctrine in Origen, and its development in the great Orthodox writers of the Alexandrian School, Athanasius and Cyril his successor. I have thought that these authorities in an English dress might be valuable to the Orthodox and impartial scholar.

Besides, I have other *Dissertations* on themes connected with the First Council; one of which I give at the end of this volume. The rest, if means be afforded me, I hope to give soon.

At least \$4,000 a year will be requisite to accomplish all these ends. The translators all have a right to some small salaries, enough to support them while doing the work, and enough to enable them to travel to those parts of Europe and Asia and Africa, where the manuscripts are, to consult and compare and copy them. Societies have done similar work for other writings, translation societies and others. So we have a *Six Councils Publishing Fund* for all the purposes specified above. An average of one dollar a head for each clergyman in the Episcopal Church alone in the United States would give \$4,000 a year—and learned men in every other communion are asked to coöperate by their influence and gifts. Our aim is to make the work strictly in accordance with the Six Ecumenical Councils, and not to swerve an inch one way or the other from it. We beg therefore every clergyman to send a dollar at least for years to come, beginning on receipt of this volume, to the *Six Councils Publishing Fund*, care James Chrystal, 255 Grove st., Jersey City, N. J. It will be difficult to find a better or more needed use for the money. It will be economically and prudently managed by scholars alone; and every dollar will be promptly acknowledged, and all the business income and disbursements will be accurately audited by a committee of clergymen. If you can, give \$5 or \$10 or more annually, for probably not one-tenth of the clergy will respond to this appeal, for some have so little learning as to care for nothing much beyond the text-books which they studied in their theological seminaries, while others who have the learning to appreciate the importance and value of the Six Synods of the Universal Church have no means. For in our own land the scholar has but little place,—because the unlearned multitude are the choosers, and the mere sensa-

tional, heretical and empty-headed preacher is their man. So it was often in St. Paul's days (2 Tim. iv., 3: 2 Tim. i., 15). Unless therefore the more scholarly men who have means help us, and help us annually, this series must stop, and the translations of the Acts must remain unpublished, to the great detriment of Orthodoxy and of men's salvation, and to the spread of errors, heresies and endless schisms.

We appeal also to the more learned laity, not only of the Anglican Communion, so famous for its encouragement of theological learning, but also to learned clerics and laics of all Trinitarian Communions.

The amount asked yearly is small compared with the sums annually and constantly spent for long periods to procure a denominational version of the Scriptures. And we will choose no translators for mere partisan or family or friendship reasons, as is sometimes done by members of Societies composed of divergent parties and often of unlearned or selfish men, some of whom are more anxious for a translation which shall favor their peculiar hobbies, or give work to some member of their family circle, or of their secret society, than they are for God's plain, clear truth. We shall choose in the fear of God the best, the soundest and the most accurate scholars we can get for the means given to us.

Remember then, we pray you, on the first day of every year the *Six Councils Publishing Fund*, which goes to procure the truest, the most accurate and the best translations of them into English, and to publish a new and critical edition of the Originals. Our century has as yet seen no edition of the Greek published in it, nor has any edition been published anywhere as yet in full letter, plain, unligatured Greek type at all. This is a vast work and needs large means; larger than we have asked for. And it is a work which is painfully needed, and in which every learned man should take an interest, and for whose accomplishment he should use all his influence and energy.

Subscriptions to the work itself, or to any volume of it, must be sent to James Chrystal, 255 Grove st., Jersey City, N. J. It is \$3 a volume. It is wholly as yet a subscription work.

These valuable Documents, are thus practically put within the reach of the poorest clergyman, for the price to non-subscribers, \$4 a volume, is only a little over a cent a day, and \$3 is less than a cent a day. As translations of Fathers have found sale, it is hoped that the

vastly more important Decisions of Universal Christendom may find sale also ; and may be deemed essential to every cleric's library, be it large or small. Remember, the Documents themselves are *next in importance to the Scriptures*.



NICÆA, A. D. 325:

THE FIRST ECUMENICAL COUNCIL.

INTRODUCTORY MATTER.

CHAPTER II.

A FULLER ACCOUNT AS TO HOW FAR THE SIX ECUMENICAL SYNODS
ARE RECEIVED IN DIFFERENT COMMUNIONS EAST AND
WEST; AND AS TO HOW FAR THEIR TWO CREEDS ARE
IN USE AMONG THEM, INCIDENTAL INFOR-
MATION IS GIVEN AS TO THE USE
OF LOCAL SYMBOLS ALSO.

DIVISION I.:

AS TO THE RECEPTION OF THE SIX ECUMENICAL COUNCILS IN THE
ORIENTAL COMMUNIONS, AND AS TO THE USE OF
THEIR TWO CREEDS THERE.

At the start it should be premised,

1. That no Eastern Communion, the Greek, which claims to be the Orthodox, the Monophysite or the Nestorian, receive either the words "*and the Son*" interpolated by some Westerns, or the doctrine which they contain. This will appear from the following testimonies from an American Episcopalian Clergyman who spent some time in the Orient, and had considerable intercourse with Orientals of different Creeds.

Rev. *Horatio Southgate*, in his *Visit to the Syrian Church*, page 220, note, has the following statement :

"All the Eastern Churches receive the Nicene Creed in what they affirm to be its original form, that is, without the words, *and the Son*. By the Eastern Churches I mean the Greek, the Armenian, the Syrian, the Nestorian, the Coptic, and the Abyssinian. In all of them the creed reads substantially thus: 'I believe in the Holy Ghost * * * who proceedeth from the Father, who with the Father and the Son together,' etc."

The same writer adds in the second note on the same page: "The Eastern Christians freely acknowledge that the Holy Spirit is both of the Father and the Son. They only deny that he *proceeds* from both. He is of the Father, they say, by *procession*, and of the Son by *mission*, giving to *procession* a definite and limited meaning, viz., that of *issuing*; and to *mission* that of being sent as a messenger. Thus they commonly express their belief, in these words: '*Proceeding* from the Father, and *sent* by the Son.' They allow, however, procession from the Son in a different sense from that of the procession from the Father. The latter is Hypostatical or Personal, the former external or official." The gist of the whole matter is that they do *not* believe in the *eternal* procession of the Holy Ghost *from the Son*, which the Latin doctrine affirms. It will be noticed that Bishop Southgate speaks of this denial as that of "the Eastern Christians."

2. This large Communion at least professes to receive the Six Ecumenical Councils and one other, that of Nicæa, A. D. 787, which they deem the Seventh (3). It receives all the normal Epistles,

(3) Wilson's *Lands of the Bible*, Edinburgh, A. D. 1847, vol. 2, p. 462. A letter of a Patriarch there quoted mentions "the customs and canons of the Seven Holy and Ecumenical Councils." This would imply that they receive no more than seven synods as *ecumenical*. See also p. 120 of Baird's *Modern Greece*, where, speaking of the Greek Church, he states: "It acknowledges but seven general councils, whose authority is binding on Christians, the last in A. D. 786 being that which condemned the doctrines of the Iconoclasts." Plato, Metropolitan of Moscow, in his *Orthodox Instruction*, Part I., Sect. 29, enumerates only seven, the first being Nicæa, A. D. 325, and the last Nicæa, A. D. 787. But Macarius, Rector of the Ecclesiastical Academy of St. Petersburg and Bishop of Vinnitza, in his *Introduction à la Théologie Orthodoxe*, Paris, A. D. 1857, p. 671, speaks of "*the eighth Ecumenical Council under Photius, in the year 867.*"

Definitions, Canons, and everything else decreed by them, and is now the only Eastern communion which does. For the Nestorian heretics reject the last four synods of the Christian world, and the Monophysites the last three. Many or most of the canons have fallen into desuetude in the West, and the clergy of the Latin, and Anglican, and Lutheran and other Western communions know too little of the other ecumenically approved data. The Greek Church, however, does not really hold to some of the Doctrines of the Six Ecumenical Synods. I mean those which in effect condemn all worship of created persons and of mere things, nor has it since it became idolatrous. Indeed, since A. D. 787, it has rejected them by accepting the creature-worship and image-worship and relative-worship of the so-called Seventh Synod.

("Huitième concile œcuménique, sous Photius, A. D. 867.") But, nevertheless, the same prelate, in his *Théologie Dogmatique Orthodoxe*, t. 1, Paris, A. D. 1859, p. 17, 18, note 2, mentions only seven. "L'Église orthodoxe s'appuie en effet d'une manière ferme et inébranlable sur les sept conciles œcuméniques; comme sur les sept colonnes sur lesquelles la sagesse divine a bâti sa demeure (Prov. IX., 1.); l'Église orthodoxe n'a jamais altéré ni rejeté un seul des dogmes confirmés par les conciles œcuméniques, et n'en a jamais admis un seul qui fût inconnu à l'ancienne Église œcuménique: voilà pour quoi elle s'appelle *orthodoxe*. * * Bien plus, se conformant toujours en tout point aux sept conciles œcuméniques, etc.

The *Longer Catechism* of the Russian Church mentions only seven. The question and answer on this point are as follows:

Q. "How many Ecumenical Councils have there been?"

A. "Seven; 1, of Nice; 2, of Constantinople; 3, of Ephesus; 4, of Chalcedon; 5, the Second of Constantinople; 6, the Third of Constantinople; 7, the Second of Nice." See page 17 of *Blackmore's Harmony of Anglican Doctrine with the Doctrine of the Catholic and Apostolic Church of the East*; and id., p. 141, et seq. This Catechism is "examined and approved by the most Holy Governing Synod, and published for the use of schools, and of all Orthodox Christians by order of his Imperial Majesty. Moscow, at the Synodal Press, A. D. 1839.

And Smith in his *Account of the Greek Church*, p. 217, informs us that the Greeks "acknowledge but seven general councils." That is, as he afterwards states, those from Nicæa, A. D. 325, to Nicæa, A. D. 787 against the Iconoclasts. But p. 219, 220 id., he remarks that they speak of the council held at Constantinople, in the year 879, in which all the acts against Photius, who was restored to the patriarchal dignity not long before, were rescinded and abrogated; "and the creed recited and fixed without that addition" [that is, the Filioque]. *But because nothing relating to matter of doctrine was established anew in this council, which was held chiefly in favor of Photius, the Greeks content themselves with the acknowledgement of seven only.*"

Furthermore, even in the Greek Church much of the discipline of the canons of the first four Ecumenical Councils is in desuetude and has long been. In Russia we find instead of the old half-yearly meetings of the provincial councils commanded by a canon of Nicæa and by one of Chalcedon, a Holy Governing Synod composed of a few bishops only, at which, I think I have read, a presbyter and a laic are present with bishops, though I know not that they are coördinate. Similar is the case in Greece, to some extent. Such uncanonical bodies are apt to become sometimes too much like mere state-ruled machines.

SECTION I.

SYMBOLS USED IN THE GREEK CHURCH.

This Church, though now, alas! idolatrous and creature-invoking, claims to be *the one, holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church of the Orthodox*. (4).

REFERENCES.

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2. The *Πηδάλιον* of the Greeks, Athens edition of A. D. 1841.
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4. *Modern Greece* by Henry M. Baird, A. M., Harpers, New York, A. D. 1865.
5. *An Account of the Greek Church* by Thos. Smith, B. D. and Fellow of S. Mary Magdalen College, Oxon. London, A. D. 1680.
6. *Some Account of the present Greek Church* by John Covel, D. D., and Master of Christ College in Cambridge. Cambridge, A. D. 1722.
7. *A Harmony of Anglican Doctrine with the Doctrine of the Catholic and Apostolic Church of the East*, by Blackmore. But this author iniquitously attempts to salve over the guilt of the creature-worship and creature-invocation of the Easterns and their icon-worship,—that is their idolatry, to put it in plain English.

(4) This title is from the *πηδάλιον* which contains the canons of that Church. See the title page of the Athens edition of A. D. 1841.

8. *Introduction a la Théologie Orthodoxe de Macaire*, Docteur en Théologie, évêque de Vinnitza, recteur de l' Académie Ecclésiastique de Saint Pétersbourg, traduite par un Russe. Paris, 1857.

9. *Théologie Dogmatique Orthodoxe*, two vols., by the same prelate, traduite par un Russe. Paris, A. D. 1859, 1860.

10. *The Creeds of Christendom*, by Philip Schaff, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Biblical Literature in the Union Theological Seminary, New York City, three volumes, 1890, Harper & Brothers, New York.

SUBSECTION I :

ECUMENICAL SYMBOLS.

The Ecumenical Symbol of the 318 holy Fathers of Nicæa.

The Eastern Orthodox receive this, but I am not aware that it is now used at all in any public service. One of the shouts raised at the Fourth Ecumenical Council, A. D. 451, shows that it was then the Baptismal Creed of the East. For the bishops there state that they were baptized into it, and that they baptized into it.

This June, 1890, I have consulted two of the best informed Greeks in the United States, one of New York City, and the other of Brooklyn, N. Y., and both assure me that the Greek Church now uses only the Creed of the Second Ecumenical Synod in its public services, only that now they recite it in the singular, *Πιστεύω*, *I believe*, instead of the plural of the original, *Πιστεύομεν*. Neither of them ever heard in the public service, the Nicene, the Athanasian, or the so-called Apostles, or any Creed but that of the Second Synod. The *Orthodox Instruction* of Plato, Metropolitan of Moscow, recites the Creed of the Second Synod only, and uses the singular "*I believe*;" "*I acknowledge one baptism*" etc; "*I look for the resurrection of the dead*" etc.

II.

THE SYMBOL OF I. CONSTANTINOPLE, THAT IS OF THE SECOND ECUMENICAL COUNCIL.

This is used by the Greeks as the Ecumenical Church left it in A. D. 381. It is its glory that it has never permitted the addition of an iota to it, nor the subtraction of even a letter. It is the Baptismal and Eucharistic symbol of the Greeks (5).

(5). See these offices in the *Great Euchologium*.

SUBSECTION II.

LOCAL SYMBOLS OF THE EAST.

I.

In the Greek Church the Creed of Gregory the Wonder-worker is held in great consideration, (6) and is usually printed in Russia with the "*Orthodox Confession of the Catholic and Apostolic Church of the East*," (7), but I think is not publicly recited.

SUBSECTION III.

LOCAL SYMBOLS OF THE WEST.

I.

THE WESTERN CREED, TERMED IN THE OCCIDENT, THE APOSTLES.

The Easterns have never used this, nor do they use it now.

Macarius, Bishop of Vinnitza, expressly states this. In a note to his work on *Orthodox Dogmatic Theology*, speaking of the Creed before Nicæa A. D. 325, he says :

"We here say nothing of the *symbol* called *apostolic*, which was in use during the first three centuries, especially in the Roman Church, and which to this day enjoys a high esteem in the West: We say nothing, because the Orthodox Church of the East has not used this symbol, either in the first three centuries, or at any later epoch ; so that, consequently, she never considered it, in a strict sense, as an apostolic symbol, and she never preferred it to the other ancient symbols of the faith, all of which, according to tradition, could equally derive their origin from the apostles, if not as to their letter, at least so far as their sense and the contents are concerned. (Hist. Bibl. of Philaret, Metrop. of Moscow, p. 600, 4th ed.) '*We neither have nor have seen a symbol of the Apostles*;' such, at the council of Florence,

(6) Macarius, Bishop of Vinnitza and rector of the Ecclesiastical Academy of St. Petersburg, in his *Théologie Dogmatique Orthodoxe*, Paris A. D. 1859, t. 1, p. 11, speaking of the symbols of the first three centuries, remarks : "L' un de ces symboles est resté jusqu'à présent en grande considération dans l' Église orthodoxe : c' est celui de Saint Grégoire le Thaumaturge, qui expose, contre Sabellius et Paul de Samosate, la doctrine des attributs et de l' égalité parfaite de chacune des personnes de la très-sainte Trinité."

(7) Macaire, *Introd. à la Théologie Orthodoxe*, p. 604, note 771 on that page. It is quoted below in our remarks on the Athanasian Creed.

was the answer of the representatives of the Orthodox Church to the Latins, who, in showing their symbol, said that it came from the apostles themselves (Concil. Florent., sect. vi., cap. 6. (8). It was that great character, Mark of Ephesus, the staunchest champion of Orthodoxy at Florence, who remarked "*We neither have nor have seen a Symbol of the Apostles.*" It is found in Syropulus' *Historia Concilii Florentini*, Creyghton's translation, Hagæ-Comitis, A. D. 1660, sect. vi., cap. 6, p. 150.

Plato, Metropolitan of Moscow, writes to the same effect:

"There is no use of the so-called Apostolic Symbol in the Greco-Russian Church except what is private" (9).

The Greek, Syropulus, as Gibbon tells us the name should be spelled (10), in his *The History of the not true Union between the Greeks and the Latins* (11) in the Ferrara-Florence Council of A. D. 1438-1439, section vi., chapter vi., tells how the Greek Emperor told the Patriarch of Constantinople when they were at Ferrara, "the Pope will send some Cardinals to us to speak some words of the Pope."

(8.) Macarius, *Théologie Dogmatique Orthodoxe*, t. 1, p. 12:

"Nous ne disons rien ici du *Symbole* dit *Apostolique*, qui fut en usage pendant les trois premiers siècles, surtout dans l'Église romaine, et qui jusqu'à ce jour jouit d'une haute estime en Occident; nous n'en disons rien, parce que l'Église Orthodoxe d'Orient n'employa ce symbole, ni dans les trois premiers siècles, où elle en avait d'autres, ni à aucune époque postérieure; que par conséquent, elle ne le considéra jamais dans un sens rigoureux comme un symbole *apostolique*, et ne le préféra jamais aux autres anciens symboles de la foi, qui tous, suivant la tradition, pouvaient également tirer leur origine des apôtres, sinon pour la lettre, au moins pour l'esprit et le contenu. (Hist. Bibl. de Philarlète, Metrop. de Mosc., p. 600, 4e ed.) 'Ἡμεῖς, οὔτε ἔχομεν οὔτε εἶδομεν, σύμβολον τῶν Ἀποστόλων: telle fut, au concile de Florence, la réponse des représentants de l'Église orthodoxe aux Latins, qui, en montrant leur symbole, disaient qu'il provenait des apôtres eux-mêmes, (Concil. Florent., sect. vi., cap. 6.)

(9) Archbishop Plato, in the supplement to M. Duten's *Oeuvres Mêlées*, part ii., p. 164-5, quoted in a note on p. 203, vol. i; of "Adam's *Religious World Displayed*," London, A. D. 1823. *Usus Symboli*, ita dicti Apostolici, in Eccl. Græco-Russica nonnisi privatus est.

(10.) Gibbon, in his *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Chapter lxvi, in a note (on page 229, vol 7, of Bohn's seven volume edition of 1855, London) shows that.

(11) Another note on the same page, states that the above title is Creyghton's addition, for the original from which he translated is without any.

The Emperor said, "I therefore will be there, and let ours also be gathered. The Emperor therefore came and sat with the Patriarch. And there were assembled the high priests [that is the Bishops] and the cross-bearers, and the hegumens, and the Emperor decreed, Those from the Pope shall speak words, but I know not of what sort; only that it will be necessary for some of ours to reply in defence. Let therefore some be selected to make the defence for us, that they may hear attentively, and prepare to respond in our defence. And they chose the Bishop of Ephesus [Mark] and the Bishop of Nicæa [Bessarion]. And the Patriarch said, The Bishop of Nicæa also must therefore sit with the Bishop of Ephesus, since they are going to make our defence in common; and he at once sat down with the Bishop of Ephesus" (12).

After this preparation comes the passage at arms between the representatives of both communions, where we shall find the matter of the Apostles' Creed comes up, and where Julian, in accordance with the uncritical spirit of the Middle ages, advances the legend of the Apostles having actually made it and the myth that the Orientals who formed the bulk of the First Ecumenical Council knew anything of the local peculiarly Western Creed which we call the Apostles', which indeed, as Dr. Heurtley shows on pages 70 and 71 of his *Harmonia Symbolica*, is not found in its present enlarged form till the eighth century: or as though they were dissatisfied with a creed of which they knew nothing, and which had always been purely Western.

The fable however that the Council of Nicæa had altered it into the Nicene, is a notion that we shall find repeated in an old Protestant statement further on; I mean the Bohemian Confession, of which I will speak there. We shall find Mark of Ephesus denying both statements, and that not only in his own name but for all, and expressing the view that Julian might refer to the gathering at Jerusalem mentioned in Acts xv. He brings out also the Greek maintenance of the proscription of things strangled there against the Latin looseness on that subject. We shall find Julian making no other defence against Mark's denial than the assertion that "*that Symbol of the Apostles is to be found among them,*" that is, among the Latins,

(12) Creyghton's *Vera Historia Unionis non Veræ inter Græcos et Latinos sive Concilii Florentini*, sect. vi., cap. vi., page 150.

meaning seemingly the Creed commonly called the Apostles'. But the mere fact of the existence in the West from the fourth century of a shorter form of the Creed of that name does not prove that even that shorter form was made by the Apostles. Syropulus, as is clear from the following, held in effect that Mark had in most things proved himself the victor. I quote the whole passage:

"And there came from the Pope two Cardinals, Julian and Firman, and six Bishops, of whom the Bishop of Rhodes was one. And Julian spoke words as from the Pope concerning the settling and opening of the Council, and how the Apostles made a Synod and *delivered also the holy Creed*; but that *the Ecumenical Councils held afterwards were not satisfied with the Creed of the Apostles*, but that the First also made a Creed, and the Second changed it and added to it, and he spake many other words concerning the holy Synods in their order with ambition and oratorical skill; and said that the present Synod also, like them, must go forward and not delay, and that it must not change.

"But to all the words of Julian, the Bishop of Ephesus opposed noble and sufficient rebuttals. And concerning the Synod of the Apostles and their Creed he said, *We neither have nor have seen a Creed of the Apostles.*

"But as to a Synod of the Apostles of which thou speakest, we know of that meeting in which they came together and made a decree, that we should abstain from things offered in sacrifice to idols and from what is strangled and from certain other things. For they came together and put forth a decree, and made a rule, and enacted a law, both they themselves and the Holy Ghost before them, as they themselves say, that we should abstain from what is strangled, and those other things; but that meeting is not called a Synod of the Apostles.

"And after the Bishop of Ephesus had replied to all that had been said by Julian, Julian began [in his turn]: and first he praised the Bishop of Ephesus, for having made the defence of his own side very understandingly and wisely. Then he divided his [Mark's] defence into eighteen heads. Julian said, First thou hast said this, and secondly that, and thirdly that other thing, and so on to the end of the eighteen. Then he added his reply to each, saying, In the first head thou hast said as follows: I answer as follows. Then to the

second, which was so-and-so, I answer as follows: and to the rest of the heads he replied in like manner. His replies to some things were, indeed, noble and forceful, but his answers to most of the heads were rotten at bottom. But he passed over in silence the matter concerning the Synod of the Apostles, and concerning what is strangled. That Creed of the Apostles, he said, is to be found among them. So all admired him for his enumeration and for his division of the heads, and again, for the order of his recapitulating. And yet as regards the quality of the arguments employed, those of the Bishop of Ephesus were more forceful in their truthfulness than those of Julian. And on that the meeting was broken up, and we went away to our own lodgings."

Here then we see,

1. That in A. D. 1438, the noted Archbishop of Ephesus, Mark, speaking for all the Oriental Church, witnesses that they had no Creed of the Apostles, nor had they seen it:

2. He denies in effect, in the name of the Oriental Church, the fable that the Apostles held a Synod and made the so-called Apostles' Creed by each Apostle contributing one article, so making XII. Heurtley on pages 46 and 47 of his *Harmonia Symbolica* mentions some "*Sermons on the Creed, published among St. Augustine's works,*" which "*are all justly regarded as spurious by the Benedictine Editors.*" He refers to two of them, sermons ccxl. and ccxli., in which "the Creed is recorded at length, exactly as it stands at this day." That would prove, of course, that it must be at least as late as the eighth century, for the so-called Apostles' is not found in that full form till then. He goes on,

"In these the several Articles are ascribed to the Apostles, by whom the writers supposed them severally to have been contributed. [I translate the Latin in Heurtley], 'Peter said, *I believe in God the Father, Almighty*, etc. Andrew said, *And in Jesus Christ*, etc. James said, *Who was conceived*, etc.' Unfortunately the same article is not by both [those spurious sermons] attributed to the same Apostle. Ascriptions of this sort are not unfrequently met with in manuscripts of the middle ages."

In the same *Harmonia Symbolica* of Dr. Heurtley, page 67, we find part of a *Gallican Sacramentary* of the VIIth Century in which the legend that each of the XII. Apostles made a different article of the

Apostles' Creed is found. But, differently from what we find in the one just quoted, John makes the Second Article, *I believe in Jesus Christ*, etc. Besides, it divides Article V. into two, and makes but one article of Articles XI. and XII. So Heurtley tells us on page 68, *id.*

Heurtley, though a strong believer in the great antiquity of the shorter form of the Apostles' Creed, so-called, nevertheless rejects the idea that the Apostles made any formula, for after some remarks on that point he concludes on pages 153 and 154, as follows :

"There does not seem reason to believe that any one formula was definitely prescribed by the Apostles. Had this been the case, the various churches would scarcely have thought themselves at liberty to make alterations and additions to the extent to which they did. Much less is there warrant for the tradition mentioned by Rufinus, that each Apostle contributed a several article."

One thing we may mention, though it is no part of this discussion : Cardinal Julian, according to the article on him in McClintock & Strong's Cyclopaedia, came to a sad end at the last. For he by the Pope's authority undertook to deliver King Wladislas, of Hungary, from his obligation to keep the truce of ten years with the Turks, and to war on them contrary to his promise, and in the defeat which fell on the Christians, he with the King, fell in battle. That article speaks of Julian as *unscrupulous*. He was showy but not solid. Mark of Ephesus though an idolater, like Julian, was nevertheless nearer the truth in dogma and in the primitive customs than he was, on the Double Procession, the use of Azymes, and Baptism, and as to the Roman Supremacy.

* The author of a note in the *Πηγάδιον* (Athens, A. D. 1841), page 123, states however that some of the later Greek theologians cite testimonies on certain matters from the so-called Apostles' Creed, but he quotes as conclusive against its being a Creed of the Apostles the above quoted statement of Mark of Ephesus at the Council of Ferrara-Florence. The annotator thinks that an expression in Canon 1. of Trullo of A. D. 691, as to the Apostles' faith may mean the faith transmitted by the living voice and unwritten, or else the faith which is in the Gospels and Epistles, or else that confession of Faith which is in the Apostolic Constitutions, book vii., chapter 41

(al. 42). But those Constitutions are spurious and centuries later than the Apostles, and the expression in Canon 1. of Trullo does not mean any Creed.

THE SO-CALLED ATHANASIAN CREED.

It is now admitted by the learned that this Creed is not a production of Athanasius but of some Western writer (13). It has been asserted that the Greeks are strangers to it.

Thos. Smith, B. D. and Fellow of S. Mary Magdalen College, Oxon., in his *Account of the Greek Church*, London, A. D. 1680, p. 196, states of the Greeks:

"They retain exactly the Catholick Doctrine concerning the most holy and undivided Trinity, and the Incarnation of the eternal Son of God, according to the *Constantinopolitan Creed*, which they only retain in their *Liturgies and Catechisms*. * * * *As to that of S. Athanasius they are wholly strangers to it.*

But "a sacred synopsis," (Σύνοψις Ἱερὰ, περιέχουσα ἀκολουθίας καὶ εὐχὰς ἐκάστῃ χριστιανῷ προσηγούσας καὶ ἄλλα ὠφέλιμα,) published at Venice, A. D. 1862, is found p. 338 "*A Symbol of St. Athanasius, Archbishop of Alexandria.*" But the work is merely a popular and private prayer book, not one of the regular Church books, and therefore can not claim Church authority. It corresponds to the many Prayer Books of the Latins, such for instance as are used by the laity in the Churches. Dr. Schaff in his *Creeds of Christendom*, volume i., page 42, states of the Athanasian Creed:

"In the Greek Church it never obtained general currency or formal ecclesiastical sanction, and is used only for private devotion, with the omission of the clause on the double procession of the Spirit."

In a note on the same page Schaff writes:

"Some Greeks say that the words *et Filio* (ver. 23) are a Latin interpolation, others that Athanasius was drunk when he wrote them. Most Greek copies omit them, and read only ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς; Mont-faucon, *Athan. Opera*, ii., 728."

(13.) See Waterland's work on it, and Köllner's *Symbolik*, and Schaff.

No intelligent Greek would now accuse Athanasius of drunkenness or of being the author of that Creed. Contogonis in his *Istropia*, tome 2, page 144, pronounces it spurious. But the Latin original of verse 23, on page 68, volume ii., of Schaff's *Creeds of Christendom* does not necessarily teach the doctrine of the double Procession, though that sense may be derived from it. For it does not assert that the Spirit proceedeth *out of* the Son, *ex Filio*, but only that it is "*from the Son*," *a * * * Filio: est, is*, is understood from verse 22, where it is expressed. The form in the *Prayer Book* of the Church of England has "*is*" here in verse 23. The Holy Spirit therefore may be understood, according to the Latin, to be *from* the Son in the sense not of Procession but of temporal Mission merely.

Much less does that Creed assert that the Holy Spirit proceeds *eternally* out of the Son; and hence it is not definite on that point.

If any Greek translation has *ἀπὸ τοῦ Υἱοῦ*, "*from the Son*," that might refer to *Mission*. It would require *ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ* to mean that the Spirit proceeds *out of* (*ex*) the Son, and the Latin *a * * Filio*, that is, "*from the Son*," does not warrant *ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ*.

To sum up; it seems that perhaps since about A. D. 1680, when Dr. Smith's work was published, the so-called Athanasian has crept into at least one private prayer book. But we have not seen a syllable which serves to show that it has, as yet, succeeded in making its way into any of their authorized *public offices*. Nevertheless Macarius, Bishop of Vinnitza, and rector of the Ecclesiastical Academy of St. Petersburg, remarks of the Creed of Gregory the Wonder-worker and of "*that which is known under the name of Athanasius of Alexandria*," that they are "*admitted and revered by all the Church*" (14): and in another work this same prelate speaks of certain "*Expositions*"

(14) Macaire, *Théologie Dogmatique Orthodoxe*, French translation, t. i., p. 19, Paris, A. D. 1859; speaking of the Theology of the Orthodox Easterns, writes: "*Le fondement immuable de cette Théologie, c'est le symbole de Nicée et Constantinople, qui a remplacé tous les symboles antérieurs, et qui est reçu par l'Église oecuménique comme la règle immuable de la foi pour tous les siècles, et avec ce symbole, à titre de complément, toutes les décisions en matière de foi, et des saints conciles, tant provinciaux qu'oecuméniques, et des saints Pères de l'Église cités par la concile in Trullo; de même que le symbole de saint Grégoire le Thaumaturge, et celui qui est connu sous le nom d'Athanasie d'Alexandrie, deux symboles admis et vénérés par toute l'Église,*

of faith "*which she*" [the Orthodox Eastern Church] "*holds from the ancient and infallible Ecumenical Church, and which have an absolute merit,*" (15) among which he enumerates, "*The Expositions of the Faith, which without being examined and expressly confirmed by the councils, are nevertheless received by all the Ecumenical Church, as the Symbol of Saint Gregory the Wonder-worker of Neocæsarea, the Symbol known under the name of Saint Athanasius of Alexandria*" (16). In

(15). Macaire, *Introduction a la Théologie Orthodoxe*, French translation, Paris, A. D. 1857, p. 603.

(16). Macaire, *Introduction a la Théologie Orthodoxe*, French translation, Paris, A. D. 1857, p. 603, 604, under the head of "*Expositions de la Foi, renfermant la doctrine symbolique de l' Église Orthodoxe,*" thus writes: § 148, *Leur Division*. "*Si l' Église Orthodoxe ne mérite ce nom que pour être demeurée en tout point fidèle à l' ancienne Église œcuménique; il s' ensuit que les expositions de la foi maintenues par elle, concises ou de quelque étendue doivent à juste titre se partager en deux classes :*

1. Les expositions qu' elle tient de l' ancienne Église œcuménique infallible, et qui ont un mérite absolu;

2. Ses propres expositions, qui parurent dans la suite, et qui ne tirent leur mérite que de leur conformité avec les premières, comme l' Église orthodoxe elle-même emprunte son importance de sa parfaite conformité avec l' ancienne Église œcuménique.

§ 149. *Expositions de la première classe.*

Aux expositions de la première classe appartiennent :

(1). D' un côté les professions de foi rédigées dans les conciles œcuméniques, savoir; (a) les symboles de la foi: celui des trois cent dix-huit saints Pères du premier concile œcuménique; celui des cent cinquante saints Pères du second concile œcuménique; le dogme des six cent trente saints Pères du quatrième concile œcuménique sur les deux natures renfermées dans l' hypostase unique de Notre-Seigneur Jésus-Christ, la dogme de cent soixante et dix saints Pères du sixième concile œcuménique sur la double volonté et la double action en Notre-Seigneur Jésus-Christ; le dogme des trois cent soixante-sept saints Pères du septième concile œcuménique sur le culte des images; et (b), en général, les décisions en matière de foi, renfermées dans les Constitutions des saints apôtres, dans les décrets des saints conciles œcuméniques et provinciaux, et dans les règles des saints Pères, mentionnés par le concile *in Trullo*.

(2). Et d' un autre côté, les expositions de la foi, *que sans avoir été examinées et confirmées expressément par les conciles, sont pourtant reçues par toute l' Église œcuménique, comme le symbole de saint Grégoire le Thaumaturge de Néocésarée, le symbole connu sous le nom de saint Athanase d' Alexandrie*. In a note to this word "*Alexandrie*" he adds *id.*, p. 604: Le premier s' imprime habituellement en Russie avec la confession Orthodoxe de l' Église catholique et apostolique d' Orient, et le second avec le Psautier en usage pour les offices.

a note below he adds: "*The first is usually printed in Russia with the Orthodox Confession of the Catholic and Apostolic Church of the East, and the second with the Psalter in use for the offices* (17).

Nevertheless, Plato, Metropolitan of Moscow, states positively :

"Our Church recognizes the Symbol of St. Athanasius (18), and it is found among the Ecclesiastical Books, and it is impressed upon us that we should follow its faith : but it is never publicly recited."

From this it seems that the so-called Athanasian is not recited in the regular authorized and public worship in Russia. Nor is there any reason to suppose that it is recited in the four Eastern patriarchates in the *regular authorized and public services*, though it is found in a *private* prayer book intended to be used not by a priest, but by a laic.

But we must make a distinction between the *reception* of a Creed itself, and its *use* in the oral public service by the priest.

That part of the Orthodox Eastern Church which is in Russia *receives* the local symbols above mentioned except the so-called Apostles', which it simply ignores, but it is not clear that it recites any of them in the public worship, though it does, however, receive them in a certain sense, as containing sound doctrine. It probably recites only the Constantinopolitan.

In the four patriarchates of the East, it is clear that in the public services they make no use of the Western Creed termed the Apostles', nor any *use* of the Creed of Gregory the Wonder-worker, nor any use of the Athanasian. They would however *receive* that of Gregory and probably that termed the Athanasian, without the double Procession, for the Russians do ; but the Greeks recite only the Constantinopolitan in service.

But it must be remembered, however, that the Eastern Church receives no other Creeds as *Ecumenical* symbols, but that of Nicæa, and that of I. Constantinople.

(17). Ibid.

(18). Archbishop Plato as quoted in a note on p. 203 of vol. i., of "*The Religious World Displayed*, by Rev. Robert Adam," edition of London, A. D. 1823 : *Symbolum S. Athanasii Eccl. nostra agnoscit, et inter libros eccles. reperitur, et ut ejus fidem sequamur, inculcatur : tamen publice nunquam recitatur.* The original passage is given as in M. Duten's *Oeuvres Mêlées*, 4to, part ii., p. 164-5.

At the most, it receives whatever others it admits, as *merely local*.

Before closing, may I have God's help here to outline what will be a wise and proper course for the Greek Church to pursue in the present crisis to help on the work of a godly Christian Union! Surely, as Christ prayed for it at his Last Supper, we are bad men if we do not seek to achieve it in every right way.

They should, then, maintain firmly,

1. Their Ecumenically canonical stand against the *Supremacy* of the Bishop of Rome as distinguished from his *Primacy*:

2. Their stand against the doctrine that the Holy Ghost proceeds eternally out of the Son:

3. Their stand against the Roman doctrine of indulgencies and of works of supererogation:

4. While they should maintain, as they always have, the ancient commemoration of all the faithful departed and prayer for them, they should still maintain their opposition to the non-primitive notions in the later Roman doctrine of Purgatory, which in effect teaches that nearly all the faithful departed are in material fire at once after death and in grievous torments, contrary to the general truth taught in Revelations xiv., 13, that since Christ's ascension those "*who die in the Lord*" are "*blessed*" and that they "*rest from their labors*;" and they can not rest if they are all for hundreds of years in the torment of material fire. Whatever may be true of some, the *general* portraiture of the state of the faithful departed in the New Testament is that they are in *heaven* at once after death. See the Revelations passim.

They are said to be *with the Lord* (2 Cor. v., 8.) and we know that the Lord is in heaven.

On matters of *Universal Rite*, the Greeks should contend, as they always have, 5, for the trine immersion in baptism; and, 6, for the Chrisming and Eucharistizing of infants and all directly after it.

And, 7, for the use of the New Testament and Primitive Church, and Ecumenically canonical *ἄpros*, that is *leavened bread*, against the custom of using *ἄζυμα*, that is *unleavened wafers*, which the

learned Bingham contends "*was not known in the Church till the eleventh or twelfth centuries.*" (Bingham's *Antiquities of the Christian Church*, book xv., chapter 2, sections 5 and 6.)

8. They should follow their primitive custom for which Paphnutius, the monk-bishop, contended with success at Nicæa, as Socrates tells us in chapter xi., book i, of his *Ecclesiastical History*, that each monogamist bishop, presbyter, and deacon, may keep the sole wife which he had before becoming a cleric, though he may not marry after becoming a presbyter, nor after becoming a deacon, unless when he was made deacon, he made the statement to his bishop which is mentioned in canon x. of Ancyra, approved by canon i. of the Fourth Ecumenical Synod. But, according to their old custom, the drift of New Testament teaching and their own ancient practice should be preserved, that is, as the single state is best fitted for the episcopate, monks should nearly always be chosen to it, and only in rare instances, if sound and very learned, like Bishop Bull, for instance, should a married man be raised to it. For marriage is a great hindrance to a bishop, and largely deprives him of his independence if persecuted or much tried. Yet as one of the Apostles, Peter, was married, I see no objection to one-twelfth of the episcopate being married, and not one more. For unless a limit be put the monks will be stripped of the episcopate altogether, and infidel, secular rulers will fill it with mere married men whom they know they can more readily force to become their tools in breaking down the faith and discipline and rites of the New Testament and of the Six Synods, as has often been done and is now done in the Anglican Church. The superiority of the chaste single state which is taught in the New Testament must ever be maintained, and the great bulk of the bishops must always be single according to the New Testament teaching and example, and according to the teaching and example of the primitive Church.

In brief, the Greek Church in all its branches, Greek, Russian, Roumanian, Servian, Bulgarian and all other should strictly study, remember and maintain firmly, all the doctrine, discipline, and canons of the Six Ecumenical Councils, and, where they have not spoken, all the historic and universal Tradition of the primitive Church on Christian doctrine, discipline, rite, and custom, and especially that of the Ante-Nicene period.

That will lead them to discard the following soul-damning heresies and burning sins, for which God has punished them all so much, and for which he even in this nineteenth century still curses parts of Europe, Asia and Africa, with subjugation and slavery to the unbelieving Turk, or Moor, or other Mohammedan ; namely :

1. The *relative worship of created persons and of painted images, of images in low relief on the Gospels, of crosses painted and crosses graven, of the Scriptures and of parts of them, and of clerical vestments and of relics, and of other material things.* For the Third Ecumenical Synod in deposing Nestorius for different errors, and among them for the error of the *Relative Worship of Christ's Humanity*, has by necessary implication condemned *all Relative Worship of every kind.* For surely every logical mind should at once see that if a bishop be deposed for worshipping *relatively* the highest and best of all mere created things, that is the Humanity of Jesus Christ, much more should he be deposed if he worships any lesser creature, be it the Virgin Mary, the Apostles in Heaven, the martyrs, or any other saint, or any archangel, or any angel, or any relics, or any painting, or anything sculptured or graven, or any cross, or any other symbol, or the Bible, or the book of the Gospels, or anything else. That decision of Ephesus, in effect, and by necessary implication, *forbids all relative worship*, which was the sort of worship offered by the idolatrous Israelites to the golden calf in the wilderness and to the calves at Dan and at Bethel ; and commands us to worship God alone, the Father, His co-eternal Word, and His co-eternal Spirit, and to worship them *directly*, not through any created Person, nor through any thing.

2. Besides, all the canons approved by the first Four Ecumenical Synods should be rigorously obeyed, and such new-fangled bodies as *Holy Governing Synods*, etc., should be abolished.

3. Such abuses in the matter of rite as the mediæval or modern custom of giving both the bread and the wine in a spoon together, should be abolished, for it is not a cleanly nor a healthy thing to do, as a Greek gentleman once told me, to put the same spoon into many mouths, some of which may be diseased, and so the reception of the Eucharist has perhaps often been the means of spreading disease and sometimes death. No well-bred gentleman would expect all his guests at a cleanly secular supper to use the same spoon. No more

should we at Christ's Holy Supper. The ancient custom, once universal West and East, of giving the bread and the cup separately should at once be restored. Bingham proves its *primitiveness* and *universality* in his *Antiquities of the Christian Church*, book xv., chapter 5, section 2. Compare book xv., chapter 3, section 35, where Bingham well rebukes those ignorant and really irreverent men who attempted to rebuke Christ and the whole primitive Church East and West by changing His institution in the Eucharist which the whole ancient Church followed. The Greeks have the less excuse for continuing the present innovation on that matter, because it is sternly prohibited under a heavy penalty by canon ci. of the Trullan Council of A. D. 691, which they profess to receive.

4. Another abuse I would specify, which was not their custom as late as the disputes between Photius and some Westerns of France in the ninth century, that is the custom of *monks and clerick wearing long hair like a woman*, in plain contravention of the law of the Holy Ghost in 1 Corinthians, xi., 14, where St. Paul asks, "*Doth not even nature itself teach you, that if a man have long hair it is a SHAME unto him?*" The old custom so far as appears, of the Greek monks, or at least of many of them, was to shear their hair, and one at least of the French answerers to the Orientals in the ninth century shows that it then prevailed among the Greek clergy. The first appearance of the custom of monks wearing long hair which I have been able to discover was among the Massalian heretics whom St. Epiphanius rebukes for it. Augustine of Hippo rebuked some monks for the same folly and sin when it first made its appearance in the West, and it got no permanent ingress there. It is condemned in a canon of the Greek Trullan Synod of A. D. 691, which should be obeyed by the Greeks for it is in accordance with the New Testament.

I have merely referred to a few abuses which need correction, and which the Bishops of the Greco-Russian Church are bound in duty to God and His Holy Church to correct, not to prostitute their great influence and power in apologizing for. For Christ will not forgive us if we do not what we can to make the church without spot or wrinkle or any such thing; that so it may be a glorious Church (Eph. v., 27). And palliating and pleading for abuses never reforms them.

And in brief, if we would bring on the re-union of Christendom, we must all, East and West, be as willing to reform our own abuses and our own lack of obedience to the Six Ecumenical Synods, and our departures from primitive doctrine, discipline, rite, and customs, as we are willing to rebuke others for their abuses, and for their lack of obedience to the Six Councils, and for their departure from primitive doctrine, discipline, rite, and custom. There is no hope of reforming an evil man till you can get him to see his faults, and it is just as hopeless to try and reform any part of Christendom, East or West, till you can get it to see its faults. Self-examination, by learned men especially, and acknowledgment of faults, East and West, must be the first prerequisite to any godly and permanent union. Surely we should all, East and West, learn the lesson taught by Jeremiah to Israel, after they had been punished for their image-worship and idolatry, "*Let us search and try our ways, and turn again to the Lord.*" (Lamentations iii., 40.) For in the past we have been sorely punished for such sins by the cruel Arab and the cruel Turk, as Israel were punished for them by the Assyrian and by the Babylonian.

Another counsel would I give to all Easterns and Westerns.

In things of lesser account, such for instance as the veiled chancel of the East and the unveiled chancel of the West, let each part of Christendom keep its own mere local custom which has been from the beginning, so far as appears; and let not the Oriental fault the Western for such trifling differences, nor the Western the Oriental.

Only the Oriental bishop should banish the abominable innovation, the iconostasis, and restore the ancient veil: and if he finds a picture or image of any kind on it, let him do what an Orthodox Oriental bishop, St. Epiphanius, Metropolitan of Cyprus, did with a similar image, that is tear it up, or else at least remove it. For no such image of jealousy, which provokes the jealous God to jealousy, should be allowed for one moment in his house to lure foolish women into idolatry to the damnation of their poor souls. For with reference to the likeness as well as to the graven image, God proclaims that He is the Jealous God and that He will punish (Exod. xx., 4, 5, and 6).

After the triumph of image-worship in the East in the ninth century, the facts against it were suppressed, and lies were scattered broadcast. And so to-day there is a great lack of knowledge among

the Orientals as to the testimony of their own forefathers against all forms of creature-service. They are well given in Tyler's *Primitive Christian Worship*, in his work on the *Worship of the Virgin Mary*, and in that on *Image Worship*. Bishop Bull's *Vindication of the Church of England from the Errors and Corruptions of the Church of Rome*, is good, though not so full as Tyler's three works and his work on *What is Romanism?*

Bingham is very valuable, though there is a blemish in one place, where he salves over the sin of relative worship of the altar, and of other parts of the church by kissing, embracing, saluting, and the giving any of those acts of paganism to the Bible or to any part of it: for they are all plainly and indisputably acts of relative-service, done on the principle by which the heathen defends his image-worship, that is, that the act of religious service done to material things goes through them to the prototype represented by the image, or to the deity, that is, the god or goddess or saint, to whom such material things, be they books, altars, temples, relics, images painted or images graven, or symbols, are related. The faulty place in Bingham, to which I refer, is in section 9, chapter x., book viii., of his *Antiquities*, where some of his authorities are spurious, notably his reference to Athanasius. He gives the historic facts against the use of graven and of painted images under "*Images*" and "*Pictures*" in the *Index* to his *Antiquities*; and those against invoking creatures under "*Prayers*" and "*Saints*."

If the Oriental Church Ecclesiarchs first reform the Oriental Church on the basis of the VI. Synods, and act with full learning and Orthodoxically and wisely, they can exert a most powerful influence for God among all the divided flock of Christ, and help on the substitution of a perfectly sound successor on the basis of the Six Synods in the Roman see of Peter, for the present hopeless idolater, Leo XIII. and his heretical and creature-invoking following; and so make Rome a blessing, where it is now a bitter and great curse, because of its patronage of spiritual whoredom, that is because of its worship of images painted, and images graven, and relics, and of the Virgin Mary, and of Saints, and of the vast power it sways to spread and foster those and other evils throughout the whole world. Every bishop in any communion who fosters such sins should be at once deposed and excommunicated, unless he reforms.

Additional Reference on the Oriental Communions :

At this point I ought to state that I should have added as *Reference* 11, on page 25, above, John Mason Neale's *History of the Holy Eastern Church, General Introduction*, volumes 1 and 2, Masters, London, A. D. 1850; *Alexandria*, volumes 1 and 2, Masters, London, 1847; and *Antioch*, (A Posthumous Fragment), edited by Rev. George Williams, B. D., vicar of Ringwood, late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge; Rivingtons, London, etc., 1873. Neale died in 1866. From an advertisement inserted just before the title-page to volume 1 of the *General Introduction*, it appears that he had intended to give a history, not only of the Greek Church proper, but also of the Nestorians, and of the Monophysites, and of the Maronites.

I ought to add that, though able and learned in certain branches, he was, as his own works show, a creature-server, for in Sermons delivered in a Religious House which I once saw, if I recollect aright, he said of the Virgin Mary, "*whom we adore*," and so I infer was an invoker of creatures, and a most inexcusable sort of a creature-server, who as an Anglican had the light and sinned against it, aye, who had so little sense of honor that he stayed in a communion which in its Articles condemned him as a paganizer and used the power which it confided to him to betray its faith and to corrupt its people. And he did much during his comparatively short life to bring on his Church and country woe and sorrow, if his abominable Jeroboam-and-Ahab-like creature-service find extensive lodgment in them. We grieve over the fall of Origen, the most learned Christian of his time; and over the Arian Eusebius of Cæsarea, the Father of Church History, and yet the foe of St. Athanasius and of Orthodoxy; over the image-worship and creature-service of Photius, the ablest Christian scholar of the ninth century; and so must we over the sad perversion into soul-damning creature-service of John Mason Neale.

SECTION II.

AMONG THE NESTORIANS.

REFERENCES.

Badger's *Nestorians and their Rituals*, London, A. D. 1852. The following facts will appear from what follows :

I. ECUMENICAL SYMBOLS.

They use the Symbol of the 318, without all the Constantinopolitan additions.

II. LOCAL CREEDS.

The Nestorians use neither the so-called Apostles', nor the Athanasian.

III. They reject both the *expression*, "*and the Son*," and the *doctrine* of the Latins on that point, and side with the Greeks against both the *interpolation* and the *doctrine* which it contains.

IV. They receive the Ecumenical Synod of Nicæa (19) and speak highly of its Symbol, but whether they receive Constantinople is not clear to me.

V. They reject the Ecumenical Synod of Ephesus and all the world-councils after it with all their Definitions, their Normal Epistles and their other documents. They *must* reject Chalcedon, II. Constantinople and III. Constantinople, because these approved Ephesus, and their decisions are indissolubly linked with it.

All these points are clear from the following references or statements:

Rev. George Percy Badger, one of the Honorable East India Company's chaplains in the Diocese of Bombay, in his work on "*The Nestorians and their Rituals*," London, A. D. 1852, informs us that the Nestorians have only the Creed of Nicæa, seemingly in a peculiar form, but they do not use that of the Second Ecumenical Council. For in collating the belief of the Nestorians with that of the Anglicans as expressed in Article V. of the Thirty-Nine of the Church of England on the Procession of the Holy Ghost, and after quoting the language of the Nicene Creed as used by the Nestorians and an extract from one of their services, he concludes:

"From the above it will be seen that the Nestorians believe the Spirit to proceed from the Father, as do all the churches of the East, agreeably with the Creed drawn up by the Council of Constantinople, A. D. 381; but the doctrine of the Procession is hardly ever adverted to in their rituals in a purely doctrinal form. It is remarkable, how-

(19). See Badger's *Nestorians and their Rituals*, vol. ii., page 354.

ever, that in the so-called Nicene Creed as in use among them, they do not add the doxology, which was subjoined by the Constantinopolitan Council, after the declaration of the Spirit's Procession, though they are well acquainted with it, as will appear in the sequel.

"From these facts it would appear that the Nestorians were never troubled with any of the controversies about this article which took place, especially in the West, after the fifth century. There can be no doubt, however, that, if dogmatically asserted, the confession that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son would by them be considered heterodox, as it was by their Patriarch when I translated to him the Creed as used in our Communion Office. But after quoting the Scriptural (20) authorities on which this truth rests, and upon showing him how positive the inference was that the Procession was also from the Son, his objection to it as a doctrine seemed to be removed, though he did not appear to admit that the Western Church possessed the right of adding the *Filioque* to the Creed of an Ecumenical Council" (21).

Further on in his work, Mr. Badger, in a comparison of the Anglican and Nestorian belief, regarding the doctrines contained in the 39 Articles quotes the Eighth thus:

"The three Creeds, Nicene Creed, Athanasius' Creed, and that which is commonly called the Apostles' Creed, ought thoroughly to be received and believed," etc. He thereupon remarks:

"*The only one of these three Creeds in use among the Nestorians is the Nicene.* This differs from that of the Western Church in its

(20). The learned but creature-worshipping Anglican presbyter, J. M. Neale, Warden of Sackville College, who edited Badger's work; in it, vol. ii., p. 425, note 25, remarks on the above and following statements:

"Had Mr. Badger been more practically acquainted with the *Filioque* controversy, perhaps he might have written this paragraph differently: at all events, whatever single expressions may be quoted here and there from Nestorian Rituals, it is certain that they hold the Single Procession as strongly as any other Eastern Christians: 1. Because the Latin innovation has never been imputed to them by the Orthodox Eastern Church.

2. "Because Theodoret, their great pattern, used it as a *reductio ad absurdum* in his writings against S. Cyril."

In matters pertaining to the Orientals Mr. Neale was a diligent student, though a heretic, and, I have heard from Bishop Young, of Florida, given to drink.

(21). Badger's *Nestorians and their Rituals*, vol. ii., p. 78, 79.

omission of the *Filioque*, and the part added by the Council of Constantinople, as has been observed under Art. V.

"The Creed known as the Athanasian, is found in none of the Nestorian rituals, nor have I heard of its existence in any of their theological writings. The Patriarch, Mar Shimoon, on reading it, said that the only objection against it was the declaration of the Spirit's procession from the Father and the Son, and the sentence '*one altogether, not by confusion of substance, but by unity of person.*'"
* * * The Apostles' Creed is equally unknown to the Nestorians. It is occasionally to be met with in the books printed at Rome for the Chaldæans, [that is for the Romanized Nestorians,] but even these scarcely ever made use of it" (22).

The term "doxology" used of the Constantinopolitan additions in the first passage is incorrect. The language of the second passage is more exact. Still one other remark by Mr. Badger is worthy of note. He quotes the following passage as "*From the Nicene Creed as used in the three Liturgies of the Nestorians.*" "*And I believe in one Holy Ghost, the Spirit of truth, proceeding from the Father,—the life-giving spirit*" (23). But the Nicene Creed, without the Constantinopolitan additions, has only, "*And in the Holy Ghost,*" which expression is immediately followed by the Anathema. And even the Constantinopolitan Symbol reads differently. In the above expression it wholly lacks the words "*one,*" "*the spirit of truth,*" and the term "*spirit*" after "*life-giving,*" (translated "*Giver of life*" in the English Prayer Book,) but it places it before "*proceeding*" ("*proceedeth*" in our version,) "*from the Father.*" According to this representation the Nestorians must have altered or added to the Symbol of the 318 in a way peculiar to themselves, as the Armenians have in a way peculiar to themselves. Still, according to the statements above, they must omit some of the Constantinopolitan additions. It is to be regretted that Badger has not given us the full form.

The Nestorians reject, as has been said, all the Ecumenical Synods except the first two, and all their work, and all their condemnation of Nestorian heresy, notwithstanding the attempts of some to make their difference from Orthodoxy a mere logomachy.

(22). Badger's *Nestorians and their Rituals*, vol. ii., p. 92, 93.

(23.) Id. vol. 2, p. 78.

That they reject Ephesus is clear beyond a doubt :

1. From their siding with Nestorius and his doctrine there condemned by it.
2. One of their Liturgies bears his name.
3. The sect derives its name from him.
4. Mr. Badger has inserted in his work a document which puts into the mouth of the Nestorians the statement, "*The Nestorian Church has hitherto rejected the councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon.*"
5. As will be seen hereafter, they proclaim woes against all who maintain the doctrines of Ephesus which were maintained by Chalcedon also; and against St. Cyril of Alexandria, who was the great promoter of Ephesus.

Blunt, in his *Dictionary of Sects, Heresies, etc.*, under *Nestorians*, states as follows, and quotes from Asseman's *De Catholicis seu Patriarchis Chaldaeorum et Nestorianorum Commentarius*, 1775, pref. xliv., what is below translated by me :

"It need hardly be said that the Nestorians repudiate the Councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon. Timotheus, their Patriarch, in a national synod [A. D. 786, confirmed A. D. 804], pronounced [I translate the Latin] the Synod of Ephesus and that of Chalcedon anathematized, because they taught that two Persons had become united in one."

Mr. Badger, however, states:

"It is to me a matter of great surprise that the Nestorian rituals contain no formal condemnation of the Council of Ephesus. The excommunication of Nestorius is frequently referred to and censured, but no mention whatever is made of the Council which expelled him from the Church" (24). Nevertheless in a note on the same page as the last part of this sentence he gives us Nestorian authority for rejecting this council by name (25): moreover he himself gives us the following extracts from one of their services:

1. "Woe, and woe again, to all who say that Mary is the Mother of God" (26). The Council of Ephesus did not say that Mary

(24). Badger's *Nestorians and their Rituals*, vol. 2, p. 126.

(25). Ibid. (26). Id., vol. ii., p. 80.

was ἡ μή-τηρ τοῦ θεοῦ "*the Mother of God*," but θεοτόκος, "*Bringer Forth of God*." But nevertheless this denunciation is plainly leveled at that term. What it is in Syriac Mr. Badger does not state.

2. "Woe, and woe again to all who do not confess in Christ two Natures, *Two Persons* and one Parsopa or Filiation" (27). This doctrine of "*Two Persons*" is pointedly condemned by both Ephesus and Chalcedon.

3. "Woe, and woe again, to the wicked Cyril" (28). This Cyril was the soul of the Orthodoxy of Ephesus, and is commemorated and lauded by Chalcedon. A chief business of Ephesus was the condemnation of Nestorius' misinterpretation of the Ecumenical Symbol of Nicæa contained in a letter which he wrote to Cyril, and the approval for all time of Cyril's letter to Nestorius as a correct interpretation of the same Symbol. It also approved St. Cyril's letter which has the XII. famous Chapters.

Moreover, at Chalcedon, a main part of the business done was to make a letter of Cyril to John of Antioch a Norm of Definition on the Ecumenical Symbol. And Chalcedon approved all that was done at Ephesus.

All these facts prove incontestibly that the Nestorians proclaim woes against all who hold to the doctrine of the Ecumenical Councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon, and to the blessed defender of God's saving truth, St. Cyril of Alexandria, who presided at Ephesus. Consequently the Nestorians must reject the Normal Epistle of Cyril to Nestorius, approved and adopted as a Norm of Interpretation on the Ecumenical Symbol of Nicæa at Ephesus, and the Normal Epistle of Cyril to John of Antioch and the Normal Epistle of Leo I. to Flavian, both of which were approved and adopted as Norms of Interpretation on the same Symbol at Chalcedon. They also reject Cyril's letter which has the XII. Chapters.

The question now recurs as to their reception of the second Ecumenical Council, the First of Constantinople, and their use of the addition to the Nicene Creed made in it.

The facts on which to base an opinion are as follows:

1. Rev. Mr. Badger nowhere asserts that they receive it.

(27). Badger's *Nestorians and their Rituals*, vol. 2, p. 126.

(28). Badger's *Nestorians and their Rituals*, vol. ii., p. 80. Compare id., vol. ii., p. 398, 399.

2. He informs us that they do not use the additions to the Nicene Creed put forth at Constantinople (29), which they would if they received that Council as Ecumenical.

3. We have seen no mention in their documents as given by Mr. Badger, of their receiving that Council.

They do seem, however, to admit the part of the Constantinopolitan additions which relates to the Holy Ghost or something like it, though whether they ascribe it to the Council of Constantinople, is not clear. See Badger's work, vol. ii., p. 78, 79, 80, where is found, the following extract from the Sinhadòs "On the faith of the 318, with a short exposition by the Synod convened by Mar Yeshua-Yau:"

"When they had finished their deliberations on the Divinity and Humanity of Christ they condemned the impiety of Macedonius, who blasphemed the Holy Spirit, and they declared thus:

"And in one Holy Ghost, the life-giving Lord, proceeding from the Father, who with the Son is worshiped, who spake by the prophets.

"Hereby the Fathers by their heavenly doctrine, magnified the Person of the Holy Spirit, and confessed that he is the Offspring of the Self Existant," etc.

But Abd Yeshua, Nestorian Metropolitan of Nisibis and Armenia, A. D. 1298, catalogues among "the Synods of the Westerns, that of Nice, of Byzantium, of Gangra, the false one of Ephesus," [whether by this is meant the Ecumenical of A. D. 431, or the Robbers' Synod of A. D. 449, is not clear, though the Nestorians reject both], "that of Chalcedon, of Antioch, and the———of the Greek Emperors" (30).

On this passage Mr. Badger remarks:

"The meaning of the original is somewhat obscure in this passage, but I conceive the writer to signify that the Nestorians *possess* the Acts of these Councils" (31). I have underscored "*possess*." The Nestorians may *possess* these Synods but they cannot *receive* them all, for Mr. Badger himself quotes a document which with refer-

(29). Badger's *Nestorians and their Rituals*, vol. ii., p. 92.

(30). Badger's *Nestorians and their Rituals*, vol. ii., p. 378.

(31). Id., vol. ii., p. 378, note.

ence to "the Councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon," states that "the Nestorian Church has hitherto rejected them" (32). And that they reject Ephesus is beyond a doubt clear from what is said above. They do however receive Nice. It seems clear therefore that Mar Abd Yeshua included in his Catalogue of Western Synods what his sect receive and what they reject. So that the mere fact that Byzantium is mentioned in it is not of itself sufficient proof either that they reject or receive the Second Ecumenical Council. After giving this statement of Western Synods he adds: "And we [the Nestorians] possess the *Eastern* Synods of Ishak, of Barsoma, of Mar Awa," etc., among which however Nicæa is not found. So that it is clear that Mar Abd Yeshua in this work was simply giving a historical statement of what Synods were Western, and what were Eastern, in his sense of the terms Western and Eastern, for, among those of the Westerns he included Nicæa which he received, and Ephesus and Chalcedon which he rejected. And, moreover, it is noticeable that Mar Abd Yeshua, informs us plainly that his co-religionists "*possess*" the Eastern Synods, while he is silent as to the question of their possessing or not possessing the Acts of any of the Western Synods, as Byzantium, for instance, although Mr. Badger was led merely to "conceive" that they do. So that from all the information given by Badger we are uncertain whether the Nestorians receive I. Constantinople or not. And yet it is not improbable that they receive it. Still the facts are not sufficiently definite to justify the positive assertion that they do, or do not.

The Nestorians, who have some good traits, for they are said not to believe in Transubstantiation and not to be so deeply sunk in Image-Worship as the Greeks and the Monophysites, should examine Ephesus and the three other Ecumenical Synods which they reject, and they will, if impartial and unprejudiced, see their own errors and will receive those four Councils, and give up all the errors condemned by them and will lay aside their cross-worship and their invocation of creatures and all their other heresies, and be one with Christ and his church again. Their position now is a lamentable one, for they maintain the cause of justly condemned creature-servers, that is of Nestorius, Theodore of Mopsuestia, and Diodore of

(32). *Id.*, vol. ii., p. 354.

Tarsus, leaders in the errors of relative-worship of creatures, and of denial of the Incarnation.

From what I have seen, I judge that they are given still to relative-worship, and to the Nestorian Consubstantiation and the worship of the elements in the Eucharist which Theodoret maintained, and which St. Cyril of Alexandria in effect opposed, and to the Nestorian man-eating (*ἀνθρωποφαγία*) which St. Cyril condemned, as did Ephesus also, in effect.

AMONG THE MONOPHYSITE HERETICS.

REFERENCES.

1. Ludolfi *Historia Æthiopica*.
2. Wilson's *Lands of the Bible*.

SECTION 3.

AMONG THE COPTS AND ABYSSINIANS.

REFERENCES.

In Ludolfi *Historia Æthiopica*, we find the statements that the Abyssinians who are Monophysites,

1. Do not use the Apostles' Creed, nor do they know of it (33).
2. They use the Nicene or Constantinopolitan in a peculiar form, as follows:

"We believe in one God the Lord, the Best, the Greatest, the Father Almighty, Maker of Heaven and earth, who sees [all things,] and can not be seen.

"And we believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, the only Son of the

(33). Ludolfi *Historia Æthiopica*, tom. i., lib. iii., cap. 5, sect. 19. *Symbolo Fidei Catholicæ Nicæno communiter utuntur, idque * * Orationem Fidei vocant. Illo quo nos utimur uti caeteri Orientales carent; haud levi indicio, Apostolos illius autores non esse, quamvis doctrinæ ratione apostolicum recte vocetur. In the Commentaries on the above in the same work, tom. ii., p. 352, Ludolf writing, "De Symbolo Fidei quo Habesseni utuntur," remarks: "Diximus in Historia nostra," [He means as above], "Æthiopes ignorare Symbolum Apostolicum quo nos utimur, et pro eo adhibere Symbolum Nicænum, vel potius Constantinopolitanum. Quamvis hoc ipsum symbolum communiter Nicænum vocetur. The German form of Ludolf's name as given on the title page is Leutholf.*

Father, existing with Him before the world was created, Light which is out of Light, God out of very God, who was born, not made, who is equal to the Father so far as his divinity is concerned, through whom all things were made, but without whom was nothing made either in heaven or in earth; who for us men and for our salvation came down from heaven, and was made man [or "*took flesh?*"] of the Holy Ghost and out of Mary the Holy Virgin: he put on a man, and was crucified in the days of Pontius Pilate; suffered, died and was buried, and rose from the dead on the third day, as it is written in the Holy Scripture: He ascended with glory into heaven and sitteth at the right hand of his Father: he will come again in glory to judge the living and the dead, and of his Kingdom there will be no end.

"And we believe in the Holy Ghost, the lifegiving Lord, who proceedeth from the Father: We worship him; we glorify him with the Father and the Son: He spake through the prophets.

"And we believe in one holy apostolic Church which is above all congregations.

"And we believe in one Baptism for the remission of sins, and we hope for the resurrection of the dead, and the life which is to come forever, Amen." (34).

(34). Ludolf *Historia Æthiopica*, t. ii., p. 352, gives it as found in "*the General Ethiopic Liturgy*" with the following parallel Latin translation:

"Credimus in unum Deum Dominum, Optimum, Maximum, Patrem Omnipotentem, Factorem cœli et terræ; qui videt [omnia] et non videri potest. (a).

"Et credimus in unum Dominum Jesum Christum Filium Patris unicum existentem cum eo antequam crearetur mundus: Lumen quod ex Lumine: Deum ex Deo vero. Qui genitus est, non factus: qui æqualis est Patri in divinitate: Per quem omnia facta sunt, sine eo vero nihil quidquam factum est, neque in cœlo neque in terra. Qui propter nos homines et propter salutem nostram descendit de cœlis: et homo factus est a Spiritu Sancto et ex Maria Sancta Virgine. In virum evasit. Et crucifixus fuit in diebus Pilati Pontii; passus, mortuus, et sepultus fuit; et resurrexit a mortuis tertio die, sicut scriptum est in Scriptura Sacra. Ascendit cum gloria in cœlis: et sedit ad dextram Patris sui. Rursus veniet in gloria ad judicandum vivos et mortuos, et non erit finis regno ejus.

"Et credimus in Spiritum Sanctum, Dominum vivificantem, qui processit a

(a). Ludolf, *Historia Æthiopica*, tom. ii., p. 352, remarks on this in a note: "Sic incongrue reddiderunt πάντων ὁπατῶν τε καὶ ἀοπατῶν."

• 3. They receive the first three Ecumenical Synods, namely Nicæa, I. Constantinople, and Ephesus. (35).

4. They condemn Eutyches but reject the Ecumenical Council of Chalcedon, and, we judge, all the Ecumenical Synods after it. They condemn Pope Leo I., and laud Dioscorus, and deem Chalcedon to have decided heretically. (36).

5. They do not admit the words "*and the Son*" interpolated into the Ecumenical Symbol of Constantinople and on the *doctrine* signified by those words side with the Greeks against the Latins. (37)

6. Ludolf says nothing of their using the Athanasian Creed. So far as we have examined him we find no allusion to it in his work. I infer that they do not use it for the following reasons:

Patre. (b). Adlaramus eum, glorificamus eum cum Patre et Filio; qui locutus est per Prophetas.

Et credimus in unam sanctam Ecclesiam Apostolicam, quae super omnes congregationes est. (c).

Et Credimus in unum baptismum ad remissionem peccatorum et speramus resurrectionem mortuorum et vitam quae veniet in aeternum. Amen."

(35). Ludolf's *Historia Æthiopica*, t. i., lib. iii., cap. 4, mentions a work called "*The Synod*," or "*Synodal Book*" which contains the Apostolic Constitutions and Canons. He adds: Post hunc librum, occupant tria Concilia Ecumenica, Nicænum, Constantinopolitanum, et Ephesium, cum nonnullis provincialibus, quae usque ad Schisma Chalcedonense in Ecclesia habita fuerunt: compare id., lib. iii., cap. 5, sect. 18.

(36). Id., t. i., lib. iii., cap. 8, and id., t. ii., p. 354. They anathematize Chalcedon and all who hold to it: compare id., t. ii., p. 463, where language of the strongest and most abusive kind is used against it and Leo I. of Rome and his doctrines in regard to the Natures and operations in Christ. They differ from Eutyches, according to Ludolf, in the following respect: He asserted but one Nature in Christ as do they, but he asserted a confusion of the Natures which they deny. They follow the sentiment that there is no confusion or commixture of Natures. See id., t. ii., p. 462.

(37). Ludolfi *Historia Æthiopica*, tom. i., cap. 5, sect. 29, and tom. ii., p. 352.

(b). Ludolf adds in brackets [et Filio], but in a note on the same page remarks: Hoc Romæ insertum et adscititium est, non enim reperitur in codicibus Æthiopicis Mss., nec in Græcis. I have therefore thrown it into this note. Compare id., ii., lib. iii., cap. iv., sect. 36, where he remarks of a certain codex of the Ethiopic Liturgy at Rome: "Impressae extant in codice Romano Novi Testamenti, ante Epistolas Paulinas, sed *interpolatae*; ibi enim de Spiritu Sancto legitur * * * '*qui procedit a Patre et Filio*;' quod posterius tamen Æthiopes cum Græcis non admittunt.

(c). On this Ludolfi, *Historia Æthiopica*, tom. ii., p. 353, note "q", remarks: Sic Satis incommode reddunt Græca καθολικὴν καὶ ἀποστολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν.

1. It is now admitted among the learned that it is not the production of Athanasius, but of some Western.

2. The Armenians, the cöreligionists of the Abyssinians, do not use it in their Church services: Nor am I aware that up to this time the so-called Athanasian has acquired a position in the regular authorized church services of any Eastern communion. I have never found it except in a mere popular prayer book (Orthodox Greek) for the private use of the masses.

The Monophysite heresy has produced out of its own absurdity a perfect swarm of disputes. One of the latest is that on the natiivities of Christ. See the article "*Abyssinnian Church*" in Herzog's Theol. and Eccl. Encyclopedia, and late works on that country. Probably in time these disorders and rows will produce a reaction among the more intelligent in favor of Chalcedon and its orthodoxy. God grant it, to the doing away of all error and the acknowledgement of all truth, that those who are astray may be gathered into the fold of the saved again, and that the Copts, the Abyssinians, the Armenians and the Syrians may remove the wall of separation which they have raised between themselves and that Universal Church which would gladly help them drive the Mohammedan from their territories, and give them their own lands in which so many of them are as strangers, and make them free. As things are now and have always been, the fault is theirs and not the Church's. For inasmuch as they worship the humanity of Christ as God they are creature-servers.

The Ethiopic as well as the Greek Church is guilty of the idolatry of worshipping the elements of the Eucharist on two occasions, that is before their consecration and after it. Alas! That is Nestorian error on that rite condemned, in effect, both by St. Cyril, of Alexandria, and by the Third Ecumenical Council. May they heed the Synod and reform! The paganizer, Neale, page 495 of the *General Introduction* to his *Eastern Church*, shows that the Ethiopic and Greek communions are guilty of those sins.

On page 509, id., Neale states that the Jacobite Sixtus Liturgy prays for the Venerators of St. Mary." Their Mariolatry and that of the Abyssinians is probably about as bad as that of the Greeks or of the Latins.

SECTION 4.

AMONG THE ARMENIANS.

REFERENCES.

1. *Histoire, Dogmes, Traditions et Liturgie de l'Église Arménienne, Orientale* * * * ouvrage traduit du Russe et de l'arménien par M. Edouard Dulaurier troisième édition corrigée et augmentée, Durand, Paris, A. D. 1859. This work I judge to be from an Armenian source. It is remarkable as denying the Monophysitism charged against the Armenians (38).

2. *Researches of Smith and Dwight in Armenia*. Boston, A. D. 1833. Both of these gentlemen were in the service of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.

3. Rev. Dr. John Wilson's *Lands of the Bible*, Edinburgh, 1847, vol. ii, p. 479 and following.

1. The Monophysite Armenians receive the first three Ecumenical Synods, but reject Chalcedon, and consequently all after it. They must therefore admit the Symbol of the 318 and that of the 150, and the two Normal Epistles of Cyril of Alexandria to Nestorius which were approved by Ephesus: and they must reject the Norms put forth at Chalcedon, namely the Normal Epistle of Cyril of Alexandria to John of Antioch; that of Leo I. of Rome to Flavian of Constantinople, and the definition of that World-Synod, and they anathematize all the councils after the first three Ecumenical. They deem Pope Leo I. a heretic.

The following bearing on this matter is found in Smith and Dwight's *Researches in Armenia*, vol. ii, p. 275: "One of the var. tabéds here" [the Monophysite Armenian Convent at Uch-Keleeseh] seemed much better informed than the rest, and as we were conversing upon various topics, he introduced of his own accord the Monophysitism of his Church, by declaring that *it receives only the first three of the General Councils*. Nestorius, he said, held to a perfect separation of the divinity and humanity of Christ, and Eutyches taught that his humanity is absorbed in his divinity; the Armenians, agreeing with neither, believe that the two Natures are united in one, and anathematize all who hold to a different creed. In this he spoke advisedly,

(38). See *id.*, *Introduction and Première Partie*.

for it is well known that Eutyches is acknowledged by neither of the three Monophysite sects, the Armenian, the Jacobite Syrian, and the Coptic, including the Abyssinian, to which his controversy gave birth, and that his alleged dogma of a confusion in the natures of Christ is the reason of his rejection. * * * Another intelligent ecclesiastic had told us, that not only does his nation hold to one Nature, but also *to only one will in Christ*, thus making the Armenians partake in the Monothelite as well as in the Monophysite heresy. (39) We inquired of the vartabéd if his sect does not believe that Christ was perfect God, and perfect man, and were assured that it does. Here too he had good authority, for the Armenian Church believes and explains, as fully as any other, these two important points. When asked, also, if the divine Nature was so united to the human, as to suffer with it on the cross, he replied that it was impossible for the Divinity to suffer. But in this, though his Church would agree with his explanation, he seemed at least to contradict her formularies; for Peter the Fuller's famous addition to the *Trisagion* is still retained in them, and had been mentioned to us by another ecclesiastic, as one of the points of difference between the Armenians and the Papists." The addition consists of the words italicised and put in brackets below: O Holy God, Holy Strong and Holy Immortal, [*who wast crucified for us*], have mercy upon us."

Dr. Wilson (40) remarks: "The following extract of replies given by an Armenian bishop at Basrah to Dr. Wolff, throws light on their ecclesiastical position and tenets:

"*Q.* What relations have the Armenians to the Coptic and Syrian Churches?

"*Ans.* The Armenians have the same faith and tenets as they have.

"*Q.* What persons are by them considered as heretics?

"*Ans.* Macedonius, Nestorius, Arius and Pope Leo.

"*Q.* On what authority does the Armenian belief rest?

"*Ans.* The Bible and the three first Councils—I. Nicæa; 2. Constantinople; 3. Ephesus. Every other Council is anathematized by them."

(39). In his *Lands of the Bible*, vol. ii., page 484.

(40) In a note on the same page it is added: "Compare *Assem. Bib. Orient.*, vol. 3, p. 607."

The author of the work entitled *Histoire, Dogmes, Traditions et Liturgie de l' Église Arménienne, Première Partie*, endeavors to make out a case in favor of the Orthodoxy of the Armenians, and insists that they agree, so far as doctrinal belief is concerned, with the Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, Ecumenical Councils, and the (so-called) Seventh though he admits that they rejected Chalcedon and the Normal Epistle of Pope Leo I., which it approved, through ignorance of what that Council really taught and approved.

But it is far from clear that they have at any time *formally* received the Ecumenical Synods after Ephesus, though it is true that they agree with some of their decisions, as, for instance, with the image (picture) worship sanctioned at the so-called Ecumenical Council of Nicæa, A. D. 787. Still, as each of the Councils after Chalcedon approved it, and all the Councils before itself, and as the Armenians have never received Chalcedon, nor the Fifth Ecumenical Synod, or the Sixth, at least never in *all* respects, they can not be said to have received even the substance of *all* their decisions and canons, however true it may be that they receive them *in part*. For the man who becomes an eclectic and rejects any part of the decisions of any of the Six Synods on the Two Creeds, or on either of them, or who rejects any one of their canons, provided it has been received by the whole Church, East and West, in reality rejects what has *Ecumenical authority*, and can not be said to receive them *fully*. There is no place for eclecticism here. The universal Church must be heard in all her Orthodox utterances in the First Six Ecumenical Councils, for if we reject one part we may another, and so the whole. Or one man may reject one part, another another, a third another, and so on, until anarchy will be the result. The only cause sufficient to reject the decision of the Universal Church is creature-worship, or some other deadly sin, such as the ancient Israelitish and Jewish Church was guilty of, and such as the so-called Seventh Ecumenical Council was guilty of. In that case, to receive the voice of an erring Council deciding contrary to and against Holy Scripture and earlier Catholic Tradition, is to disobey God. But the Armenians have rejected three Ecumenical Synods, namely, the Fourth, Fifth and the Sixth, without any such cause. Nor do they *formally* receive them as yet. It can hardly be said, therefore, whatever may be true of a part of them, that as a church, they are

quite clear from the imputation of Monophysitism, or that their orthodoxy is indisputable at present.

Even the Armenian Council of Roum-Kalé, held to effect a union with the Greek Church, A. D. 1179, was not clear in favor of the seven Synods received by the Greek Church as Ecumenical. The account, as given in this *Histoire, Dogmes, etc., de l'Église Arménienne*, shows this: (41).

For, according to their own account, they refused the demand of the Greeks to accept formally and by name the Fourth Ecumenical Synod, and passed in silence over the Fifth, Sixth, and the idolatrous so-called Seventh, and that notwithstanding all the efforts of the Greeks to bring them to a formal and clear acceptance of them.

Besides, they clung firmly, 1. To the use in the Trisagion of the Words addressed to Christ, "*Who wast crucified for us;*" which the Greeks thought savored of a belief that the Divinity of Christ suffered on the cross.

2. To their custom of celebrating the Eucharist in wine unmixed with water, and in unleavened wafers (*ἄζυμα*), instead of the leavened bread (*ἄπρος*) of the New Testament: and

3. To the celebration of Christ's birth in the flesh on the sixth day of January.

On point 2, they certainly differed from all Christian Antiquity, for, as Bingham shows, it used the mixed cup, and *ἄπρος*, that is, *leavened* bread.

(41). *Histoire, Dogmes, Traditions et Liturgie de l'Église Arménienne Orientale* * * * ouvrage traduit du russe et de l'arménien par M. Édouard Dulaurier, Paris, Durand, 1859, page 51; where we find an account from the Armenian standpoint as to what the Armenian prelates did in their Council of Roum-Kalé. There is throughout an evident desire on the part of the Armenian writer to go as far as he can, consistently with his attachment to his own communion, to please the Russians of the Greek Church, for the work is in Russian as well as in Armenian. I quote from this page 51 of the French translation of it: "Le concile de Roum-Kalé dressa un acte de toutes ces conditions," [that is, to unite their Communion to the Greek] "et les confirma après les avoir trouvées orthodoxes. Cet acte fut signé par tous les évêques, et envoyé à l'empereur Manuel et au patriarche de Constantinople, Théodose, successeur de Michel. Les évêques, dans la relation du concile, commencent par un long exposé dogmatique, d'après le patriarche saint Nersès Schnorhali; ils mentionnent les évêques qui ont assisté, au nom de l'Église arménienne, aux trois premiers conciles œcuméniques, et aux sixième et septième; reconnais-

As to point 1, if the Armenians held plainly and expressly to the Two Natures of Christ, the words "*who wast crucified for us*," might be taken in a perfectly Orthodox sense, according to St. Cyril of Alexandria's doctrine of Economic Appropriation, approved in the Third Ecumenical Council when they received Cyril's two letters which contain it, and which are addressed to Nestorius; the more so,

sent solennellement les trois premiers conciles, en acceptant les décrets, et passent sous silence les cinquième, sixième et septième. Dans cet écrit, ils prononcent anathème contre Arius, Macédonius, Nestorius et Eutychès, tout en s'abstenant cependant de dire qu'ils reconnaissent le concile de Chalcédoine, qui avait condamné Eutychès." At this point the shoe pinched badly. Chalcedon was the stumbling block. As to the matter of their condemning Eutyches, this proves nothing as to their Orthodoxy; for other Monophysites do the same.

The same work, page 26, has the following regarding their reception of I. Constantinople and Ephesus :

"Saint Nersès I^{er} fut le premier évêque d'Edchmiadzîn qui prit le titre de patriarche et de catholicos de toute l'Arménie. En 381 il assista au deuxième concile œcuménique, premier de Constantinople. Il porta la parole dans les différentes sessions de cette assemblée, et accepta, au nom de son Eglise, tous les décrets qu'elle rendit.

"Quand le troisième concile œcuménique, celui d'Ephèse, se réunit, en 431, pour condamner les erreurs de Nestorius, l'empereur Théodose II. engagea le patriarche d'Arménie, saint Sahag, à venir y assister. L'Arménie étant alors en guerre avec les Perses, le patriarche ne put déférer à cette invitation. En butte aux persécutions du roi de Perse, Azguerd (Yezdedjerd II.), il fut enfermé dans une prison; mais le patriarche de Constantinople, Maximien, et les évêques Proclus de Cyzique, qui succéda un peu plus tard à Maximien, et Acace de Mélitène, envoyèrent à saint Sahag, par ses disciples Léon, Jean, Joseph et Gorioun, qui se trouvaient à Constantinople, les décisions du concile d'Ephèse, et communication de l'anathème lancé contre Nestorius.

"Saint Sahag, rendu à la liberté, convoqua, en 432, les évêques arméniens, et leur fit part de la lettre du patriarche grec; il leur expliqua le but du concile d'Ephèse, adopta de concert avec eux, ses décisions, et prononça, au nom de l'Eglise d'Arménie, l'anathème contre Nestorius, Théodore de Mopsueste et Diodore de Tarse. Saint Sahag envoya les actes de cette assemblée au patriarche de Constantinople Proclus, afin de lui prouver que les Arméniens, n'ayant pu à cause des troubles auxquels était livré leur pays, être présents au concile d'Ephèse, acquiesçaient aux doctrines de cette sainte assemblée. Il lui adressa aussi une exposition des dogmes de l'Eglise arménienne, que Proclus trouva Orthodoxe et en tout conforme à celle des Grecs. La copie de la lettre de Proclus au catholicos arménien saint Sahag a été publiée en grec et en latin par Mansi, t. v. de sa *Collection des Conciles*. Celle de saint Sahag à Proclus, qui fut lue au cinquième concile œcuménique, le deuxième de Constantinople, est rapportée dans le même ouvrage de Mansi, t. IX.

as the above work on the Armenian Church, page 43, shows that it uses similar language of God the Word which implies the doctrine of the Economic Appropriation. According to that doctrine, Cyril teaches that though God the Word is incapable of suffering, yet it is lawful to attribute *Economically* only, the sufferings of his humanity to God the Word, in order to teach men to look to the infinitely superior Nature of his Two, that they may not fall into the error of worshipping a mere Man, which of course would be *Man-Worship*, that is, *Creature-Worship*. No man can understand Cyril unless he has read his two Epistles to Nestorius, which were approved at Ephesus, and his writings in defence of his XII. Chapters.

I have thus written with reference to the statement on page 43 of this work on the *Histoire, Dogmes, Traditions et Liturgy de l'Église Arménienne Orientale*, that the Armenians offer that hymn not to the whole Trinity, but to the Son alone.

But at the same time it must be remembered that the Greeks hold that the Trisagion is offered to the Trinity, and not to the Son alone. Hence they, of course, must reject the Armenian form of it as abominable, because in that Greek sense it teaches Theopaschitism, that is, that the whole Trinity was crucified and suffered. Thus a note on page 140 of the Greek Church work called *Ἐρὰ Κατήχησις* of Nicholas Bulgaris, published at Constantinople in 1861, gives the Trisagion in the form in use among them as follows:

“Holy God,” (which it explains to mean the Father), “Holy Mighty,” (which it explains to mean the Son), “Holy Immortal,” (which it explains to mean the Holy Ghost), “have mercy on us.”

That note alleges that that short hymn was given by miracle in the time of Proclus, who was Bishop of Constantinople, A. D. 434 to about 446, to confute those who asserted that the Divinity of God the Word suffered on the cross, and who with that view had added the words “*who wast crucified for us*,” to the Trisagion.

The Armenians use precisely that form. For the above quoted *Histoire, etc.*, states in effect on page 43, that it is said among them as follows, “Holy God, Holy Mighty, Holy Immortal, *who wast crucified for us*, have mercy upon us.”

Gibbon in chapter xlvii. of his *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, tells how the populace of Constantinople resisted the addi-

tion of the words "*who wast crucified for us*," and the notion that the Trinity was crucified or suffered.

Some, according to Bingham, (*Antiquities*, book xiv. chapter 2, section 3,) to avoid any possible confession that the whole Trinity suffered, used another form, as follows:

"Holy God, Holy Mighty, Holy Immortal, Christ our King, that wast crucified for us, have mercy upon us." This *might be* taken as in accord with the Orthodox doctrine of the Economic Appropriation.

But it is admitted that the expression "*who wast crucified for us*" was introduced by Monophysites, that is by the Emperor Anastasius I., or by the heresiarch, Peter the Fuller, (42), and with the intent to express their heretical doctrine, and as there is no need of it, as the Trisagion in the original form is complete without it, it is altogether advisable to use that original form without any of the Monophysite additions. Happily, as in the West we do not use the Greek form of the Trisagion, we have been free from the quarrels about it, which have worried the East.

I would say, however, that even in the original, that is, the Greek form, its language is so thoroughly indefinite that it may be used as an address to the Trinity, as in the Greek note in the *Ἱερὰ Κυριότητα* above mentioned, and in John of Damascus as quoted by Bingham just above; or as a prayer to the Son alone.

The 4th point should present no difficulty, for the whole Oriental Church were ignorant that Christ was born on the 25th of December till the latter part of the fourth century. Hence Epiphanius, Basil, Gregory of Nazianzus and others apply the term *Epiphany* to what we call *Christmas*. See in proof in Sophocles' *Greek Lexicon*, under *ἐπιφάνιος* and *θεοφάνια*, and still more fully in his *Glossary of Later and Byzantine Greek* under *ἐπιφάνια*.

The cause of the difference on that topic between the Greeks and the Armenians is that the former in the fourth century adopted the Western custom of keeping the anniversary of Christ's birth on the 25th day of December, whereas the Armenians for some reason or other, retain the older local custom of the Orient. On that point, for the sake of peace and uniformity on a non-dogmatic and trifling

(42). *Bingham's Antiq.*, xiv. 2, sect. 3.

atter, the Armenians had better follow what is now the almost universal custom. They can do so on the ground, as do many in the West, that whether the 25th of December be the exact day or not of Christ's birth in flesh, such a blessed event is worthy of being celebrated on some day, and as the Christian world celebrates it on that day it is well for the event's sake and for peace sake to keep it then. But they should anathematize the idolatrous conventicle of Nicæa, A. D. 787, and on the other hand formally receive the Fourth Ecumenical Council and the Fifth and the Sixth. For now they do in fact reject certain parts of them, and of their doctrines, and so class themselves with heretics of the Monophysite stripe, however much they may disclaim the imputation of heresy.

In 1869 an Armenian prelate in Constantinople or one of its suburbs told me in effect that they received the *doctrines* of either six or seven Ecumenical Synods, I forget which ; but he did not say that they received the Six Ecumenical Synods ; so that it is clear that they do not in all things receive their doctrines: for they are incomparable from the Synods themselves.

In 1878 I met on a French steamship in the Mediterranean, the Armenian Bishop of the See, if I remember rightly, of Moush. I asked him if they held to the Two Natures of Christ, or are Monophysites. He replied that they are not Monophysites, but hold to Two natures. A gentleman present who acted as interpreter, Mr. Rasm, who was born in the East of Nestorian or Chaldean ancestry, contradicted the Bishop and insisted that the Armenians are Monophysites. But the Bishop insisted that they are not. At this point our conversation ceased, so that the Bishop did not further explain his position.

Furthermore, a Protestant Armenian friend, whose father was an Armenian priest, told me on that matter that some members of the National Armenian Church are Monophysites, while others are not, and that Monophysitism is a mere private opinion among them, not that of the Armenian Church.

On the other hand Archbishop Megherditch, who is now in communion with the Church of England, told me in 1878 that the Armenian National Church is Monophysite.

I would say, however, that I was informed that divergencies

exist among them, and that discipline is not so vigorously enforced among them as it is among the Greeks, which may account for the differences on that point and on image worship.

But II., they do not recite the Nicæan or the Constantinopolitan Symbol in the exact and Ecumenically authorized form, but in a form which is peculiar, and which contains several additions.

The Researches of Smith and Dwight show what this is. One of them writes as follows :

“ Bishop Dionysius assures me that the Armenians do not use either the Apostles’ or the Athanasian Creed in their church services. The following is a literal translation of their version of the Nicene Creed :

“ ‘ We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, the Creator of heaven and earth, of things visible and invisible :

“ ‘ And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God; of God the Father, *i. e.*, of the Father’s substance, the only begotten; God of God; Light of Light; very God of very God; begotten, not created; consubstantial with the Father; by whom was created everything in heaven and in earth, visible and invisible; who for us men, and for our salvation, descending from heaven, became incarnate, was made man, was perfectly born of the Holy Virgin Mary by the Holy Ghost; whereby he received body, spirit and mind, and whatever is in man, really and not in imagination. He suffered, was crucified, and buried; and on the third day he arose; and with that same body ascended to heaven; and sat down on the right hand of the Father: with that same body and the Father’s glory, he shall come to judge both the quick and the dead; whose kingdom shall have no end.

“ ‘ And we believe in the Holy Ghost, the uncreated, the perfect; who spake in the law, the prophets, and the Gospels; who descended at Jordan, preached of him that is sent, and dwelt in the Saints.

“ ‘ And we believe in one only Catholic and Apostolic Church: In one baptism for repentance, forgiveness and remission of sins In the resurrection of the dead, and the eternal judgment to soul and body: In the kingdom of heaven, and the life everlasting.’ See Jamakirk.” (43).

(43). *Researches of Smith and Dwight in Armenia*, vol. 2, p. 98, note.

This is not the whole. The only Liturgy in use among the Monophysite Armenians adds :

“Those who say that there was a time when the Son was not, and that there was a time when the Holy Ghost was not, or that they have been created out of nothing, or that the Son of God and the Holy Ghost are of a different essence, or, further, that they are subject to change or to alteration, those are excommunicated by the Catholic and Apostolic Church.” (44).

As to “Jamakirk” above mentioned we find it explained, as “the Jamakirk (“Church book”), which contains the nine services at certain hours, which are to be said daily. See Smith and Dwight’s *Researches*, vol. i., p. 181, note. They seem to be the Canonical Hours of the Armenians.

(44). In the *Histoire, Dogmes, Traditions et Liturgie de l’Eglise Arménienne Orientale*, * * * ouvrage traduit du Russe et de l’Armenian par M. Edouard Dulaurier, Paris, A. D. 1859, which is an account of the Monophysite Armenians, this Creed with a rubric preceding is thus given, as in the Liturgy, page 132 :

“L’archidiacre, aussitôt après avoir lu l’Evangile, s’approche de l’autel, à la droite du prêtre, et, élevant l’Evangile au-dessus de sa tête, récite le symbole de Nicée :

“Nous croyons en un seul Dieu, Père tout-puissant, Créateur du ciel et de la terre, des choses visibles et invisibles ; et en un seul Seigneur, Jésus Christ, Fils unique de Dieu, né de Dieu le Père, avant tous les siècles ; Dieu de Dieu, lumière de lumière, vrai Dieu de vrai Dieu, engendré, non créé, consubstantiel au Père, par qui ont été faites toutes choses dans le ciel et sur la terre, visibles et invisibles ; lequel, pour nous autres hommes et pour notre salut, étant descendu du ciel, s’est incarné et fait homme, est né de la très-sainte Vierge Marie par l’opération du Saint-Esprit, a pris d’elle corps, âme et esprit, et tout ce qui est dans l’homme, en réalité et non figurativement ; qui a souffert, a été crucifié et enlevé, et est ressuscité le troisième jour ; est monté avec le même corps au ciel, où il est assis à la droite du Père, d’où il viendra avec le même corps, dans la gloire du Père, pour juger les vivants et les morts ; et dont le règne n’aura pas de fin. Nous croyons aussi au Saint-Esprit, incréé, souverainement parfait, qui a parlé dans la loi par les prophètes et dans les Evangiles ; qui est descendu au Jourdain et a annoncé l’Envoyé (le Christ) et a habité dans les saints.

“Nous croyons aussi en une seule Eglise universelle, sainte et apostolique, à un baptême, à la pénitence pour l’expiation et le pardon des péchés, à la résurrection des morts, à l’éternel jugement des âmes et des corps, au royaume des cieux et à la vie éternelle.

“Ceux qui disent qu’il y a eu un temps où le Fils n’existait pas, et qu’il y a eu un temps où l’Esprit-Saint n’existait pas, ou bien qu’ils ont été créés de rien ; ou bien que le Fils de Dieu et l’Esprit-Saint sont d’une essence différente ; ou encore qu’ils sont sujets au changement ou à l’altération : ceux-là sont excommuniés

In the Preface to vol. i. of the same work, *Researches in Armenia*, of Smith and Dwight, Dionysius is mentioned as at Malta. He is mentioned further: "Bishop Dionysius, one of the best informed ecclesiastics of the Armenian nation, now attached to the American Mission press in that island," and it is added:

"Through him were obtained all the extracts from works in the Armenian language." Further on we are informed that full reliance may be placed upon the faithfulness of his *translation* of them into Turkish. In converting them from that language into English, no pains have been spared in the use of the best help, to attain perfect accuracy."

III. They agree with the Greeks in rejecting both the words "*and the Son*," interpolated into the Symbol in the Occident, and the doctrine of the double Procession which they contain (45).

IV. They use a confession or creed which savors of Monophysitism, though if they receive Canon VII. of Ephesus it seems that they must look upon it as not contrary to the *faith* of Nicæa. And they do profess to receive Ephesus.

We find the first of the daily services of the Armenians described in the work termed *Jamakirk*. The chief thing in it germane to our purpose is the Creed which it contains. We give Smith and Dwight's account:

"At the beginning of the first service in the morning, or rather before it begins, the priest, standing with his face to the West, says, 'we renounce the devil and all his arts and wiles, his counsel, his ways, his evil angels, his evil ministers, the evil executors of his will, and all his evil power, renouncing, we renounce.'

"Then turning toward the East, he repeats the following Creed; which, as it is peculiar to the Armenian Church, and is appealed to by Papists and others as evidence of her heresy, I give
par l'Eglise catholique et apostolique. On page 175 we are told that the Armenians have but one liturgy; that is the one which contains the above Creed."

(45). Southgate's *Visit to the Syrian Church*, page 220, note, quoted below. See also *Histoire, Dogmes, Traditions et Liturgie de l'Eglise Arménienne*, p. 57, 65, 69, 133. Dr. John Wilson, in his *Lands of the Bible*, vol. ii., p. 483, adds his testimony, where testimony is abundant: "Like the Greeks," writes he, "the Armenians hold that the spirit proceeds from the Father only."

verbatim, omitting a few expressions which decency forbids to be published :

“ ‘ We confess and believe with the whole heart in God the Father, uncreated, unbegotten, and without beginning ; both begetter of the Son, and Sender [literally *proceeder*] of the Holy Ghost.

“ ‘ We believe in God the Word, uncreated, begotten and begun of the Father before all eternity ; not posterior nor younger, but as long as the Father [is] Father, the Son [is] Son with him.

“ ‘ We believe in God the Holy Ghost, uncreated, eternal, unbegotten, but proceeding from the Father, partaking of the Father’s essence and of the Son’s glory.

“ ‘ We believe in the Holy Trinity, one substance, one divinity; not three Gods, but one God, one will, one kingdom, one dominion, Creator of all things visible and invisible.

“ ‘ We believe in the forgiveness of sins in the Holy Church, with the communion of saints.

“ ‘ We believe that one of the three Persons, God the Word, was before all eternity begotten of the Father, in time descended, * * and perfect God, became perfect man, with spirit, soul and body, one Person, one attribute, and *one United Nature*; God became man without change and without variation. * * * As there is no beginning of his Divinity, so there is no end of his Humanity, (for Jesus Christ is the same, yesterday, to-day and forever). We believe that our Lord Jesus Christ dwelt upon the earth; after thirty years he came to baptism; the Father testified from above, “This is my Beloved Son;” the Holy Ghost like a dove descended upon him; he was tempted of the devil and overcame him; he preached salvation to men; was fatigued and wearied in body; hungered and thirsted; afterwards voluntarily came to suffering; was crucified and dead in body, and alive in divinity; his body was placed in the grave with the divinity united; and in spirit he descended to Hades with the divinity unseparated; preached to the spirits, destroyed Hades, and delivered the spirits; after three days arose from the dead and appeared to the disciples. We believe that our Lord Jesus Christ with that same body ascended to heaven, and sat down at the right hand of the Father; he is also to come with that same body, and with the

Father's glory, to judge the quick and the dead : which is likewise a resurrection to all men.

“‘We believe also in the reward of works; to the righteous everlasting life, and to the wicked everlasting punishment.’” (46).

The Monophysitism of the language italicized is very clear.

John Mason Neale, on pages 1084 and 1085 of the *General Introduction to his History of the Holy Eastern Church*, gives the above Confession in full, but in a translation different in some points from the above. I quote it :

“ We confess and believe with our whole heart God the Father ; not made, not begotten, and without beginning ; also that the Son was begotten by Him, and that the Holy Ghost proceedeth from Him.

We believe God the Word, not created but begotten, Who had his beginning from the Father before all worlds ; Who is not the last nor the least : but, as the Father is the Father, so is the Son the Son.

We believe the Holy Ghost, not created, not of time, not begotten, but proceeding from the Father : Who is of one substance with the Father, and glorified together with the Son.

We believe the Holy Trinity to be one Nature, and one Godhead. There are not three Gods, but one God ; one Will, one Kingdom, one Power ; the Creator of all things, visible and invisible.

We believe in the Holy Church, in the remission of sins, and in the communion of saints.

We believe that One of the Three Persons, God the Word, was begotten of His Father before all worlds : that in time He descended into the Mother of God, the Virgin Mary, that he took from her blood, and united it with His Godhead ; that he abode nine months in the womb of the most pure Virgin ; and that He was perfect God and perfect Man, in spirit, in external principle, and in body ; that He had One Person, one form, and was united in One Nature.

God became Man without any change or variation ; His conception was without seed, and His birth without corruption. In like manner as there is no beginning to His Godhead, so there is no end to His Manhood. As Jesus Christ is yesterday and to-day so will He be forever.

(46). *Researches of Smith and Dwight in Armenia*, vol. i., p. 182, 183.

We believe that our Lord Jesus Christ, after thirty years' pilgrimage on earth, came to be baptized ; that His Father gave this testimony of Him, 'This is My Beloved Son ;' and that the Holy Ghost, in the form of a dove, descended upon Him ; that he was tempted by Satan, and overcame him ; that he preached salvation to men ; that He experienced the infirmities of the body, that He was wearied, an hungered, and athirst ; that He went of His own will to suffering ; that He was crucified and dead in the body, but alive in His Godhead ; that His body, joined to his Godhead, lay in the grave ; that His spirit, joined to his Godhead, descended into hell, and that he preached to the souls, that He spoiled hell, that after three days, He rose again from the dead, and set those souls at liberty.

We believe that our Lord Jesus Christ ascended with that same body into Heaven ; and that He is seated at the right hand of the Father ; and that he will come again with the same body, and with the glory of His Father, to judge the quick and dead ; and that there will be a resurrection of all men.

We believe in a reward according to men's works ; and that the righteous shall go into life eternal, and the wicked into everlasting punishment."

On the above Neale remarks : "The five first paragraphs of this creed appear to be of the most remote antiquity ; those which succeed clearly refer to the great controversies on the Incarnation. The seventh appears to have borrowed the expression, 'His conception was without seed, and His birth was without corruption,' from the words of S. Proclus, in his celebrated sermon on the Incarnation, (March 25, 429,) 'without human passion He entered ; without human corruption He came forth.' The last clause of the confession seems imitated from the conclusion of the Athanasian Creed. In this confession there are two expressions which are suspicious ; * * * and one that, on the plain face of the words, is flatly heretical ; that *He was united in One Nature*. And this, where it occurs, is worse than in many cases ; because the one person has just before been mentioned."

v. They use neither the Western Creed, termed the Apostles', nor the Athanasian, in their Church Services.

Either Smith or Dwight writes : "Bishop Dionysius" [an Ar-

menian Prelate] "assures me that the Armenians do not use either the Apostles' or the Athanasian Creed in their Church Services." (47).

John Mason Neale, page 1083 of the *General Introduction* to his *History of the Holy Eastern Church*, says that now the Armenian Church "*possesses* * * * the Apostles' * * * and the Athanasian Creeds," and that "*it probably received*" them "*through Rome*." It certainly did if it has them at all, and it is clear to me that the Armenians as a church cannot be said to *possess* them in the sense of making any use of them; nor, I think, in the sense of having taken any Synodical action on either of them. Neale is not always reliable.

He mentions besides a Confession of Faith of Gregory of Narek, of about A. D. 950, three more of Narcissus of Klaens of about A. D. 1170, and one of Narcissus of Lambron of A. D. 1177; all of which are individual explanations of the *Armenian Confession* last given above. That with the Nicene are chief with them.

Before closing on the Armenians, I would say that, with all their faults, they were long superior to the Greeks in freedom from the use and abuse of images, for they long retained the primitive aversion to their use, with the exception, however, of the Cross. Gibbon in Chapter XLIX. of his *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (page 367, volume, v., of Bohn's seven-volume edition of A. D. 1854), writes:

"The Armenians, the most warlike subjects of Rome, were not reconciled in the twelfth century, to the sight of images."

In a note to that sentence, on the same page, Gibbon quotes from Nicetas, an idolater, a Greek, l. 2, p. 258, a passage which I translate:

"The worship of the holy pictures is forbidden by the Armenians."

In the same note, Gibbon, writing in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, adds:

"The Armenian Churches are still content with the Cross (*Missions du Levant*, tom. iii., p. 148)."

Yet in a visit to the East in 1869, and again in A. D. 1878, I saw Armenian churches where there were images; one in 1878, in Kilis,

(47). See *Researches of Smith and Dwight in Armenia*, vol. 2, p. 98, note.

I think, where I think I saw only one ; and one in Smyrna, where there were quite a number, one in the main aisle placed there to be worshipped as in some Greek churches, though I did not see any one worshipping it for there was no service at the time. Yet I was told that in some places they had banished all the images out of the churches except that of Gregory, the Apostle of Armenia.

The Armenians in most or all of their churches which I saw had no Iconostasis, but only the veil before the chancel, which belongs to the primitive local Oriental Rite. In that they are truer to the once universal rite of the East than most of the Greeks, who, in nearly every or every instance that I saw, had defiled their chancel with the idolatrous mediæval innovation of the abominable image-stand, that is Iconostasis. This is the more to be regretted because as it seems to have been originally intended to imitate the veil in the Jewish Temple, inside of which the priests alone could pass, the turning it into an image-stand is a prostitution and change of it.

I once wondered why we should so uniformly and so early find the veil before the Holy Place in an Eastern Church, and never in a Western one. It seems to me that the explanation is to be found in the fact that in Palestine as we are told in Acts vi., 7, as it is in the Greek that, not "*a great company*" only, but "*A great crowd* of the priests were obedient to the faith." And as probably many or most of them, in accordance with Christ's warnings, fled from Jerusalem and out of Palestine before Jerusalem was besieged by Titus, they were preserved, and after the destruction of the temple, after they had been ordained to be members of the non-carnal, the spiritual, and because spiritual, therefore the far higher Christian priesthood, they used the veil before the new Holy Places, in the more excellent worship, as they had used it before the Holy Place of the Mosaic sanctuary in the "*Carnal ordinances imposed on them until the time of Reformation*," Heb. ix., 10. And so the use of the veil passed into general use in the East where those Christian Sons of Aaron lived ; but it never came into use in the West where the Sons of Aaron had never lived. Bingham gives an account of the primitive Oriental veil in his *Antiquities of the Christian Church*, book viii., chapter vi., section 8. It should be restored in all Eastern Communions where it has been superseded and banished by the idolatrous iconostasis. It has been more disused in the Greek

Church than in any other Oriental Communion, for the crazy Greek image-worshippers, like the heathen of old whom God rebuked, were "*mad upon their idols*," Jeremiah 50, 38, and hated the plain and yet suggestive veil of the early Greek Church and did it away wherever they could. That veil suggests memories of holy worship reaching back in the East to the beginning of Christianity.

Yet it should never be introduced into the West which has never had it, and which glories in its open chancel and visible rites so dear to its people, from the first century of the Church era and from the first preaching of Christ among them. The nearest thing to the Oriental veil before the chancel or holy place is the Rood Screen of the Middle Ages, but no cross was used in the primitive Western Church, nor indeed in any part of Christendom, as we show elsewhere; and so if the so-called Rood Screen is used at Festivals, it should be without any cross or image.

Theorian's remark which I find on page 1052 of Neale's *Eastern Church, General Introduction* is true if it be limited to Ante-Nicene local customs, not extended to those which began later: I translate it:

"For all things are good, if we do them to the glory of God; for neither the church custom of the Latins, nor Ours, has received and keeps any thing but what is good and useful."

Let the East keep therefore its peculiarly Eastern customs which it has held from the Apostles, and keep them pure as they were at first:

And on the other hand let the West keep its peculiarly Western customs which it has held from the Apostles, and keep them pure as they were at first.

Let there be no mixing of Eastern and Western customs anywhere, for that brings trouble and confusion.

Only, let all, Westerns and Easterns, keep all the decisions of the Six World-Synods, and all the Universal doctrine, discipline, rite and custom, which have been held "*Always, every where, and by all.*"

SECTION 5.

AMONG THE SYRIAN JACOBITES, THAT IS, MONOPHYSITES.

REFERENCES.

The Lands of the Bible, by John Wilson, D. D., Edinburgh, A. D. 1847, vol. ii., p. 506 and thereafter.

Rev. Horatio Southgate's *Visit to the Syrian Church*, New York, 1856, especially the Preface.

Josephi Simonii Assemani *De Syris Monophysitis Dissertatio*, Romæ, A. D. 1730.

J. W. Etheridge, *The Syrian Churches and Gospels*, 1846.

The general sameness of the Armenian and Syrian Monophysite beliefs may be inferred from what an Armenian bishop told Dr. Wolff, as quoted above, and from the Syrians being the co-religionists of the Armenians.

Further testimony follows :

Dr. John Wilson writes: (48) "The church authorities to which they look may be ascertained from the following passage which occurs in their liturgy for the mass :

"We openly acknowledge the three holy, pure, and Catholic Councils of Nice, Constantinople, and Ephesus, in which were our fathers, holy, exalted, and God-fearing Malpans. We remember holy James, the head of the Metrants'" [that is, Metropolitans], "'and the first in Jerusalem, an apostle and martyr: Ignatius, Clemens, Dionysius, Athanasius, Julius, Basil, Gregory, Dioscorus, Timothy, Philoxenus, Antonius, Evanius, and particularly our father Cyril, who was a lofty and true wall, and the professor who openly acknowledged the manhood of the Son of God. We remember our patriarch Severus (49), the crown of the Syrians, a skilful orator, a pillar and doctor of all the holy churches of God, and our holy father St. James (Jacob Baradaeus), the precursor of the true faith: holy Ephraim our master, St. James, (50), St Barsumas the

(48). In his *Lands of the Bible*, vol. 2, p. 507, and thereafter.

(49). The notorious heresiarch.

(50) Wilson in a note here adds, "of Nisibis? The Syrians have so many persons of this name that it is difficult to identify the person here referred to."

head of the Mourners, St. Simeon the Stylite, the chosen St. Abeia, and those who, either before or after them, left, handed down, or taught us a right and pure faith.'

"This passage, it is to be observed, makes no mention of Eutyches, who is alleged to have maintained that, 'the divine nature of Christ had absorbed the human, and that consequently in him there was but one nature, viz.: the divine; while it mentions with reverence some of the principal supporters of the allied sect of Monophysites, who taught that the divine and human nature[s?] of Christ were so united as to form only one nature, yet without any change, confusion, or mixture of the two natures'. The name of Barsumas the famous Nestorian, [Monophysite, not Nestorian] too, finds in it a place. * * * The ministers of the Syrian Church whom I have met in the East have generally expressed themselves when endeavoring to explain their views, in a manner not very inconsistent with orthodoxy. The union of the natures of Christ is so complete, they have said, that there is unity in these natures. The Godhead and Manhood of Christ however, being unchanged, there is still duality. To our explanation, —the unity is that of oneness of Person, while the two natures are still distinct, they generally in the end have not objected."

He remarks further that "the Syrians indignantly disclaim all connection with Eutyches" (51).

"The Syrian Christians call themselves Jacobites. When interrogated as to the reason of their appropriation of this denomination, they generally allege that they are the descendants of Jacob or Israel; that they are the descendants of the earliest converts of the Apostle James; and *that they are the* adherents of the Monk Bardai, Jacob Baradaeus or Baradat, who died Bishop of Orfa (Edessa) in Mesopotamia in the year 558, and who, during his active career, was so successful in reuniting the Monophysite sects throughout the whole of the East." (52).

Bishop Southgate remarks of the Syrian Jacobites that "They are not properly called *Eutychians*, both because they do not hold the doctrine of Eutyches, and, because they condemn and anathe-

(51). Wilson's *Lands of the Bible*, vol. 2, p. 507, and thereafter.

(52). Id., vol. 2, p. 507. Compare Bishop Southgate's *Visit to the Syrian Church*, Preface, p. 4, which favors them.

matize the heretic himself. Not only do they positively declare this in all their conversations, but every Bishop, at his consecration, pronounces a form of anathema upon Eutyches." (53).

"We proceed now," continues Bishop Southgate, "to show what their real doctrine is, and

"1. They do *not* hold the doctrine of the absorption of the human into the divine nature, in Christ. This was the heresy of Eutyches which was condemned by the Fourth General Council. The Syrians reject this doctrine altogether, not only in their words, but in their standards, and every Bishop, at his consecration, is required to denounce and anathematize it.

"2. They do *not* hold to the mingling or confusion of the two natures in Christ, but discard the doctrine and speak most strongly and unequivocally against it, as do also their ancient writers, Bar Hebraeus, for example. Thus, I have frequently heard them use such comparisons as these: that the two natures are not mingled, as we say that wine and water are mingled; nor does the one pervade the other, as we say that leaven diffuses itself through the lump.

"3. To speak affirmatively, they distinctly and clearly hold that there are two Natures in Christ, the Divine and the Human, and that these two natures are in the incarnation brought together in one, not mingled, nor confounded, but united. But,

"4. They say that the result of this union is most properly described as *one nature*. Up to this point they seem to agree with us, but here, in words at least, they differ. They do not, however, deny the truth of our own doctrine—that the two are united in *one person*—but admit it. Yet they say this is not enough, for it does not sufficiently express a real and indivisible union. To the whole of our second article those to whom I have shown it, cordially agree, but they think it stops short of the full expression, and that it would more exactly describe their own doctrine if the word *nature* were substituted for, or added to, the word *person*. Thus they say that the two whole and perfect natures were joined together in one *nature* as well as in one *person*. What now do they mean by this?

"5. And here I will say that I have never been able to discover the slightest difference between their meaning of the word *nature*,

when used to express the result of the union of the two natures in Christ, and our meaning of the word *person*, when so used. I will not positively affirm that there is no difference, (for this is a subject on which I feel extremely diffident of my own judgment), but I do say that I cannot comprehend the difference, if it exists. After discussions almost innumerable with their Patriarch, Bishops and other clergy, (for it is a matter to which they frequently recur), it does seem to me that what they wish to assert by the oneness of *nature* in Christ, is precisely what we assert by the oneness of *person*. Why then, do they use a different term? Because they imagine that the word *person* implies only an outward presence, as used by us, while the words *one nature*, with them, imply an inward and real union, by which the one Christ is spoken of as a single individual, from whom, as from one, all his words and actions proceed. Thus they say, (to illustrate this union), it was the same Christ who performed miracles, and who ate and drank—in both actions the same individual Christ. Yet they acknowledge that some actions belong to him as divine, others belong to him as human. For example, they assert, it was Christ in his humanity who suffered upon the cross, but to guard, again, against the notion of a separation of natures, they add, the Christ who suffered upon the cross was divine, for he forgave the penitent thief and promised him Paradise, and the Scriptures also say that God gave his *only begotten Son* to die for us. They say, moreover, that *generally* the actions of Christ are to be affirmed of Him as one—one by the indivisible union of the two natures. Thus they use illustrations like these, which I have recorded from their own lips. It was Christ who asked where Lazarus lay ; it was also Christ who raised him from the dead ; it was Christ who was sleeping in the storm ; it was also Christ who calmed its rage. In each case appear by different acts His humanity and His divinity. He inquired and He slept as man ; He raised the dead and allayed the tempest as God ; for this He did, not as an instrument, like the Apostles, but in his own power. Yet both the one and the other belong to the single individual Christ. They condemn Eutyches for confounding these two natures, and Nestorius for separating them, and they refer to the writings of Cyril of Alexandria, especially his *Twelve Letters* [Chapters?] *against Nestorius*, as giving a true exposition of their doctrine.

“They think that their mode of stating the union of the two na-

tures is necessary, in order to guard against the doctrine of their existing distinctly in the same person, or under the same outward presence, for so they declare they understand the word *person* as here used. They supposed our doctrine, or rather the Latin, for of us they had known nothing, to be nearly the same with that of Nestorius, viz.: that "two natures act separately and independently of each other, as in two individuals (54). They were, therefore, agreeably surprised with the definition of our Second Article, which declares that 'the two natures were joined together in one person, never to be divided, whereof is one Christ'; only they thought that the word *person* * * as used by the Latins, denoted alone the outward and visible appearance, and that to say merely that the two natures are in one *person*, meant only that they coexist under one outward presence. The statement, therefore, of our Article, that they are *joined together*, and *never to be divided*, and that of this union is *one Christ*, seemed to present to them a new view of the Western faith, as recognizing *under the outward presence*, the very union of natures which they wish to affirm by calling the result *nature* instead of *person*. They seemed never to have looked upon the one person of the Western Creed as the result of the union of the two natures; but only as the external form which enclosed or contained them. In other words, they were not aware of our asserting an actual joining together of the two natures, but only of their coexistence under one presence. Nor were they at first willing to take this view of the Western Creed, when I pressed it upon them, for it led at once to the conclusion that they had been separated from the great body of the Christian Church for so many centuries causelessly. On the contrary, they at first endeavored to show that there must be a difference, as this alone would justify their separation, but finally in every instance they came to the conclusion, that if there was any it was too subtil to be apprehended. Thus, I was once called upon to act as arbitrator between a Syrian Papal Bishop and two Syrian Bishops, who met for a discussion of this subject, the nature of Christ. The conference continued for three successive days, and at the conclusion the two Syrian Bishops unanimously declared that they saw no real difference between the Syrian and Western belief, that it was a mere

(54). There are certainly two wills in Christ. The Monothelite heresy opposed to this doctrine was condemned by the Sixth Ecumenical Synod.

logomachy, and that they were ready to assent to and affirm the Western tenet as their own, and to enter into intercommunion, so far as this was concerned, with the Western Church. No other difficulty, they thought, remained with regard to the Church of England and our own ; but as for the Latin, they could not acknowledge the supremacy of the Pope. This is only one case out of perhaps fifty which I have been acquainted with, all which seemed to reach the same conclusion. I say, then, that there is great reason to believe that the Syrians do not in reality differ from us on the nature of Christ ; and I may add, that the voice of history, to any one who will carefully consider the circumstances attending the separation in Syria subsequent to the Fourth General Council, must, I think, speak the same language. Upon the historical argument, however, I can not here enter. But

“6. The Syrian Church rejects and condemns the Fourth Ecumenical Council, and also Leo, the Bishop of Rome, whose Epistle was approved by the Council. Every Syrian Bishop, at his consecration, is required to anathematize both him and the Council. They also defend Dioscorus, who was condemned by that Council, but not Eutyches, as I have said, nor his heresy. These they reject as strongly and clearly as the Council itself. Why, then, do they not receive the Council nor its Decrees? The reason, they say, is because it acted unjustly and violently towards Dioscorus, who, they affirm, did not hold the heresy of Eutyches ; and they condemn Leo because, as they say, he was the principal instigator of the proceeding against Dioscorus. Yet they do not pretend to defend Dioscorus in his violent and intemperate proceedings at the Pseudo-Council of Ephesus, A. D. 449. They do not approve of that Council, nor the object of Dioscorus in obtaining it, which was to effect a reversal of the sentence against Eutyches, passed by the Council convened in Constantinople the preceding year. They do not agree with Dioscorus in his defence of Eutyches, but they affirm that he did not hold the same doctrine with Eutyches, and that the action of the Council of Chalcedon against him was excessively severe and unjust, since not for clear heresy, but for a mere act of imprudence, [! !], which *they* also acknowledge him to have been guilty of, he was condemned and deposed by a General Council.

“The Syrian rejection of the Council, therefore, does not imply a

dereliction from the faith, [!], but rather, (may we not hope?) a mere dissatisfaction with the Synod for certain alleged improprieties in its action, while they agree with the Synod in the main object of its proceedings, and in the main action itself, which was the condemnation of Eutyches. The Syrian Bishops before referred to, entirely approved the declaration of faith put forth by the Council, and were willing, after reading it, (they had never seen it or heard of it before,) to declare their assent to it, and also to recognize the Council, with a single salvo concerning the treatment of Dioscorus. The Syrians, I may add, receive, without any exception, the first three General Councils of Nice, Constantinople, and Ephesus, and the several minor councils approved by the Council of Chalcedon. They have also, and use daily, the Nicene Creed, and acknowledge the Apostolical Constitutions and Canons. What more can we ask?" (55).

We have given all this because we would show what is the *present* position of these heretics.

But we remark, 1, that Bishop Southgate was writing as the apologist of these Monophysites, and his aim was to prove that *ultimately* there might be intercommunion between the Anglican Communion and them. This was his motive, and it led him to give a rose color hue to their views.

2. He shows ignorance of the true status of this question in certain respects. Thus for instance he says: "They * * * acknowledge the Apostolical *Constitutions* and Canons. What more can we ask?" This is the first time we have seen the spurious or interpolated Apostolical *Constitutions* mentioned as a matter to be asked of any Church. For neither the Greek Church, which receives the so-called Apostolical *Canons*, nor the Latin Church, receive the *Constitutions*.

3. He does injustice to the Council of Chalcedon and therefore to the universal Church by his statement that the Syrian Monophysites were not really guilty of Monophysitism, and that "the voice of history, to any one who will carefully consider the circumstances attending the separation in Syria subsequent to the Fourth General Council, must, I think, speak the same language." *The facts of*

(55). Southgate's *Visit to the Syrian Church*, Preface, p. 6-9.

that period, and even the testimony of Bishop Southgate himself, proves the contrary. For he shows that they hold to but *one Nature after* the incarnation, and this is manifest heresy, and is contradicted by the Normal Epistle of Leo I., to Flavian, which the Church approved at Chalcedon. Nor does the excuse that they do not understand the term "*Nature*" suffice, for their whole language of explanation shows that they do. For they reject the idea of confounding or mingling the Natures, they speak of two Natures before the incarnation, and indeed their whole language accords with the notion that they understand in the main the use of the term "*Nature*," and even when the language of the Ecumenical Council is explained to them, as it has been for more than fourteen hundred years, they still continue to reject it. It will not do to say, therefore, that their heresy is the result of ignorance. Moreover the Syrain Monophysite statement that "*the action of the Council of Chalcedon against*" Dioscorus, "*was excessively severe and unjust, since not for clear heresy, but for a mere act of imprudence, which they also acknowledge him to have been guilty of, he was condemned and deposed by a General Council*," (56) is decidedly rich, when one remembers his outrageous violence at the Robbers' Council of Ephesus, A. D. 449, over which he presided, and the testimony given against him on that account, and others at Chalcedon about two years later. Indeed, this very Preface which we are considering brands Dioscorus' proceedings at the Latrocinium as "*violent and intemperate*." (57).

But we turn not to mere unsupported opinions, but to stern facts as to the present belief of the Syrian Monophysites.

1. "The Syrians * * * receive, without any exception, the first three General Councils of Nice, Constantinople, and Ephesus, and the several minor councils approved by the Council of Chalcedon." (58). But I surmise that the reason why they receive these "*minor councils*," must be something else than that they were sanctioned by the Ecumenical Synod of Chalcedon. If the Canons of the "*minor councils*" referred to, be those received into the Ecumenical Code by Canon 1., of Chalcedon, that is those of Ancyra, Neocæsarea, Gangra, Antioch, and Laodicea, the reason why they

(56). Southgate's *Visit to the Syrian Church*, Preface, p. 9.

(57). Ibid.

(58). Southgate's *Visit to the Syrian Church*, Preface, p. 10.

are accepted by the Syrian Jacobites is probably the fact that they were in use in the Orient before Chalcedon, A. D. 451, as is evident from the proceedings of that Council. Indeed, we find in A. D. 404, the twelfth Canon of Antioch quoted as authoritative outside of the jurisdiction of Antioch, even in Constantinople; and Chrysostom was deposed by some for violating it, or for an alleged violation of it. See on that Smith and Wace's *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, volume i., page 528, left-hand column.

"They have also, and use daily, the Nicene Creed." (59). They must receive, I judge therefore, the Creed of the First Ecumenical Synod and that of the Second, and the two Normal Epistles of Cyril of Alexandria, which were approved by Ephesus A. D. 431.

2. "The Syrian Church rejects and condemns the Fourth Ecumenical Council, and also Leo I., the Bishop of Rome, whose Epistle was approved by the Council. Every Syrian Bishop, at his consecration, is required to anathematize both him and the Council. They also defend Dioscorus, who was condemned by the Council, but not Eutyches, as I have said, nor his heresy. These they reject as strongly and clearly as the Council itself." (60).

They must therefore reject the Normal Epistle of St. Cyril of Alexandria to John of Antioch, and that of Pope Leo I. of Rome to Flavian of Constantinople, and the Definition put forth by Chalcedon.

3. "As teachers or saints they regard Jacob of Sarug, Jacob of Edessa, Dioscorus, Severus, P. Fullo and Jacob Barâdaï; they reject Eutyches." (61).

4. As to the question whether they receive the Robbers' Synod of Ephesus, A. D. 449, there is a difference. Bishop Southgate writes: "They do not pretend to defend Dioscorus in his violent and intemperate proceedings at the Pseudo-Council of Ephesus, A. D. 449. They do not approve of that Council, nor the object of Dioscorus in obtaining it, which was to effect a reversal of the sentence against Eutyches, passed by the Council convened in Constantinople the preceding year." (62). But Roediger in Herzog's *Theol. and*

(59). Ibid.

(60). Ibid.

(61). Herzog's *Theol. and Eccl. Encyclopedia*, Bomberger's edition, Phila, A. D. 1860, under *Jacobites*.

(62). Southgate's *Visit to the Syrian Church*, Preface, p. 9.

Ecd. Encyc. ed. Phila., A. D. 1860, article "Jacobites," asserts: "They recognize the Second Synod of Ephesus."

5. As the Fifth and Sixth Ecumenical Synods approve Chalcedon, and are connected with it, the Jacobites must reject them for that reason.

6. They reject both the interpolation *Filioque* in the Symbol, and the Western doctrine contained in that term. (63). This Bishop Southgate positively states in his *Visit to the Syrian Church*, p. 220, as quoted by us above, page 22, when treating on the subject of the Greek Church. In the same work, p. 219-221, he mentions a conversation with the Syrian Monophysite Patriarch on this topic. We quote from this part what is germane to our purpose: "I can not omit, however, one conversation with the Patriarch upon the vexed question of the Procession. * * * I shall have more to say of it at another time. At present I will only allude to the manner in which the Patriarch spoke of it. He commenced with a long metaphysical argument intended to prove that the Holy Ghost could not proceed both from the Father and the Son, without involv-

(63). See note, 45, p. 64. J. S. Assemani *De Syris Monophysitis, Dissertatio*, Romae, A. D. 1730, p. 15, 16, on the doctrine held by the Syrian Monophysites on the Procession of the Holy Ghost, remarks: "In Trinitatis mysterio antesignani eorum haud sibi conveniunt. Nam Xenajas et Bar-Hebraeus, ut et nonnulli recentiores, Spiritum sanctum ex Filio procedere negant. Affirmat Dionysius III., Patriarcha, in Epistola Synodica ad Mennam Alexandrinum, ubi ait: *Pater a nullo habet existentiam sed per seipsum existit ingenuitus: Filius est genitus a Patre ab aeterno. Spiritus sanctus promanans ex Patre et Filio*;" [But this may refer to the temporal procession from the Son]. "Enimvero, ut recte advertit Renaudotius (tom. 2., *Liturg. Orient.*, p. 72), *reliqui magno numero Jacobitae, quamvis additio Filioque illis non probetur, non tamen Graecorum exemplo adversus Latinos tam acriter invehuntur: nam quaecumque inter utrosque hujus questionis occasione transacta sunt, Orientales penitus ignorare, nec ad se pertinere arbitrati sunt*. Renaudot then contends from certain expressions in certain of their Liturgies that those works teach the doctrine of the Procession from the Son.

But as to the other passages which the Latin Renaudot adduces, Assemani in this place shows that the celebrated Jacobite writer, Bar-Hebraeus, takes them in the sense of "the temporal and external manifestation of the Holy Spirit through the Son," and disapproves of the Occidental sense. One particular expression only, cited by him, seems to favor the Latin dogma. Speaking of the Liturgical works of the Syrians Renaudot writes: "Sometimes, they

ing the difficulty of two persons in the Holy Spirit. I replied that, according to the Anglican belief, it did not seem necessary to assert that the Procession from the Father and from the Son, was the same; that the Procession from the Father might be in his sense of the term, and that from the Son in the character of a messenger."

add, 'He receives those things which pertain to his essence,' which sentiment departs not much from the Theology of the Latins." The Latin is: *aliquando addunt, accipit ea quae ad illius essentiam pertinent, quae sententia a Latinorum Theologia non multum abit.* See it in J. S. Assemani, *de Syris Monophysites Dissertatio*, Romae, A. D. 1730, p. 16.

But regarding this 1, it seems very doubtful whether, although this passage *accipit ea*, etc., is italicized, it is meant to be an exact translation, or only what Renaudot conceives to be the sense of one or many passages. I judge the letter from the answer of Bar-Hebraeus. Moreover, Renaudot as here quoted, gives no reference to the original; a very important lack, so that we can not determine exactly his intention. The words are so strong in the Latin that they seem to settle the question that some of the Syrian Monophysites have used language favoring the Latin doctrine of the Double Procession. But from the considerations mentioned above, and from the testimony of Bishop Southgate, an impartial witness, it seems best to hold this passage *sub judice* until we ascertain more of the facts as to Renaudot's intention, and until we are pointed to the original references in proof, for they alone can decide this question. We shall be the more inclined to do this when we recollect the tendency of some Latin theologians to interpret the Easterns in a sense which they at once repudiate as wrong, and both Renaudot and Assemani were members of the Latin communion.

2. But what is of chief importance is that Bar-Hebraeus, the noted Jacobite historian and theologian, who was Maphrian or Primas Orientis after A. D. 1264, interprets it in the Eastern sense and condemns the Western interpretation. See J. A. Assemani, *de Syris Monophysites Dissertatio*, A. D. 1730, p. 16. As to Bar-Hebraeus himself, see Smith's *Gieseler's Church History*, vol. ii., p. 617. Assemani, as last cited, remarks of the mode of speaking above: *cujus loquutionis vim enervare nequit indigna Theologo illa Bar-Hebraei interpretatio, de temporali et externa Spiritus Sancti per Filium manifestatione aientis: Quum processio sit proprietas Spiritus Sancti, cur additur in Theologia, quod a Filio accipit? Dicimus, ratione manifestationis ad creaturas specialissime dici, quod Spiritus a Filio accipit. Quod vero a nonnullis asseritur, ipsum scilicet virtutem, aut potestatem, aut voluntatem, aut aliud hnjusmodi accipere, haud aequa est opinio.* But surely the Monophysites can tell best what they mean, and impartial writers like Bishop Southgate, and Roediger (Art: Jacobites in Herzog's *Theol. and Eccl. Encyc.*), state that they reject the Latin doctrine. Roediger in his article under the title "*Jacobites*" in Herzog's *Theol. and Eccl. Encyc.* states: "That the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son, is denied by Xanajas; the Syrian Church, however, remained wholly unaffected by the controversy concerning the *Filioque*."

[This accords with the Greek belief against the Latins. This Greek belief Bishop Southgate held, so at least we may infer from this]. "The Patriarch answered that this was the doctrine of Scripture and *the belief of his own Church*, that if it was also the belief of the Western Church, there was on this point no difference between us," [but it certainly is not the belief of the Latin Church], "but he still thought that it would be safer to use the language of the Evangelist, '*proceeding from the Father*, and *sent by the Son*.'" On this last clause Bishop Southgate adds in a note on page 221, "The Patriarch alluded to the passage in John xv., 26, 'But when the comforter is come, whom *I will send* unto you from the Father, even the Spirit of Truth *which proceedeth from the Father*.'"

On the words "*could not proceed both from the Father and the Son*," Bishop Southgate remarks in a note at the foot of page 220: "This, however, implies nothing with regard to *Procession*. The Eastern Christians freely acknowledge that the Holy Spirit is both of the Father and the Son. They only deny that He *proceeds* from both. He is of the Father, they say, by *Procession*, and of the Son, by *Mission*, giving to *Procession* a definite and limited meaning, viz: that of *issuing*; and to *mission* that of being sent as a messenger. Thus they commonly express their belief, in these words: '*Proceeding from the Father*, and *sent by the Son*.' They allow, however, *Procession* from the Son in a different sense from that of the *Procession* from the Father. The latter is Hypostatical or Personal; the former external or official. After an admission of this kind it is difficult to see what matter for controversy remains." The Bishop means between those who hold his view and the Easterns. At least so I take it. For it would be a strange remark for a professed theologian to make regarding the difference between the Easterns and the Latins. For the doctrine of the Latin Communion is that the Holy Ghost's divine Substance proceeds eternally, both from the Father *and* the Son. But the Easterns assert that the Holy Ghost's divine Substance proceeds from the Father alone, not from the Son. There is certainly ground for difference here, so long at least, as men will interpolate the Filioque into the Symbol without an Ecumenical Synod.

Macarius, Bishop of Vinnitza, and Rector of the Ecclesiastical Academy of St. Petersburg, expresses the Greek view on the Pro-

cession in his *Théologie Dogmatique Orthodoxe*, Paris, A. D. 1859, t. 1, p. 326 : and the doctrine of the Syrian Monophysites, as stated by their Patriarch, is exactly like it; so that there can be no doubt that on this point they are with the Greeks and against the Latins.

Another point may well be noted. None of the Six Ecumenical Synods defined that the birth of God the Word out of the Father was *eternal*, but they have limited themselves to the statement of the Creed of the Second Ecumenical Synod, that He was "*born out of the Father before all the worlds*," (τὸν ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς γεννηθέντα πρὸ πάντων τῶν αἰώνων). The idolatrous conventicle of Nicæa of A. D. 787, which the image-worshipping and creature-invoking party, which now controls the Greek Church, calls the Seventh, goes no farther. Nor indeed have I been able to find in the later, local utterances of parts of the Greek Church, or in the utterances of individual Confessions in it, any distinct profession of the doctrine that the birth of the Son out of the Father was eternal. They all seem to rest content with the words of the Creed which I have quoted above.

Hence I do not think it can justly be said that the Greek Communion has gone beyond the earliest doctrine on that matter which we find in St. Justin the Martyr, and in St. Theophilus of Antioch, that the Logos Coeternal and Consubstantial with the Father, was born out of him, not eternally, but just before the worlds were made, and to be the Father's instrument in making them. While the Logos was in the Father, He was, according to St. Theophilus ὁ Λόγος ἐνδιάθετος, "*the Word in and through the Father*." When He came out of the Father He became ὁ Λόγος προφοριστός, that is "*the Word borne forth*." That coming out was the birth of God the Word, who had been eternally in the Father.

But the celebrated Catechist of Alexandria, Origen, started afterwards the view of the Eternal Birth, and was followed in that notion by the two great lights of the Alexandrian school, Athanasius and Cyril. In the middle ages the schoolmen who knew Athanasius better than they did the earlier Greek Fathers, adopted his view, and it was current and prevalent in the West at the time of the Reformation in the Sixteenth Century, and so passed, without investigation seemingly, into different Reformed Confessions; for instance into Article II., of the Church of England.

The Easterns, however, have never put into any of their Confessions, at least not so far as I know, any condemnation of the doctrine of St. Justin the Martyr, and of St. Theophilus of Antioch, nor have the Greeks pronounced in any Synod any formal approval of the opposing local Alexandrian view. Of course the earlier view agrees best with the Greek doctrine that the Holy Ghost has come out of the Father alone, and by necessary implication condemns the Latin notion that He has come out of the Father and the Son *eternally*.

It agrees also with the Anathema in the Creed of the First Ecumenical Synod against "*those who say that the Son of God * * * was not before He was born,*" for the Arian denial of his existence before His first birth seems most naturally to be there referred to, not His birth out of the Virgin Mary.

5. As to the Apostles' Creed, so-called, I judge that the Syrian Monophysites do not use it; for the following reasons :

1. I have not found any notice of its existence among them in any author.

2. It is a peculiarly Western Creed, and is not found among the Greeks, or among the Nestorians, except among those united to Rome, whence they have derived it. See what is said elsewhere on the Greeks and the Nestorians.

3. The Abyssinians, who are co-religionists of the Syrian Monophysites, do not use it, and a century or two ago, did not even know of it; and the Armenians, who are also their co-religionists, do not use it. See what is said elsewhere on the Abyssinians and the Armenians.



DIVISION II.

AS TO THE RECEPTION OF THE SIX ECUMENICAL SYNODS IN THE
WESTERN COMMUNIONS, AND AS TO THE USE OF
THEIR TWO CREEDS THERE.

SECTION 6.

SUBSECTION I.—ECUMENICAL SYMBOLS.

I.

THE SYMBOL OF THE 318 HOLY FATHERS OF NICAÆA.

A Latin Church priest, Titus Joslyn, formerly of Montclair, N. J., informed me that his church does not use the symbol of the 318 in any of its services.

2.

THE CONSTANTINOPOLITAN.

The Latin Church uses this with the following differences :

Art. 2. The Roman Church has added, perhaps from the Creed of Nicaea, the words "*God out of God*," which the Ecumenical Council of Constantinople, A. D. 381 could have retained had they chosen, but *which it pleased them to omit*; and indeed this clause is not necessary because it is contained in the stronger clause "*very God out of very God*," which is in the Symbol of the 150.

Art. 3. The Roman translates "*of the Holy Ghost and (xai) Mary the Virgin*," by the words: "*by the Holy Ghost out of Mary the Virgin*."

Art. 7. The Roman, after "*who proceedeth out of the Father*," adds "*and the Son*."

This occurs in the *Order of the Mass*. A Latin Priest informs me that it is the only Creed which is used in the Mass.

As to the use of this Symbol see Swainson's article "*Creeds*" in Smith and Cheetham's *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, and his article "*Creed*" in Smith and Wace's *Dictionary of Christian Biography*.

SUB-SECTION II.

LOCAL, THAT IS WESTERN SYMBOLS.

I.

THE SO-CALLED APOSTLES.

This is a Creed of the local Roman and of Western Churches. It is properly THE ROMAN CREED. In the form now used it is more full and complete than it was about A. D. 390 when Rufinus first mentioned it. It is the present baptismal Creed of the Roman Communion proper. A priest of the Latin Communion, Titus Joslyn, informed me that it is never used at the Eucharist, but occurs often in the Breviary Offices. For some time in the Middle Ages the Church of Rome, and some other parts of the Western Church used at Baptism the Creed of the Second Ecumenical Council, without the addition of "God out of God" and of "and the Son" (see Dr. Swainson's article "Creed," section 17, right hand column, page 492, vol. i., of Smith and Cheetham's *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*; and the reference to Assemani's *Codex Liturgicus* there, and Heurtley's *Harmonia Symbolica*, pages 157-161. It is a great pity that it did not become the Universal Baptismal Creed of the West as it is of the East, for it confesses clearly and definitely the whole Trinity, whereas the local Creed of the Apostolic See of Rome does not, but may be and often is used by Anti-Trinitarians. Those enemies of Christ prefer it to the two Ecumenical Creeds. A tendency to substitute it for them is a mark of ignorance and folly, and often, among Protestants at least, of doctrinal error, that is of an Anti-Christian and Anti-Trinitarian bias, and of heretical disregard for the voice of that Universal Church which Christ has commanded us to hear under pain of being deemed "as a heathen man and a publican," (Matt. 18, 17), and of consequent doctrinal, disciplinary and ritual anarchy.

Probably the Creed of the Second Ecumenical Council would long since have displaced it and been substituted for it in all the West, in the Baptismal Offices, as it has been substituted for local Eastern Creeds in the East, and that long since, were it not for the ignorance among us in the Middle Ages, which received the fable that the Apostles had made the so-called Apostles' Creed. The Western Creed might, however, be retained for occasional use, but not on Baptismal, Eucharistic, Ordination, or other Sacramental Occasions.

II.

THE SO-CALLED ATHANASIAN.

This, now admitted not to be a work of Athanasius (64), is used in the Latin Church. A priest of the Latin Church, Titus Joslyn, informed me that it occurs in the Breviary Offices, but is never used at the Eucharist.

Schaff, in his *Creeds of Christendom*, volume i. page 40, states that "during the Middle Ages it was almost daily used in the morning devotions." He quotes in proof J. Bona, *De divina Psalmodia*, c. 16, sec. 18, p. 863, (as quoted by Köllner, *Symbolik*, I, 85):" [I translate Bona's Latin]:

"That Creed [the Athanasian] was formerly chanted daily, as Honorius testifies, but now is recited on Lord's Days in a full attendance of the whole congregation, that the Confession of the holy faith may be celebrated more publicly on that day." See further as to its use in the Middle Ages in the West in Dr. Swainson's article "*Creed*," section 24, page 493, volume i., of Smith and Cheetham's *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*.

III.

CREED OF POPE PIUS IV.

This is thus described: "A succinct and explicit summary of the doctrine contained in the Canons of the Council of Trent, is expressed in the Creed which was published by Pius IV., in 1564, in the form of a bull, and usually bears his name. It is received throughout the whole Roman Catholic Church: every person who is admitted into the Roman Catholic Church, publicly reads and professes his assent to it." (65). A priest of the Latin Church, Titus Joslyn, informed me that it is never used at the Eucharist or Baptism. Any one who signs or in any way approves its creature-worship and image-worship and relic-worship and its other errors against the Six Ecumenical Councils, commits a most fearful sin, and for such a crime, in the early centuries, if he had been validly baptized, he would have been put to a long penance before being received to communion in any Orthodox Church; for he has not only apostatized

(64). See Waterland's Work on this Creed.

(65). Hook's Church Dictionary under "*Creed of Pope Pius IV.*"

to idolatry, but has actually sworn to maintain it, and other Ecumenically condemned errors.

DIVISION III.

THE SIX ECUMENICAL SYNODS.

The Latin Church professes to receive the Six Ecumenical Synods, and the Synod of Nicæa A. D. 787, which established image-worship, as well as others held since, the last being that of the Vatican, A. D. 1870. But the Ecumenical Canons, that is those of the first four, are much disregarded and violated, and the high relative importance and true position of the Norms of Definition put forth by the four last of the Six Ecumenical Synods, are too much lost sight of. Since the Roman Church, by her anti-canonical arrogance, made the separation between the West and the East, she has swerved more and more from the ancient Catholic bases in doctrine, discipline and rite, in the Six Councils and in the Universal Historic Tradition, especially on Baptism, until now the Greeks refuse to regard it as the same Church it was, or indeed to recognize it as a part of the Church at all: though it should be said in justice to all, that the Greeks also have sadly erred; for though they retain the Creed of the Second Synod without addition or diminution, and though they still retain some primitive rites once Universal, such for instance as the trine immersion in baptism and infant-Eucharistizing, they have swerved from much in the decisions and canons of the Six Ecumenical Synods, and in idolatry and creature-worship, are in some respects full as bad as Rome.

Nevertheless, both the Greeks and the Latins profess great respect for the Six Synods, even though in some things they do not obey them; the Greeks professing to receive all their utterances; and the Latins, all of them except some of their Canons, though since the proclamation of Papal Infallibility, by Pius IX., in 1870, they at times have practically denied the action of the Sixth Ecumenical Councils in condemning Pope Honorius as a heretic, and gone farther into apostasy than ever. Indeed, Francis Patrick Kenrick, in his *Theologia Dogmatica*, volume i., (1839), page 282, said that it is lawful to think that the Fathers of the Sixth Ecumenical Synod *erred* in their judgment on Honorius. Kenrick was the Romish

coadjutor Bishop of Philadelphia, Pa., at that time, and died Archbishop of Baltimore in A. D. 1863. But his assertion leads to nullifying much that the Six Councils have said, and indeed may afford occasion to some to call in question all or nearly all their decrees. For if they were liable to err as to *facts*, that is as to their *premises*, they were certainly liable to err as to their *conclusions* from those premises. And so they may have erred as to that Historic Tradition of Faith on the Scriptures and on their Interpretation, on the basis of which they condemned Arius, Macedonius, Nestorius, and Eutyches, as well as Pope Honorius. We must admit then that no truly Ecumenical Council has erred as to any *fact*. When it can be proved that any Synod has so erred, that fact proves that it was fallible and so not Ecumenical. For instance the Council of Nicæa A. D. 787, took some spurious matter as the basis of its decision that image-worship and creature-invocation had always been a part of the faith from the beginning, and ignored or rejected genuine passages of Christian writers from the beginning, which proved both the non-use and non-worship of images painted and images graven, and the non-invocation of creatures; and they ignored or rejected those decisions of the Third Ecumenical Synod and of others after it which condemn all *relative-service* and all service to created persons and to mere things; and so that conventicle of A. D. 787 is proven to be not Ecumenical.

The discipline contained in the False Decretals of Isidore has whelmed, for the present at least, some of the Ecumenical Canons. Still the Norms of Definition on the Ecumenical Symbol are for the present in the background, for the masses of the Latin clergy know but little of them in their true sense and meaning and application to present errors.

The worship of the Sacred Heart of Jesus which is Nestorianism and Man-Worship of the most flagrant character, is quite common among them, and is defended by them on Nestorius' plea quoted in Act 1 of Ephesus as one basis for his deposition, that it is done *relatively* to the Logos, an excuse which is simply that of Relative-Worship on which the heathen has always based his worship of his images painted, graven, and relics of Boodha, etc., and of altars, etc. But in such matters the ignorance of the bulk of Latin theologians is something wonderful. Let us hope that in time they will confess

and forsake all relative-worship and so oey Ephesus. The Nestorians worship of Christ's humanity is anathematized in the Eighth of St. Cyril of Alexandria's XII. Chapters, and in Anathema IX. of the Fifth Ecumenical Council. Oh, that we may soon have a true Seventh Ecumenical Synod to enforce the first Six, to do away with all errors, and to put an Orthodox Patriarch into the Western See of Peter. We are coming to it. And we need also to be freed from the control of the State, which often no longer desires to support the Church and to help it, but to interfere with its temporalities, and to take them out of the hands of Bishops where Canon XXVI. of the Fourth Ecumenical Synod puts them, and to put them into the hands of mere laics, or even, in some cases, non-laics, to worry the Bishops and clergy and to tyrannize over them and keep them from preaching the full truth of God, and so to destroy Christianity so much as they can.

The proper course for the West to pursue is :

1. To receive and enforce, everywhere and always, all the doctrine, discipline, rite and custom of the Six Ecumenical Councils.

2. On points on which the Six Synods do not speak, *to restore all the Universal historic tradition in doctrine, discipline and rite of the Primitive Church*, West and East, such for instance (A) as *the trine immersion in Baptism*, which is the only mode mentioned in the Gelasian Sacramentary and the Gregorian (66), and is always commanded in them (67), which, Pope Pelagius and Chrysostom teach, is required by the command of Christ Himself in Matt. 28, 19 (68), and which, as all admit, was the practice of the whole Church during all the early centuries (69), and which the Greeks of the Four Eastern Patriarchates make essential to valid baptism still (70), and for the

(66). See the rubrics quoted in Chrystal's *History of the Modes of Christian Baptism*, page 109.

(67). *Ibid.*, and pages 134-137.

(68). *Id.*, pages 80 and 76. Popes Leo I. and Vigilius also favor the thrice-dipping. See *id.*, pages 80 and 99. Alcuin, as we expect to show elsewhere on Baptism, proves that the alleged letter of Pope Gregory I. to Leander of Seville, which favors the one dip for Spain, is spurious.

(69). See Chrystal's *History of Modes of Baptism*, *passim*.

(70). See the *Πηδάλιον*, Athens edition of A. D. 1841, page 37, end of note in col. i, and Palmer's *Dissertations on the Orthodox Communion*, pages 199-204.

lack of which they reject now as they long have all Latin and all Western Baptisms and Orders (71).

(B). The *confirmation*, and (F), the *Eucharistizing of Infants* which was in the Church from the first, which St. Cyprian Bishop of Carthage, who died a martyr for Christ, A. D. 258, only about 158 years after the Apostle John's death, shows in one of his Treatises (72) was the established custom of the Church in his time; and he implies in another place that no one can be saved without it (73); which Innocent I., Bishop of Rome, A. D. 402-417 and his contemporary, Augustine, of Hippo, deemed necessary to every infant's salvation; which remained, according to Maldonat, the custom of the Roman Church for the first six hundred years (74), and according to Cardinal Bona till the twelfth century (75); which was the custom of the whole Church for at least the first eight hundred years of the Christian era (76), and which the Greeks have always retained and still retain, and which they justly reproach the Latins and other Westerns for laying aside.

(D). *The non-use in Churches and in places of worship of images and crosses* in accordance with the sentiments of the primitive Roman writer, Minucius Felix of the Third Century, who testifies in his *Octavius* that the Christians of his time used neither. These *Universal Rites and Customs*, and all other rites and customs common in the early centuries from the beginning to the whole Church East and West, must be restored before there can be a godly union. They can stand the test of Vincent of Lerins' dictum, as held "*Always, every where and by all.*" Among such Universal customs is the use everywhere of the language of each people always in their services and worship, that it may be intelligent and heartfelt, and so pleasing to God and saving and edifying.

(71). Ibid.

(72). Cyprian's *Treatise on the Lapsed*, (written A. D. 251), section 16, (pages 168-170 of the Oxford Translation).

(73). Cyprian's *Scripture Testimonies Against the Jews*, book i, section 22; (pages 35, 36 of the Oxford Translation).

(74). Bingham's *Antiquities of the Christian Church*, book xv., chapter 4, section 7. Compare Id., book xii., chapter 1, section 3.

(75). Ibid.

(76). Ibid.

I have specified only a few important matters which need reform and the restoration of what was in the beginning, but scholars may learn the rest from the pages of antiquity ; Bingham states many of them in his *Antiquities*.

3. In mere *local customs*, such, for instance, as the unveiled chancel or sacristy, and of kneeling on days when it is not prohibited by Canon XX. of the First Ecumenical Council, they should always prefer what has always been Western from the beginning : for it is not wise to scandalize the people and even the learned by laying aside customs which were always European, and were in use in the primitive Western Church among men who are now deemed saints by all East and West, and by introducing instead of them, customs which are purely Asiatic and local. To attempt such a substitution in such trifles would at once excite prejudice and opposition against even right changes of present evil customs, and might lead to confounding in the common mind all changes as evil and unwise, and would insure the defeat of needed reforms. Besides no such displacement in such trifles of what is Asiatic for what is European will ever succeed among Europeans or their descendants in the Americas or in Australia or elsewhere in their realms.

I would add in conclusion that as, since the Vatican Council of A. D. 1870, all hope of a reform in Rome and the restoration by her of the Ecumenical Decisions of the Six Synods, and of all the primitive doctrine, discipline, rite and custom has vanished forever, one practical thing remains ; and that is the appointment of a valid successor to Leo XIII. at once, and a valid succession in Sees now subject to him where their occupants refuse to reform and restore. That successor and that succession must be free from the sins of image-worship and invoking creatures ; must hold to the Six Councils alone as Ecumenical and to all Universal doctrine, discipline, rite and custom which has been from the beginning, but should not scandalize the people by changing what has been Western in trifling matters from the first. It is altogether desirable and would be justly demanded by the Greeks that he and they be thrice immersed like the Roman bishops Gelasius, Leo I. and Pelagius, and be ordained by thrice immersed men ; and Westerns would prefer, if it can be, by bishops subject to St. Peter's See of Antioch, as it is termed in the Fourth Ecumenical Council, or by some other successors of Peter, that

so the Petrine succession may be preserved. But as, owing to the present idolatry of the Greeks, that can not be expected, then the next best valid thing to reconstruct the Roman episcopate should be done, and done at once to save the hundreds of millions who are dying under its sway in idolatry and in creature-worship, and so, according to the New Testament and the Six Councils, and the English Homilies, without hope.

But those who restore the Roman Baptism and Orders should adopt as Universal Church Law not only the Decrees of the Six Ecumenical Councils, but also for each nation and for its jurisdiction those Carthaginian documents and canons against Rome's claim to Appellate Jurisdiction in Africa, which were adopted by the Trullan Synod of A. D. 691, and should confine any and all claim of Appellate Jurisdiction by Rome to Italy: while at the same time they should leave the Bishop of Rome his ancient *primacy*, as *First among his equals* (Primus inter pares), and such powers as he possessed in the primitive ages, and such as he possesses according to the Decisions of the Six Synods' and no more. In cases of appeal on emergent matters, he, not alone, but with the Patriarchs and Metropolitans of the Christian world, East and West, could settle them, as of yore, subject to the approval of the Episcopate of the West and of the East, as of yore. This would in time reconcile all in the West, and in the East who are sticklers for his *primacy*; and at the same time would do away his *supremacy*, which has done so much evil in doctrine, discipline and rite, and is still doing, and would make the Church one and orthodox. Of course the bishop of Rome would have only one vote on any matter in such a gathering of delegates from all the national Churches and provinces of the Christian world, and would have only such a position among his fellow-bishops as the apostle Peter had among his fellow-apostles. Such a body, if free from lay interference and sound, would speedily conquer the world for Christ and his Church. It is difficult as yet to see how such union and blessing may be brought about, but let all, East and West, exert themselves that it may be, and it will be. For Christ prayed that His disciples may be one, (John xvii., 11, 21, 22, 23). For the greed and ignorance of an image-worshiping and creature-invoking bishop of Rome, a heretic whose errors are anathematized by the Six Ecumenical Councils, have led astray,

scattered, and torn Christ's flock. Is it not high time to substitute for his invalid and idolatrous succession one that is valid and anti-idolatrous? It can readily be done if all who desire it, West and East, and their governments, unite to secure it.

An Ecumenical Council can judge any Pope or Patriarch. The Sixth Ecumenical Council resisted and judged and condemned the heresy of Leo's predecessor, Honorius; and it anathematized him; and a true Seventh Synod can do the same with his successor. In the Council of Jerusalem, in Acts xv., it is the whole Apostolate which acts and decides, not Peter alone. So let a valid and sound successor to him be chosen for Rome, and let him and the sound Apostolate of the Christian world redress our evils and correct all errors. Sooner or later it will be done in a Seventh Ecumenical Council of the West and the East, but how, we see not as yet. For the Episcopate of the Greek Church are involved in creature-invocation, and other acts of worship of animate creatures; and of painted images and of relics, and other inanimate things, much as the Roman Episcopate is; and without the East there can be no Ecumenical Council. Till then let all guard and preserve all of the primitive and of the Six Councils which they retain, and restore every thing in them as soon as possible, and all primitive doctrine, discipline and rite as soon as possible. Idolatry, as the Old Testament teaches, was the cause of God's splitting the Israelitish Church, and it was never reunited till they reformed and restored. So idolatry, as an English *Homily Against Peril of Idolatry* teaches, was the cause of the division of Christendom into East and West, and it never will be healed till they both reform and restore. God grant therefore a speedy Reformation and Restoration everywhere.

On the other hand, a mere *local* Council of the West has judged and deposed Popes of Rome for error in doctrine or in life; but the Episcopate of the Roman obedience are now, so to speak, bound so fast hand and foot and so involved in all the errors of Rome that, seemingly, no help can be expected from them. Their predecessors were more independent when, in 1409, at the Council of Pisa, they deposed two rival Popes, Gregory XII. and Benedict XIII., as "*notorious heretics*," (77), and cut them off from the Church, and

(77). Treat's *Catholic Faith*, pages 560-561.

elected Alexander V. to be bishop of Rome, (78). They were more independent when the Council of Constance in A. D. 1414, decreed that a General Council is superior to a Pope, (79), deposed the rival Popes, John XXIII. and Benedict XIII.; John XXIII. for *heresy*, (80), and led Gregory XII. to abdicate, and elected Martin V. to be Pope (81). John XXIII. submitted.

The Council of Basil, which met A. D. 1431, decreed that a general Council is superior to a Pope of Rome, and deposed Pope Eugenius IV. and elected Felix V. in his place and see (82).

There should be an anti-creature-serving and Orthodox Bishop of Rome, and an Orthodox Bishop in every See, West and East.

At the same time all that is good in Rome should be jealously maintained, for instance, its claim for the freedom of the episcopate and the Church everywhere from subjection to lay power, its claim that education should be Christian, and that every Christian State should help the Church, not worry and persecute it and put laics over its temporalities to enslave its clergy, and that the Christian faith is the only true and saving one which cannot compromise with error, and its abhorrence of Freemasonry and of all secret societies and the false Anti-Christian Liberalism of our time.

SECTION 7.

IN THE ANGLICAN COMMUNION.

SUBSECTION I.—ECUMENICAL SYMBOLS.

I.

THE SYMBOL OF THE 318 HOLY FATHERS OF NICAËA.

This is not in use in any part of this communion. Would it not be well for the bishops to order it to be said at least four or perhaps twelve times a year, in every Church, as a guard against denial of the Divinity of the Eternal Logos, and to let the people who now never hear it, know exactly what the Universal Church has said?

(78). *Ibid.* Compare Murdock's *Mosheim's Eccl. Hist.*, vol. ii., page 425.

(79). *Treat's Catholic Faith*, pages 561-562, and Murdock's *Mosheim's Eccl. Hist.*, vol. ii., p. 426, note viii.

(80). *Littledales's Plain Reasons Against Joining the Church of Rome*, page 161. Murdock's *Mosheim's Eccl. Hist.*, vol. ii., page 426 and 427.

(81). *Ibid.*

(82). *Ibid.*

2.

THE SYMBOL OF THE 150 HOLY FATHERS OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

The symbol of the 150 is in use in this whole communion, including the English, Irish, Welsh, Scotch, Colonial and American branches. It has the same peculiarities as the Latin translation above, and one other in addition, namely: it omits in Article 9 the word "*holy*" before "*Catholic and Apostolic Church.*" This additional blunder arose probably from a transcriber's or printer's error, and from ignorance or carelessness regarding the original. It must be used in the *full* Eucharistic service, except in the presbyter-and-lay-ruled American branch, where, till 1889, it might be always omitted, both in the Eucharist and everywhere else also. At the General Convention of that year, after much discussion, it was ordered that it be said five times in the year, namely, on Christmas-Day, Easter-Day, Ascension-Day, Whit-Sunday, and Trinity-Sunday. It may still be omitted every Lord's day in the whole year except three or four, and on every week day except one or two! Rather a slim allowance of Orthodoxy, that! To make it worse, one of the Anti-Christian clergy of that Communion, who has preached Arianism, if he be rightly reported in the daily press, replied to the action of the Convention, by saying in effect, in the public press: You may force that Creed on us, but we will nevertheless take it in our own sense. And his bishop has no sufficient power to resent his infidelity and depose him! It should have been done at once, and then, judging the man from his press utterances, he would have found his proper place in some Anti-Christian, that is Anti-Trinitarian sect. Bob Ingersoll justly taunted him with inconsistency in staying in the Episcopal Church, and implied that his motive in so doing is money, and that he is therefore dishonest. Alas! that such a man should, after his empty-headed and blatant professions of unbelief, be allowed for one moment to stay in any communion calling itself Christian, to corrupt others. His utterances against Christ's Divinity are anathematized by the Creed of Nicæa, but alas! that Creed is not enforced in that Communion.

Yet it is approved in its Article VIII., both in the English and in the American branch.

SUBSECTION II.—LOCAL CREEDS.

THE ROMAN AND WESTERN CREED, CALLED THE APOSTLES', IN
THE EIGHTH CENTURY FORM.

3.

The Eighth of the 39 Articles mentions it as *that which is commonly called the Apostles' Creed.*" This is the baptismal Creed of this Communion, and is used in the daily Morning Prayer and Evening Prayer. It is approved in its Article VIII. In Baptism and in Communion and Confirmation, and in all Sacramental Rites, the Creed of the Second Ecumenical Synod should be used instead.

4.

THE ATHANASIAN CREED.

This must be used at "Morning Prayer," except in the American Protestant Episcopal Communion, on certain days, specified in the English Book of Common Prayer. It is not in the American Book of Common Prayer. Even in the English Church it is never used in the Baptismal or Eucharistic Offices. It is formally approved in Article VIII. of the Church of England. That allusion to it is wholly omitted in Article VIII. in the American Prayer Book. Purged of what *may be* taken in its Section 23, to teach the Double Procession, it might be used as a hymn on the days on which the English Church uses it, but it cannot be made a test of Communion, unless it be hereafter approved by a Seventh Ecumenical Synod. And it is not clear as yet what that Synod will do on that matter.

SUBSECTION III.

THE RECEPTION OF THE SIX ECUMENICAL COUNCILS AND THEIR
NORMS OF DEFINITION.

Though the Anglican Church has produced great and sound scholars, and nearly all the learned works of English Theology, nevertheless, among the bulk of both the clergy and people there is but little knowledge of any of the enactments in doctrine and discipline and rite of the Six Great Synods, except the Symbol of the 318 and that of the 150, and still less of the high position and inexorable authority given them by the Universal Church. Practices and even doctrines hostile to these enactments are maintained almost without rebuke. Almost no account is made of the Canons and Norms of Definition. Some respect is justly entertained for the writings of the

early Orthodox Fathers, but strangely enough, so gross is the ignorance, that almost none is entertained for the Ecumenical Synods, the only places where the Universal Church has ever spoken. Indeed, the author remembers to have heard a prominent professor of the High Church School in a High Church Seminary speak of the Canons as not necessarily binding. And on another occasion, when the author was conversing with a Bishop usually reckoned as a High Churchman, the author of more than one merely popular work, but whose name from motives of delicacy I do not give, that prelate informed him that he always carried the *Acts* of the Ecumenical Synods bound up with his Greek Testament, and at the back of it. This remark is painfully amusing, for the Acts of Chalcedon alone are a large volume, and it would certainly be a goodly sized Greek Testament which could contain only them. The poor man meant the *Canons*. He did not seem to know the difference between them and the Acts. And the author has since heard him lay down the proposition in a gathering of his brethren, that the Canons may be dispensed with or are variable. He meant by merely *local* authority.

The Ecumenical Canons indeed are alterable, but only by an Ecumenical Synod. Otherwise anarchy is the inevitable result. For if the decree of an Orthodox Ecumenical Synod can be set aside by one province it can be by another, and so it will finally be binding on nobody. This is practically to deny the binding *authority* of the voice of the Universal Church, and to reduce the decisions to *mere advice*. But that is not to "hear the Church;" Matt. xviii., 17, and it is therefore to set at naught the words of Christ himself, who has said: "*If he neglect to hear the Church, let him be unto thee as an heathen man and a publican,*" Matt. xviii., 17. It was sad to hear a professed bishop derogating from that which it was duty to defend, and undervaluing the decisions of the Church, made by the aid of the Holy Spirit, whom the assembled Fathers prayed to, to help them in their deliberations, and whom Christ promised the Apostles and their successors to the end of the world; and which, *so far as they were received by West and East*, some ancient Fathers did not hesitate to deem as *inspired* in such a sense as to be *infallible* at least, because enacted by the aid of Him who has promised to be with "two or three" who meet together in His name, and whose presence may, therefore, *a fortiori* be expected in a Synod, not of "one or

two," but of many; not of private individuals, but of the bishops of the Universal Church, gathered not regarding private and minor interests, but the interests and faith and discipline of the Universal Church of God.

Moreover, this prelate did not seem to remember that much of the *faith* and *discipline* of the Church is in the Canons, so that the man who makes little of them derogates from both, and is, so far, an enemy of Christ.

It is a pity that men holding high positions, instead of exposing abuses and evils, and so doing what they can to amend them, too often bolster them up, and so treasure up "*wrath unto*" themselves "*against the day of wrath, and revelation of the righteous judgment of God,*" Rom. ii., 5.

If one-half of the labor and time spent in excusing and cloaking faults had been spent in correcting them, progress in everything good would have been vastly greater. Wrong will not be redressed until it is pointed out, and the bishops and pastors of Christ's flock should be foremost in this good work.

Now, the lower clergy and the laity know so little of the authority and value and necessity of the enactments of the Six World-Synods, that, in their ignorance or utter indifference to them, they often violate them in matters of Faith and Rite and Discipline. For instance, they often elect men to the episcopate who are digamists or suffer them to exercise episcopal functions like ordination, though the general understanding of the "*one wife*," of I. Timothy, iii., 2 and 12, and of Titus i., 6, in the whole Church from the beginning, as is ably shown on page 420, and after, of the English translation of a volume of Tertullian in the *Oxford Library of the Fathers*, forbids any such prelate to perform any clerical function, and though there can be no certainty that any ordination or confirmation performed by him is valid. And a large part of the discipline of the Ecumenical Canons, is whelmed in wreck and ruin throughout this whole important communion, but more, I think, in the United States than anywhere else.

Probably in some respects the Anglican Church is the worst governed in the world. Indeed, in the United States there is much more presbyterial and lay power in it than there is of Episcopal. A

bishop in the American branch of it, in a conversation with me, spoke of it in effect as a Congregationalism modified by a little Episcopacy.

I once said to one of its most learned and most estimable prelates, Bishop Whittingham, of Maryland, in effect something as follows :

Bishop, why do you endure the control of Conventions, for the most part composed of poorly read clergy and of laymen unlearned in theology, instead of breaking them up and going back to the rule by bishops alone, which is authoritatively commanded in the Canons of the First Four Ecumenical Synods? Why do you suffer episcopal prerogatives to be snatched out of your hands and divided up among unlearned clergy and still more unlearned laics? Why do you not take the reins into your own hands, where they belong?

He replied, in effect, that the tendencies of our country are so intensely political, even in Church matters, that the worldly theories of the *secular* government are run into the Church; and he added in effect: If we should attempt to take the reins into our own hands we should find them cut and slashed in all directions; at the same time in his quick, nervous way, imitating the act of a man cutting the reins.

I respected and loved the man, for he had much more of self-sacrifice than most married prelates, and vastly more learning; but I believe that if the Episcopate of any National or Colonial Church in the Anglican Communion were single, learned, and thoroughly Orthodox, free that is from Romish idolatry and from infidel error, and self-sacrificing and prudent, and at the same time uncompromising, they could, after a long struggle and much suffering, restore all the doctrine, discipline, rite and custom of the Six Ecumenical Councils, and of the Ante-Nicene Church, and that the growth of that part of that communion would then be immense. It would result in a thorough Restoration of all that fell into desuetude during the period of idolatry, and so would crown the work of the Reformation in the Sixteenth Century as the Restoration of all the doctrine, discipline, rite and custom of the Israelitish Church at Jerusalem in the times of Ezra and Nehemiah and Jeshua and Zorobabel, crowned and perfected the Reformation that had been accomplished in Babylon long before. For a perfect Reformation in Religion necessarily

includes a perfect Restoration of all the original doctrine, discipline, rite and custom.

And let it be well remembered that the Formularies of the Anglican Church favor the Six Councils, though at the Reformation they were not so well known as they are now. For the Thirty-fifth Article approves the Homilies; and the Homilies speak with respect of the Six Synods.

For, 1, they reckon "*the four first General Councils*" as of "*the primitive Church*," and appeal to a canon of Chalcedon, as one of the four, as *authority* on the subject of fasting. The following, from the Second Book, *the First Part of the Sermon of Fasting*, are the words referred to:

"Fasting then, even by Christ's assent, is a withholding of meat, drink, and all natural food from the body, for the determined time of fasting, and that it was used in *the primitive church, appeareth most evidently by the Chalcedon Council, one of the four first General Councils*. The fathers assembled there, to the number of six hundred and thirty, considering with themselves how acceptable a thing fasting is to God, when it is used according to His word; again, having before their eyes also the great abuses of the same crept into the Church at those days, through the negligence of them which should have taught the people the right use thereof, and by vain glosses devised of men; to reform the said abuses, and to restore this so good and godly a work to the true use thereof, decreed in that Council, that every person, as well in his private as public fast, should continue all the day without meat and drink, till after the evening prayer. And whosoever did eat or drink before the evening prayer was ended, should be accounted and reputed not to consider the purity of his fast. This canon teacheth so evidently how fasting was used in the primitive church, as by words it can not be more plainly expressed.

"Fasting then, by the decree of those six hundred and thirty fathers, grounding their determination in this matter upon the Sacred Scriptures, and long continued usage or practice, both of the prophets and other godly persons before the coming of Christ, and also of the Apostles and other devout men of the New Testament, is a withholding of meat, drink, and all natural food from the body, for

the determined time of fasting. Thus much is spoken hitherto to make plain unto you what fasting is."

Although this Canon is not found among the 30 of Chalcedon, this makes but little difference so far as the question of respect for the Council itself is concerned. This respect is quite marked in the passage quoted above.

The other passage is in the Second Book, in the *Homily Against Peril of Idolatry, the Second Part*, and mentions the Six Councils as "*allowed and received of all men.*" The words are as follows:

"The said Constantine, Bishop of Rome, caused the images of the ancient Fathers, which had been at *those Six Councils, which were allowed and received of all men*, to be painted in the entry of St. Peter's Church at Rome."

The Constantine here meant, according to Riddle in his *Ecclesiastical Chronology*, page 180, became Pope of Rome, A. D. 708.

It is undoubtedly true indeed that the English Reformers of blessed memory do decide in their Article XXI., against the infallibility of what it terms *General Councils*, but we must understand them to refer to the idolatrous Conventicle of Nicæa, A. D. 787, and to the merely local non-Ecumenical Councils of the West after the split in the Church in the ninth century, which were misnamed *General* or *Ecumenical*. So must we understand similar language often in other Reformation Confessions on the topic of those so-called *General Councils*.

The whole Anglican Communion is passing through one of the severest crisis of its long history of about 1700 or 1800 years; for within its own pale there is but one Orthodox and consistent party, small in numbers and weak in influence, whose principles are, 1, thorough obedience in all things, in doctrine, discipline, rite and custom to the Six Ecumenical Councils; and where they have not spoken, to all the doctrine, discipline, rite and custom of the Ante-Nicene Church.

Those principles would, if logically carried out, lead them :

(A). To use an exact English translation of the Creed of Nicæa, and an exact English translation of that of the Second Ecumenical Synod; and so to avoid all additions to either of them and all

subtractions from either of them, and to have read in every congregation at least once every year all Definitions set forth by the Six Ecumenical Councils, all the Epistles of Definition approved by them; that is the two of St. Cyril of Alexandria to Nestorius, which were ratified by the Third Ecumenical Synod; Cyril's Epistle to John of Antioch, and Leo of Rome's to Flavian of Constantinople, which were approved by the Fourth Ecumenical Council, and the Report of Agatho of Rome to the Emperor Constantine, and another Report, both of which are received in the Definition of the Sixth Synod; and all those Canons of the First Four Ecumenical Councils, which have been received by the whole Church, West and East, and all the local Canons which are made Ecumenical by Canon I. of the Fourth Council.

(B). Where the Six Ecumenical Councils have not spoken, they should follow closely all the *Universal doctrine, discipline, rite and custom* which has come down from the first, and which was held *always, everywhere and by all*.

(C). On merely local customs, which are purely Western, such for instance as the unveiled, open chancel, they should follow those local customs of the West, which like it, have come down there from the Apostles, for we are a Western race.

These three principles would bind them to receive and enforce the following among other things, in addition to what is mentioned above as to the use of an exact translation of each of the two Ecumenical Creeds, and the rehearsing once a year in every Church of all the Definitions, Normal Epistles and Canons of the Six Ecumenical Synods.

AS TO DOCTRINE,

1. To incorporate all the Creeds, Definitions, Epistles of Definition and Canons of the Six Ecumenical Councils, and of the local Councils approved in Canon I. of the Fourth Ecumenical Council into the Prayer Book of the Anglican Church.

2. To enforce their enactments by deposing all clerics of any order who favor *relative* worship, by bowing, or in any other way, of crosses, painted images, graven images, relics, altars, communion tables, the Book of the Gospels, the Bible, or any other inanimate thing; and to enforce their enactments also against all who give any

act of religious service, be it invocation, bowing, kneeling, prostration, incense, or any other to any animate creature, be it (a) to *the humanity of Christ*, contrary to the Eight Anathema of St Cyril of Alexandria's XII., which were approved by the third World-Synod, and by the Three after it, and to the Ninth Anathema of the Fifth Ecumenical Synod.

And *a fortiori* (b) to any creature less than Christ's humanity, be it the Virgin Mary, any other saint, any martyr, any archangel, any angel, or any other creature. For surely any one who possesses any reasoning power should see at once, that if the Six Ecumenical Councils have deposed all clerics and anathematized all laics who worship the created humanity of Christ, by itself, much more have they by necessary implication all who worship any lesser creature; for all admit that Christ's perfect and sinless humanity is the highest and best of all merely created things.

Those definitions cover and forbid every case of worship to creatures animate or inanimate, and to all mere things, be they pictures, graven images, relics, or anything else, but God.

The invocation of angels is branded as "*Secret Idolatry*" in Canon XXXV. of Laodicea; and every one guilty of that sin is anathematized, "*because he hath left our Lord Jesus Christ and gone over to idolatry.*" That Canon is made of Ecumenical authority by Canon I. of the Fourth Ecumenical Synod. *By equality of reasoning* (pari ratione) it forbids all worship of any other creature, be it saint or martyr, or the Virgin Mary, or any archangel. For as the one is "*hidden idolatry*," so are the others, because all are creature-service. For prayer is an act of religious service, as God's Word shows.

Laics guilty of such sins are anathematized by the Six Councils of the Christian World

The first Commandment of the Mosaic Law, as Christ teaches, is to worship God alone (Mark xii., 29, 30). When the Israelites obeyed that commandment they were most richly blessed; when they disobeyed it and invoked creatures, and relatively worshipped Jehovah through the images, that is, the calves, at Dan and Bethel, they were signally cursed.

So when the English people at the time of the Reformation ceased to invoke creatures and to worship images and relics, though they were few, weak and despised, and ignorant and poor, God

blessed them, gave them victory on field and flood, and has enabled them to people and govern the larger part of North America, Australia, New Zealand and many islands of the sea, and has given their former Queen, now Empress Victoria, dominion over tracts of the earth vastly greater than imperial Rome ever possessed, and over about one-fifth or one-sixth of the whole human race, aggregating not far from three hundred millions of souls, whereas her creature-serving predecessor, Bloody Mary, lost Calais, the last possession of England in France, and ruled over only about four millions of people.

When the King Charles I., married an idolatrous wife, in the seventeenth century, and some of the clergy veered towards the old creature-service again, God sent on them the Cromwellian Scourge which brought the King and the Archbishop of Canterbury, Laud, to the block, disestablished the Church, beggared the clergy, and crushed, as far as it could, its worship, and it crushed it nearly everywhere, for the churches were given to non-Episcopalians.

And to-day, as a race, we are approaching similar disasters, for men are so ignorant of theology, or so perverse, as to invoke creatures, teach creature-service, and are not deposed. For instance, E. B. Pusey, in his *Eirenicon*, Appleton's New York edition of 1866, pages 100 and 175, sanctions the invocation of saints, and deceptively pares down the godly Anglican protest against that sin to make it near the Roman idolatry; and on page 194, of the same work, approves the relative-worship of the crucifix, of Bibles and of altars, and bowing to a throne.

Pusey, on the last named page, shows that the unbelieving and loose Arnold favored the same idolatry as to the crucifix.

The same Pusey and John Keble corrupted the doctrine of the Eucharist, and started afresh the heresy of the Nestorian Theodoret of worshipping the Eucharist, and Keble wrote a hymn to the Virgin Mary, which I have actually seen in a collection of Anglican hymns, designed to be sung in church, and actually so sung.

John Mason Neale professed to "*adore*" the Virgin Mary, and Bishop Young, of Florida, told me that Neal introduced the mediæval innovation of unleavened wafers in the Eucharist, and was so given to drink, the Bishop told me, that his wife had to go to an ale house or houses to ask them not to let him have it.

And Pusey, and Keble, and Newman, and their coadjutors have apologized for Roman idolatry, and tried to do away with much of the Reformation protest and guard against it, and to let in the waves of God's ire against England and its Church again.

Pusey indeed was suspended for a time, but was never forced to renounce his errors. And Neale was in bad odor among all sound men, but died in his nice nest in the receipt of an income from the Reformed, whose faith he betrayed. So did Pusey. So did John Keble. Not one of them was forced to renounce his errors and to confess his sins, nor deposed, nor excommunicated from his national Church, as all creature-serving heretics were by the Six Ecumenical Councils. I am aware that the bishops of the English Church tried, in their utterances, to check the tendency to idolatry and to creature-service in the Romanizing presbyter-led Oxford movement, and so far they are to be honored. But they are to be condemned because they did not depose from their ministry and cut off from their communion all such idolatrizers. The result is that many of the less sound and less solidly learned clergy imitate them, because they were permitted to die in the Church; and soul-damning creature-worship is spreading, and the Anglican communion is losing its Reformation and primitive purity; the windows and walls and chancels are befouled with lying images, which provoke the jealous God to jealousy, (Psalm lxxviii., 58; Ezek. viii., 3 to 18, inclusive; Exod. xx., 4 to 7). The holy table of the Anglican Eucharistic rubric has been largely abolished by unlearned and presumptuous men, who try to improve on Christ's example, and the wrath of God is preparing against us as a people, and will surely come, unless we repent and restore the New Testament and primitive doctrine and customs, and purge out the unclean persons who corrupt the Church. The Corinthians are blamed by St. Paul because they were puffed up and had not rather mourned that a violator of a law of Christian morals had not been taken away from them (I. Cor., v., 2); but the Apostle delivered the transgressor to Satan by excommunicating him; and in his godly zeal and wisdom he did the same with Hymenaeus and Alexander (I. Cor., v., 3-6, and I. Tim., i., 20), and so saved the Church by driving away errors which, if he had tolerated, would have been deemed free, and to be tolerated in the Church in all ages

The bishops of the Syrian Church suffered Diodore of Tarsus and

Theodore of Mopsuestia to go free and to die in the communion of the Church, and so multitudes of Syrians, deeming them Orthodox, and reading their writings, were led by them into that denial of the Incarnation and Man-Service which cropped out in the Syrian Church in one of its leaders, Nestorius, in those grievous errors not long after their deaths, which have plagued the Syrian race ever since, led them to favor those heretics, when their sins were condemned by Ephesus and by St. Cyril of Alexandria, and finally led them to forsake the Universal Church.

So, though Augustine in one place grieves over the picture-worship of some, and though some bishops resisted superstition, yet the unfaithfulness on the part of other North African Bishops, because they feared the superstitious people, as one of their Canons shows, left error free, and it brought the wrath of the Jealous God on the African Church, and finally utterly wiped it out by the Mohammedan sword and torch. And if the English-speaking people do not repent and guard the faith of the Six Synods and the New Testament and primitive practice, we shall suffer a similar fate; for the lack of zeal for the worship of God alone (Matt. iv., 10), and the degeneracy and unsoundness of a large part of the clergy are simply appalling. They must condemn formally all such corrupters as Pusey, and such as he, or the people will read their dangerous errors and be wrecked.

I have spoken of those that are creature-invokers, and who favor image-worship, or altar-worship, by bowing to it, or worship of the Eucharist, though, while all may be classed as creature-servers, they differ among themselves more or less on some details, some using the Roman wafers in their Eucharists, others not; some holding seemingly to something like Transubstantiation, others rather to Consubstantiation, etc.

This distinct Romanizing and idolatrous and creature-invoking party is represented by a few bishops, some presbyters and deacons, and by quite a number of women, whose faith and practice have been corrupted by such unworthy clerics. There are very few men in the sect, except such as are effeminate. When, some years ago, a number of them made application to Rome for recognition on certain bases as to rite or custom not fully Latin, Rome rejected them till they become fully Latin and entirely submissive.

But, on the other hand, there are men in the Anglican Communion who are Arians, or at least Anti-Trinitarians of some of the heretical schools. Such is, if we can believe the report of his sermons as printed in the daily press, R. Heber Newton, rector of All Souls, New York City. And he does not stand alone, but to my knowledge has many sympathizers and defenders, some of them in some of the richest livings.

There is quite a number of clergy and laics who are so loose as to be classed as somewhat infidelizing, some more and some less, who, therefore, differ more or less from each other, as heretics are wont to do, some of whom are loose on the Trinity, the full Divinity of God the Word, the Atonement, and the everlasting punishment of the wicked, and who have very little respect for the Six Ecumenical Synods, or for Church Authority of any kind, and who do not hold to the Six Councils' power and privileges of the Episcopate; but who prefer presbyter or lay substitutes for such power, and for the Ecumenical Canons. Some of them call themselves *Broad Churchmen*, but they are really simply *loose*, and more or less heretical.

Among them have been classed Bishop Colenso, Dean Stanley, Dr. Arnold, R. Heber Newton, and others, who, however, agree not among themselves. The only man of any theological scholarship among them was Dean Stanley.

They sometimes unite with the Romanizing and idolatrous party against the Orthodox Six Councils' Party, and contrary to the Second Part of the *Homily Against Peril of Idolatry*, some of them agree with the Romanizing Party in darkening their Churches and excluding the light of heaven by filling the windows with lying images of jealousy which provoke the Jealous God to jealousy. And Dean Stanley, if he be rightly represented, seemed to put the lawfulness of invoking Christ about on a par with the lawfulness of invoking a mere human being like the Virgin Mary, or some other Saint; which implies disbelief in Christ's complete Divinity, and a belief in the lawfulness of giving an act of religious service to a creature contrary to Christ's own law in Matthew iv., 10, "Thou shalt bow to the Lord thy God, and Him only shalt thou serve."

Pusey, on page 194 of his *Eirenicon*, quotes Dr. Arnold as favoring an act of idolatry, such as kissing an image, and as pronouncing it "*right and natural*." Such spiritual whoredom is *natural* to the

erring human heart in the sense that fleshly whoredom is *natural* to the erring human heart and in the sense that all idolatry is natural to man's astray nature; but it is not "*right*," for God proclaimed his curse against Israel for the sin of kissing images. For in Hosea xiii., 1, 2, 3, we read:

"When Ephraim spoke trembling, he exalted himself in Israel; but when he offended in Baal he died. And now they sin more and more, and have made them molten images of their silver, and idols according to their own understanding, all of it the work of the craftsmen; they say of them,

"Let the men that sacrifice kiss the calves. Therefore, they shall be as the morning cloud, and as the early dew that passeth away, as the cloud that is driven with the whirlwind out of the floor, and as the smoke out of the chimney."

Here the worship by kissing the images at Dan and Bethel was *relative* worship to Jehovah through those images. For when Jeroboam set them up and so made Israel to sin, he proposed them to the people, not as images of Baal or of any false God, but of that God who had brought them up out of Egypt (I. Kings xii., 28, etc.), that is, of course, of Jehovah, for they then believed that Jehovah and no other had brought them up out of the land of Egypt. And indeed they had worshiped the calf in the wilderness as a symbol of Jehovah, for Aaron told them "*To-morrow is a feast to Jehovah*," (Exodus xxxii., 5, and Nehemiah ix., 18); and they were keeping it when God became so angry with them for that sin that he was going to exterminate them, but for the intercession of Moses.

And those who are guilty of fleshly whoredom and of that image worship, that is idolatry, which the Scriptures call whoredom, are alike, according to Rev. xxi., 8, to have their part in the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone, which is the second death.

Besides, there is a class self-styled *Evangelical*, who deny the *Baptism* "*for the remission of sins*," in Acts ii., 38, and do away with due Episcopal authority.

Now, all such heretics should, in accordance with the Six Ecumenical Synods, be deposed from any ministry claiming to be Orthodox, or if laics, excommunicated. But, alas! there is no order or settled doctrine or discipline in the Anglican Communion. But it

must have them, or continue to be what it is to-day, an ecclesiastical wreck.

But (3) the Anglican communion should revise its 39 Articles, and should avoid requiring as conditions of *local, non-universal Communion mere private opinions of some of the Fathers* which are *not ratified by any of the Six World-Councils*, such, for instance, as the opinion that God the Word was born *eternally* out of the Father; for that mere private opinion can not bear Vincent of Lerins' famous test of what is to be approved, that is, that it must have been held "*Always, everywhere, and by all*," for the view of St. Justin the Martyr and of St. Theophilus of Antioch that God the Word, co-eternal with the Father and consubstantial with Him, was not born out of the Father till just before the worlds were made and to make them, is before the birth of Origen, who was the originator, so far as appears, of the Eternal-Birth opinion. If it be said that after Origen the latter opinion prevailed in the Alexandrian School, and is maintained by the celebrated Athanasius; I reply that as even the Latin Cardinal, J. H. Newman, admits in a note on pages 416-423 of the Fifth Edition (London, A. D. 1888) of his *Arians of the Fourth Century*, the Non-Eternal-Birth tenet was for the first three centuries the more common and more widely spread view. The only writer who maintained the other was Origen who was condemned for divers heresies in Anathema XI. of the Fifth Ecumenical Council, and in the Definition of the Sixth. Besides, the Non-Eternal view was held, as Newman in that place shows, by Tatian in his Orthodox time, and he adds by Methodius also. All those were of the East.

Among Westerns who held to Non-Eternal Birth, Newman names Hippolytus, Tertullian, Novatian, Lactantius, Zeno, and Victorinus, and most of them are proven by their writings to have held that view.

Moreover, the mere fact that Athanasius held, as did Origen, the noted Catechist of Alexandria, his teacher to some extent, to Eternal Birth against the doctrine of St. Justin the Martyr, and of St. Theophilus of Antioch, which was approved by Nicaea, is of very little importance; for no later opinion can outweigh or equal the earlier one held in the Church from the first and ratified by an Ecumenical Council.

Furthermore, great as Athanasius undoubtedly was, and greatly deserving for his long and glorious struggle for the consubstantiality and co-eternity of the Logos with the Father, against the creature-serving Arians, nevertheless he was not God, nor infallible, nor equal in authority to an Ecumenical Council; and no man asserts that he was. Indeed his difference from Nicaea was not limited to the doctrine of Eternal Birth: for in section 71 of his *Apology Against the Arians*, (page 101 in the Oxford English translation of *S. Athanasius' Historical Tracts*, he impliedly faults the First Ecumenical Synod for its action in admitting Meletius to Communion.

And in another place he expresses the absurd notion that "*Many men have become pure from all sin*;" see Note 3, page 294, volume I., (New York, A. D. 1867), of Smith's Hagenbach's *History of Doctrines*. Athanasius refers to Jeremiah and John the Baptist. I once heard a Greek Archbishop, Alexander Lycurgus, refer to that notion as a strange error of Athanasius, so distinguished in other things. But no man is perfect. The sun has its spots.

4. A word or two as *so monks and nuns*, a topic now somewhat agitated. The Church of England in all ages has held to the New Testament teaching that the virginal state is the higher. That is in effect in its Marriage Service. And it has from the Reformation times had a noble band of the choicest single clergy, such as Ridley Latimer, Hooper, Sheldon, George Herbert, Sancroft, and the Six Bishops who were sent by James II. to the Tower for Christ's anti-image-worshipping Gospel. The fellowships in the English Universities founded for single clergy have fostered them and sound learning in their hands. But on the other hand, since the Oxford movement was started, an alarming spread of error among, not all but some of them, has rendered the order unpopular, and that though of the three creature-serving leaders of the movement, Pusey, Keble, and Newman, two were married, and remained in the communion of a Reformed Church to corrupt it, though the English correspondent of *The Churchman*, of New York, in the issue for August 3, 1878, may be understood to imply that Keble died a Romanist, whereas Newman left it honestly, but mistakenly, and refused its pay when he could not do its work. And some have gotten the idea, notwithstanding the fact that nearly all reforms in the Church have been led

by monks, that if a cleric is single he is more favorable to Roman tyranny than those who are married, and that he will not contend so strongly against its errors as they ; whereas all history shows that the Canonical liberties of the Greek Church have been preserved by its monastic clergy, not by its married. The attempt to reform it in the eighth century was led by the better class of monks, and the married clergy made little or no sign, but always, the bulk of them seemingly, went with whatever party came into power. And all the Reformatory sentiments that I have heard from the Greek Church clergy of our time have been from the higher and more learned class of monks, not at all from the married clergy of that faith.

There the single clergy have ever been first to enter the conflict for the just rights of their Church against Roman attempts at anti-canonical usurpation.

The English monastics, like those whom I have mentioned, have done the same for their Church. And if they contend not for paganism, but for the Six Ecumenical Councils, and for all that is primitive in doctrine, discipline, rite and custom, they will lead its phalanx, as they long did. All the Archbishops of Canterbury, from Parker to Wake, are said to have been single. But to-day many of the single are degenerate, for some believe in an alleged Real Presence which is against the Faith of St. Cyril of Alexandria, and worship it contrary to their own rubric, and to the faith of the Church from the beginning; some invoke saints, some worship altars, some worship crosses or other material things, relatively of course, but they are so ignorant that they do not know that the heathen-worship of images is relative only. From such paganizers all sound single men must depart and form monasteries by themselves.

The great bulk of the degenerate, creature-serving clergy are married, not single. The better single clergy should separate their efforts from both single and married idolatrizers, and that at once, as in the sixteenth century, and fight their battle on the basis of the primitive, and of the Ecumenical Decisions. This will furnish them definite principles and a definite policy. Their opponents have neither. I regret to learn that the bulk of the newly organized orders of monks and nuns in the Anglican Communion are not as true to the good things in their Church, as the Greek monks are to the good things in theirs. In England, in 1879, I heard the

remark made, that there was hardly one of them, or none of them, where the Eucharist is not worshipped, though a rubric in their own Eucharistic Office brands it as "*Idolatry to be abhorred of all faithful Christians.*" Such houses should be shut, and every such idolatrous monk and nun who will not reform should be expelled and excommunicated. If they are allowed to bring the single life in the English Church into disrepute and disgrace, they will ruin their Communion. Neither the Greek Church nor the Latin Church prelates would permit their monks or nuns to be such traitors to what they deem the doctrines of their Communions. All the sound Anglican monks and nuns should be gathered into one order, and, in accordance with Matt. iv., 10, should promise to serve God alone, and not to invoke any one but God, and not to profane the bread and wine of the Eucharist by worshipping them, nor Christ's Divinity or humanity, which are not there, though His grace is.

Furthermore, the monk should never fall into the Eustathian error condemned in the Canons of Gangra, of despising any of those clerics who retains the sole wife which he had before ordination, and lives in virtuous wedlock with her. For the single clergy and the married clergy supplement each other.

Monks should be recognized according to the Ecumenical Canons, and the Scriptural teaching that the Virginal Life if spent in work for Christ is "*better*" than the married (I. Cor. vii., 38), though both states are approved. They should generally be chosen for bishops according to the general tenor of the New Testament and the practice of the early Church. But they should be free, like the primitive monks, from all creature-invocation and from any use of images graven, or images painted. They should have the same spirit against the use even of such things in churches as had the glorious and holy monk of blessed memory, St. Epiphanius, Metropolitan of Cyprus, and friend of St. Athanasius and his zealous coadjutor against the creature-service of Arianism, and author of a most valuable work *Against Heresies*, who tore a pictured veil in the Church at Anablatha, in his horror at seeing such an unwonted thing in God's house, and told them to bury a poor man in it, and gave them another veil in its stead. (83). No man is a

(83). Tyler on *Image Worship*, pages 163-167. All of Tyler's works against creature-service should be in every monk's library.

true Christian monk unless he keeps clear from creature-worship, which in the Scriptures is spoken of as spiritual whoredom, and from everything like the use of pictures and other images which have led to it and destroyed millions of poor souls. He should have no such thing nor any cross about his person. He should make his own Canon XXXVI. of Elvira, (84), A. D. 305 or 309. He should have Christ's cross and its doctrine in his mind and heart, and he will not need the material cross. With the Christian champion in Section XXIX. of Minucius Felix's *Octavius*, he should say "*Crosses, moreover, we neither worship nor wish for.*" He should try to keep the Church in that spiritual and holy state in which it was in the third century, when a heathen could ask, "*Why have ye no altars,*" [they had the holy table, though, after Christ's example], "*no temples,*" [the Roman civil law forbade them] "*no known images?*" (Section X. of the *Octavius*). He will remember what the monk Augustine, Bishop of Hippo, said in his grief at seeing the worship of pictures by many, though they had not then long been in churches, (See his *Morals of the Catholic Church*, book 1, Chapter xxxiv., page 47, of the English translation published by the Clarks of Edinburgh), and how he deemed it safest not to use them at all, and said, "*It is wrong to place likeness to God in temples.*" (*On Faith and the Creed*, Chapter VII.)

But alas! some Anglican monks and nuns in our time are the curse and plague of their own Church, by introducing into it and spreading creature-invocation, and giving *relative* worship to mere things, such as altars, or crosses, or images, or to an alleged Real Presence of Christ's Divinity on the Lord's table, though St. Cyril of Alexandria teaches against Nestorius that It is not there; and to His human flesh there, though St. Cyril teaches that we do not eat a man's flesh there, but the body of God the Word; that is of course His figurative body, and although St. Cyril brands an assertion of Nestorius that we eat flesh as resulting in cannibalism, (*ἀνθρωποφαγία*, Sections 4 and 5 of Cyril's Book IV. of his *Five-Book Contradiction of the Blasphemies of Nestorius*).

To conclude, (1) the monastic life in the Anglican Church should be respected and honored, but only if free from all tinge of the spiritual whoredom of worshipping creatures; and things made, such

(84). Tyler on *Image worship*, pages 151-153.

as relics, images painted, images graven, crosses, altars, Communion tables, and all things else. God alone is to be worshipped. It is his prerogative. We are anathematized by Anathema IX. of the Fifth Ecumenical Synod, if we bow to Christ "*in*" His "*Two Natures*." We cannot worship his humanity by itself. So St. Cyril, of Alexandria, teaches in the Eighth of his XII. Anathemas, which were approved by the Third Ecumenical Council, which must therefore be received. Before every other dogma comes the dogma that *every act of religious service is prerogative to God*, (Matt. iv., 10, Mark. xii., 29-30). The monk should therefore be zealous for that as the first thing, the first duty of his profession for which he should be willing to give his life blood, as three noble English monks gave their life blood in the reign of the idolater Mary the Bloody; I mean Ridley, Latimer and Hooper. Be like Nicholas Ridley, Bishop of London, who removed idolatry and anti-primitive altars from churches, and put the holy tables in them as they were at first, rebuked Mary as Elijah rebuked Ahab, and died a martyr for the truth that God alone is to be worshipped. He was pre-eminently the scholar of the Reformation, so that the creature-invoking and image-worshipping Romanists said, "*The Reformation leaneth upon Cranmer, and Cranmer leaneth upon Ridley*." Be a monk like Hugh Latimer, Bishop of Worcester, who opposed the use of images in churches, and died for the view of St. Cyril of Alexandria, that we do not eat Divinity or the flesh of a man in the Eucharist, and for the truth that God alone is to be worshipped. Be a monk like John Hooper, Bishop of Gloucester, who held to the faith to the last that all religious service is prerogative to God. Be a monk like Sancroft and the Six Bishops who withstood that English Jeroboam, James II., who would make Israel to sin, went to the Tower for their faith, and saved their Church and people from ruin.

Be an anti-creature-serving monk like Athanasius and Cyril, and that vast army of early monks, who maintained the faith against the creature-serving Arius, as is shown by Socrates in his *Ecclesiastical History*, Book IV., Chapters 23 and 24; and Sozomen's *Ecclesiastical History*, Book VI., Chapter 20.

At the same time be a common sense man. Have a zeal according to knowledge. Do not imagine, after the fashion of some monks

of other Communions, that you get into the odor of sanctity by being dirty and smelling so foul that cleanly people justly deem you a reproach to the Christian religion. Some monks have been and some still are lousy and nasty. Avoid such delirious trash. Let your dress be very clean and simple, and of plain, coarse, cheap, black material, but let it be coat, trousers, vest, etc., as is most convenient. Let your underclothing be white and scrupulously neat and clean. For cleanliness is akin to godliness. Keep the long robes for church, processions, and schools. Do not call your order by any Saint's name. The Ecumenical Canons call you "*monks*" only, as for instance, Canons IV., VII., XVI., XVII. and XXIII., of the Fourth Ecumenical Council. The Greeks to-day, as of yore, use that term for their monks. They are not called Basilians, after St. Basil the Great, nor Athanasians, after St. Athanasius, nor by any mere man's name. Nor were any Westerns called Benedictines before Benedict of Nursia, in the sixth century. Every true monk is God's monk, not a man's. For he dedicates himself to God, in accordance with Christ's invitation in Matt. xix., 12. Let there be but one order among us as among the Greeks still.

But divide that order into different branches to find a fit place for each one's talents, as is done in at least one of the Roman orders to some extent: that is, let there be, 1, a *clerical* branch;

(a). For the scholarly clerics to devote themselves to editing and translating the best texts of Scripture, of the Ecumenical and the Local Synods, and the Fathers, and to purging them from the corruptions of creature-servers; and for giving all the various readings of different texts and manuscripts of all such writings: and for the writing of learned and of popular works to defend all primitive doctrine, discipline, rite and custom, and the Six Synods;

(b). For the more stirring preachers to go hither and thither to preach the faith in school houses, the open air, and in churches, and wherever a door is open to win men from sin and from heresy, and from creature-service, to the faith of the Six Ecumenical Councils, to found churches, and to save our land from error;

(c). For parish work wherever the churches are without vestries, and without lay controllers, and under the control of the monastic order, subject to the bishop;

- (d). For teaching work of all kinds.
- 2. Let there be a *lay-monk* branch,
- (e). For teaching work;
- (f). For hospital work;
- (g). For labor in the field, or in the shop, or elsewhere, to assist in the support of the whole monastic body, clerical and lay;
- (h). Some monks might be detailed to assist in the different kinds of work under the clergy; I mean under heads "a," "b," "c" and "d."

So the nuns should be divided into heade "d," "e" and "f," according as their tastes and capacities lie.

All should be active, after the example of Christ, John, Paul, and the other monks of the New Testament. Christ prayed His Father, not that He should take His disciples out of the world, but that He should keep them from evil, (John xvii., 15). And the wisest single bishops and clerics and laics have ever tried to remember that, and not to waste their time in idleness and laziness. The Massalians were idle and dirty vagabonds, who are condemned by the Third Ecumenical Synod, as well as by St. Epiphanius.

Moreover, let monk-preachers use common sense, and not set *monastic* ideals of life before *married* people, but marriage ideals, such as in their state of life it is best for them to follow.

Let all creature-serving monks and nuns be at once expelled from their order, and if they refuse to reform, let them be excommunicated.

And to that end let the bishop examine every monk's and every nun's faith and practice, once every three months, and as often as he will.

Avoid imitating mediaeval and modern Rome and her customs. Follow the primitive Church and the Six Councils in all things; and you will yet save the Anglican Communion, as men of your order saved it at the Reformation, when they purged away idolatry and brought the blessing instead of the curse on the English-speaking peoples, and so made less than five millions to become one hundred and twenty millions; and a realm confined to the British Islands to include about one-sixth of the land of the globe, and about one-fifth of its population.

You will save your race and Church, as the seven bishops who went to the tower in A. D. 1687, saved them; and your order, thus being as of yore, champions for Christ against all creature-worship, will be blessed of God and man. For they will appreciate you at your true worth.

In Discipline the following things should be done at once as fundamental :

(a). All such new-fangled bodies as Conventions, Diocesan and General, all standing committees, all vestries, and all lay control of church temporalities should be at once abolished; and the regular half-yearly meetings of the Synod of each province under its own Metropolitan should be restored, and he must have the rights guaranteed him by the Ecumenical Canons; for instance by Canons IV., V. and VI. of Nicaea, and Canon XIX. of Chalcedon: and the bishop must have full control of the temporalities of the Church, and manage them by a steward chosen out of his own clergy, in accordance with Canon XXVI. of Chalcedon, and Canons XXIV. and XXV. of Antioch, which have been made Ecumenical by Canon I. of the Fourth Ecumenical Council. A comment on the difference between episcopal control of the temporalities and non-episcopal, is the fact that in New York City, for instance, nearly every Romish Church has a parsonage adjoining, where the priest may be readily found for all the functions of his religion, its so-called baptism, its anointing of the sick, its burials of the dead, its Masses for the dead, its marriages, etc.; whereas quite often in the Protestant Episcopal Church, it puzzles many a person in search of a parish clergyman to christen a dying child, or to visit the sick, etc., to find out where he lives. Sometimes he lives so far from his church that the child dies before he can be found. Every parish clergyman should have a parsonage by the side of his church; or, if that is impossible, then one opposite it, or very close to it. In buying sites for churches Rome wisely gets enough land for Church and parsonage, or priest's house, at once. The Anglican bishop and the steward of his diocese should do the same, if they would be wise.

No bishop should permit any church property to be mortgaged, nor should he be permitted to alienate a cent of it without the consent of his Metropolitan. He should be compelled to so promise and vow at his ordination, and should be limited to use so much of

it only as is necessary for a seemly and fit living. If he be married he should be compelled to keep his own private property separate from the church's, lest his heirs claim church property as theirs, (Canon XXIV. of Antioch; Canon XL. of the Apostles). If single, without any near relative dependent upon him, he should make the church his heir, (See Bingham, Book V., Chapter IV., Section 9).

In case of resignation for due cause, a pension should be allowed them, (Bingham, Book VI., Chapter IV., Sections 2 and 3).

The bishop, having the whole property and all the cures of his diocese under his control, is bound to see to it that all his clergy who are sound in faith and holy in life, shall always have such clerical work as they can do, and a modest support through their whole lives, as in the ancient Church. But to-day in the Protestant Episcopal Church, to the burning shame of its uncanonical lawyer-system, there are hundreds of poor clergy without place or support, who live as best they may, on their friends, on charity, or in any way. Some of them are better fitted to preach than ever, because they are more experienced, older and wiser, but their gray hair disqualifies them or makes against them, and keeps them out of cures where women and ignorant and worldly and unspiritual vestries rule. Rome does better by her clerics, for she promotes them, as in any well organized army, as they acquire age and experience and wisdom.

(b). Every bishop should have the power which is given him in the Canons, of placing and removing his clergy, of ruling, and deposing them, and of promoting them according to their merits, which is given him in the Ecumenical Canons everywhere. He can then see to it that Canon VI. of Chalcedon, is obeyed. It forbids ordinations without a title; and a title means a place which a cleric may hold not merely while the fancies of the vestry or the women of the parish favor him, but for his whole life, or till the bishop remove him and give him another, higher or lower, according to his merits or demerits. There is no title, in the full sense, in any diocese of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States.

And a thing of chief importance is for the Bishop to examine, himself in person, or by his Vicar General or Protosyncellus, the faith and morals of all his clergy every year, their teachings and

their excellencies and their defects; for, as matters now are, when a man has once secured presbyter's orders he is practically independent of his Bishop, and may be creature-worshipping, image-worshipping, or infidelizing, and his Bishop cannot stop him, though he be wasting Christ's vineyard, and corrupting and ruining the sheep of His pasture.

The Bishop should respect his monks and nuns, but should make half-yearly examinations of their faith and practice, and see to it that no idolatrizers, creature-invokers, infidelizers, or any immoral person be permitted among them to the detriment of himself, herself, or others, and to the disgrace of the diocese and Church. The monks and nuns should assist him in such matters zealously and wisely, for the glory of Christ and his Church, and for the good name and fame of their own order. St. Paul would not permit us to keep company, nor even to eat with an idolater or a fornicator, even though he be called a brother, (I. Cor. v., 10, 11).

(c). In accordance with Canon VI. of I. Constantinople, and Canon XVII. of Chalcedon, after the doctrine of the Six Synods is restored, there should be several Patriarchates in the United States, where there is enough Anglican population to warrant it. Boston, for instance, should be one for all New England; New York another, with perhaps Albany added, to agree with Canons XII. and XVII. of Chalcedon, etc. Now there are not more than enough for one or two.

In England, London should be a Patriarchal See, with jurisdiction over all England. Canterbury should, on the death of the present incumbent, be suffragan to it, and a new division of provinces should be made. Glasgow, in Scotland, should be the seat of an autocephalous Exarch of all Scotland. So the Archbishop of Dublin should be autocephalous Exarch of all Ireland. These matters will help discipline, and give the English-speaking races that organization which is essential to their due influence in the world. It is a striking proof of the simplicity of the English in their ecclesiastical matters, that London, far the largest city in the Christian world, should be a mere bishopric, and suffragan to the little one-horse town of Canterbury, which is so insignificant compared with some other cities of England, that it might sometimes be difficult for an Oriental to explain just where it is, or why it should be over London.

Finally, in *Discipline*, all the Ecumenical Canons should be strictly observed, and the Carthaginian decisions against the claim of Rome for Appellate Jurisdiction in Africa, should be adopted by the Bishops of the Church of England, for England, against the claim of Rome to Appellate Jurisdiction there, and by every other English-speaking people for their own jurisdiction against that claim of Rome.

It would be well, also, to adopt such Canons of early local Councils as agree with the Six Synods and are needed by the Anglican Communion, such for instance, as Canon XXXVI. of Elvira, against the use of pictures in churches, and other local Canons against other abuses, as for instance, its Canons XXXIV. and XXXV.; and Canon II. of I. Carthage, against the worship of relics; and Canon XXIII. of III. Carthage, that all prayer at the altar shall be addressed to the Father; and many or most of the so-called Apostolic Canons.

(b). No clergyman should be allowed to belong to any secret society, nor should any laic. All that is valuable and right in such societies can be secured by insurance and mutual benefit societies within the pale of the Anglican Communion. Rome wisely forbids secret societies in her pale, for through the Confessional she knows how little they care for any church authority and how Anti-Christian some of them are. Freemasonry in parts of Europe is decidedly Anti-Christian. Its partisan advocates claim for it a fictitious antiquity greater than that of the church, though it is perhaps not much more than two hundred years old. It has a priesthood outside of the Orthodox Church, who are sometimes laics, or Anti-Trinitarian preachers, who sometimes perform their rites over the grave after the Episcopal service has been said by the minister in the Church. It mingles heretics, schismatics and Jews, and infidels, with the Orthodox. It fellowships those excommunicated by the church, and buries them with words of hope. It induces many children of the church to have fellowship with unbelievers and to expend money and time and effort for that society which should be spent in the Church, where Christ commands it all to be spent. and where alone it has promise of heavenly reward.

The Masocic tie interferes even in the election of bishops. I have never been a member of any secret society, but I was assured

by a Freemason that in A. D. 1859, in the Convention which elected Rev. Dr. W. H. Odenheimer, Bishop of New Jersey, a Freemason, over Rev. Dr. Milo Mahan, a non-Freemason, and a much more learned man, that tie was appealed to in favor of Dr. Odenheimer, and that it made him bishop.

The Freemason who told me was a clergyman, and was displeased that the appeal had been made in that case. And I am informed by another Freemason that it sometimes elects bishops and rectors. That is worse than the Nepotism of the Middle Ages. It interferes, though itself outside of the Church, with the Church. How can any conscientious Christian; much more, how can any conscientious clergyman, prefer that selfish, non-Christian tie to the eternal and supreme bond of the Church? The Church has the whole domain of faith and morals entrusted to her by Christ, and may justly excommunicate any of her children for belonging to such secret societies, for they do much of evil, undermine Church authority, and negate its excommunications. And all the good they do Christ's law commands to be done in the Church which it would so advance. Selfishness lies at the basis of Freemasonry and similar societies.

3. In CHRISTIAN RITES, (a) *the Trine Immersion* should be restored in baptism, each dip completely covering the whole body as of yore: See Chrystal's *History of Modes of Baptism*, page 285, B.

The seventh canon of the Second Ecumenical Council rejects the Eunomian change of the trine immersion into the single as *invalid*. The change is witnessed to by Theodoret and Sozomen as quoted in Chrystal's *History of Modes*, pages 78, 79; and the canon itself as quoted in *id.*, pages 94, 95 and 96. Bishop Beveridge, one of the most learned men that the Church of England has produced, speaking of the thrice dipping, writes:

"That it was in some way handed down from the Apostles, we have not dared to deny," Chrystal, *id.*, page 194. In Chapter XI. of that work will be found a number of the most learned Anglican theologians who have testified for the old mode, some of whom have pleaded for its restoration. The Church of England retained it till towards the end of the sixteenth century, or till some time in the seventeenth. As to the Trine Immersion in it, see Chapters X. and XI. of Chrystal's *History of Modes*; and Bingham's *Antiquities of th*

Christian Church, Book XI., Chapter XI., Sections 6, 7, 8; and Book XIII., Chapter V., Section 7, where Theodoret is referred to again against the Eunomian change in Mode.

About one-third of the communicants of the different Protestant denominations of our country are immersionists, and their number is constantly increasing, though most of them hold to the terrible heresy of Antipaedobaptism; and it is absolutely certain that none but an immersing Church will ever win them to entire truth. Yet there are whole dioceses of the Protestant Episcopal Church in our land where there is not one of its churches with a font or baptismal pool large enough for the entire immersion of an adult, and very few with font large enough for the total immersion of an infant. That lack is the more noteworthy and strange when we recollect that the Church of England in the first Prayer Book of Edward VI. ordered the priest to dip thrice every well child, and its present Prayer Book orders dipping for every well child and "dip" comes first even in the American Episcopal Church rubric yet; and still the baptizer in the Baptismal Office prays God,

"Sanctify this water to the mystical washing away of sin; and grant that *this child* now to be baptized *THEREIN*."

And still in the Church Catechism we read the following:

"*Question*—What is the outward visible sign or form in Baptism?

"*Answer*—Water; WHEREIN the person is baptized, *In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost*."

Justin the Martyr makes the rebirth of the Christian to be his coming out of the womb of the water; and Tertullian, Hippolytus, and the old writer under the name of Cyril of Jerusalem agree with him (85), as do the ancients generally, and as does the English Baptismal Office still, which always contemplates dipping as the common custom, as it was when it was made, for it thanks God that the baptized child is *regenerate*, that is *reborn*, for all the Reforming Bishops, so far as appears, had been thrice immersed in Baptism, as had Edward VI. and Queen Elizabeth; for it was the common mode of the Church of England when they were born, and we have an account of the

(85). Chrystal's *History of the Modes of Baptism*, pages 59, 60, 63, 70, 71.

baptism of some of them, I mean of Elizabeth and also of Edward. Abolish the dipping and you have no symbol of rebirth in pouring or sprinkling, and men are at sea on that matter.

If the Anglican Church does its duty in the matter of an entire Restoration of the Six World-Councils, and all primitive doctrine, discipline rite and custom, and takes every wise opportunity to thoroughly restore the successional in everything primitive where it can, it will soon have the bulk of the American people. But if its bishops do not that, it will be what it now is, one of the smallest religious denominations in our land, and in time some other religious organization, true to the Six Synods and to all that is primitive, will take its place, as the Reformed Church took the place of the Unreformed in England at the Reformation in the sixteenth century, and as the *Norman Lanfranc* took the place of the Saxon Stigand in the eleventh, and as the Roman Saxon Church took the place of the British Church in the seventh.

(b). The *Confirmation*, that is *Chrisming* and (c) the *Eucharistizing of infants* should be restored according to ancient primitive practice. Learned Anglicans have favored the restoration of both. Bingham's citations show the primitiveness of them; see his *Antiquities*, Book XII., Chapter I., Sections 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6; and Book XV., Chapter IV., Section 7, and the reference to Cyril of Jerusalem's testimony in Book XIII., Chapter V., Section 7, of Bingham.

The *Anointings and post-Baptismal Chrismings* should be restored, for they are beautiful and primitive symbols; the latter, the anointing to be priests of Christ in the universal priesthood of believers, is in accordance with the doctrine in I. Peter ii., 5, 9; and Rev. i., 6, and, some think it may be referred to in I. John ii., 20.

(d). The use of *leavened bread only* in the Eucharist: and the use of wine, mixed with water, in the Eucharistic Rite, not must, should be enforced everywhere. See Bingham's *Antiquities*, Book XV., Chapter II., Sections 5, 6, 7, 8, and 9. The supposition of John Mason Neal on page 1051, of the *General Introduction* to his *History of the Holy Eastern Church*, that "*the first Eucharist was celebrated with unleavened bread*," is utterly baseless, for different Fathers agree that Christ antedated the eating of the Passover on that night by twenty-four hours, so that his death might occur at the very time when the priests in the temple were sacrificing the foretypes of Him

the true Passover-Lamb. And it is clear that the priest had not eaten it on the night when Christ did, for on the morning following we read of the priests and people who went to Pilate with Christ, that "*They themselves went not into the judgment hall, lest they should be defiled, but that they might eat the Passover,*" John XVIII., 28. But on the night on which Christ ate the Passover leavened bread was still used. Joseph Samuel C. F. Frey, in his *Essays on the Passover*, London, A. D. 1837, pages 26-34, shows the truth on such matters. He had been a Jew. Neale could bring forward no fact capable of proving that any of the primitive Western Christians used unleavened wafers in the Lord's Supper, and he shows that learned Westerns denied that they did. And in the context he admits that the Greeks "*always used leavened bread, and leavened bread only,*" (*History of Eastern Church, Gen. Introd.*, page 1057.)

Moreover, the term *ἄρτος*, used in the New Testament for the bread of the Eucharist is the ordinary term for *leavened* bread. It is never there termed *ἄζυμα*, that is *unleavened* wafers.

(e). The Holy Table should always be in the chancel, with a place behind it for the bishop's throne, and for *the crown of presbyters* (corona presbyterorum) on his right and left.

No altar should be permitted anywhere. That has been done in the later Latin Church, but Bingham shows that the table was anciently used East and West. See his *Antiquities*, Book VIII., Chapter VI., Sections 11 and 15.

(f). The Restoration, where it is possible, of the Public Confession of Sins on graver matters before the whole Congregation, according to the Ecumenical Canons, such for instance, as Canons XI., XII., XIII. and XIV. of Nicaea, etc.; and where it can not well be, the guarding and directing all private Confessions by the bishop, so that it may be freed from the usurpations and misdirectings of unlearned and creature-serving men, who, without any faculties thereto, take the office of Confessors upon themselves, and use it to teach silly women the sins of worshipping saints, and altars, and the Nestorian error of worshipping the Eucharist, and whatsoever other Ecumenically condemned error they please, contrary to the mind of the sound bishop, who, according to the Canons, and the faith and practice of the Church from the beginning, and the New Testament itself, is the sole repository and exerciser for his diocese of the power

of binding and loosing; so that always, even to this day, in the Greek Church and in the Latin, the Confessor must be delegated to that function, and duly licensed thereto by his Bishop.

I am informed that the learned Bishop Whittingham, of Maryland, was unable to control some of his young and Romanizing clergy who heard confessions, but, notwithstanding his wishes, they directed women in ways towards error. They should have been made to obey at once, or been deposed. One of them at last went to Rome, and led some female members of his flock with him to it.

(g). All candidates for Holy Orders should be either celibates, or men who have been married no more than once, and all marriages after ordination to the diaconate should be followed by deposition, according to the Ecumenical Canons. Compare the matter as to Paphnutius at Nicaea, and its decision, and Canon XIV. of Chalcedon, which evidently implies that no deacon, presbyter or bishop may marry after ordination; Canons I. and II., of Neocaesarea, and Canon X. of Ancyra, both of which are made Ecumenical by Canon I. of Chalcedon. Compare also the Apostolic Canons XVII., XVIII., XIX. and XXVI., which are worthy of a place in the Ecumenical Code. For strictness in such matters is necessary to the preservation of unquestioned orders; besides they express what has been the custom of the Church, seemingly, from the beginning.

(h). Marriage should be in strict accordance with the New Testament and with Christian Law from the beginning.

The English Church Marriage Service should be used in the American Prayer Book instead of the mutilated form now in its place, for much of the omitted matter is dogmatically and practically very important as an aid to soundness in faith, and morality in life; and in the latter respect particularly as a warning against those sins of prevention of conception, abortion, etc., which are depleting the American population and filling their places with the offspring of foreigners, whose women are moral enough not to commit the crimes of Sodom and Gomorrah, but bear children.

(i). The bishops should ensure the observance of the Scriptural and primitive prohibition of any divorce at all for a woman; and of any divorce for a man, except for the cause laid down by Christ, that is for the adultery of the wife; and the prohibition of all marriage within those degrees within which the Church has always, from the first,

forbidden it; and the enforcement of Church Law on that matter by suspension whenever necessary, and by excommunication at the last, as Paul enforced it on the incestuous Corinthian; whatever be the Anti-New Testament and wicked State Law on that subject.

(j). The custom mentioned in James v., 13, 14 and 15, of sending for the elders of the Church and of their praying over, not merely *the sick-a-bed*, as in the Latin Church, but also over *the merely weak* as in the Greek and *the anointing them with olive-oil in the name of the Lord for health and for the remission of sins*, should be restored. As it is now, an Anglican clergyman can do little more to help the sick and dying than a pious layman or a pious laywoman. The Greeks call it *Εὐχέλαιον*, that is Prayer-Oil, and give it whenever it is desired to the merely infirm, and do not always postpone it till danger of death comes. The Greek custom is nearer St. James' directions in the passage above. It should not be called *Extreme Unction*, that is, *the last Anointing*, for it often is not the last, nor does St. James make it always the last. All persons should leave the infirm or sick person with the anointing presbyters, and there should be, wherever it can be, two or three at the least, for St. James uses the plural "*elders*," (James v., 14). The confession and the prayer mentioned in the immediate context in St. James, v., 16, 17 and 18, could well be joined with the rite.

(k). So *Christian burial* should be given to Christians only, that is, to the baptized, chrismed and Eucharistized; for how can I speak peace where God has spoken none?

(l). *The ancient commemoration of all the faithful departed* common to the whole church from the beginning, should be restored *with the prayers, and thanksgiving for God's mercies to them*. So especially should be commemorated the blessed Reformers and Restorers of true religion in all ages, including Ridley, Latimer and Hooper, Hezekiah, Josiah, Edward VI., Elizabeth, and all who have fallen on field or flood for the fundamental truth that all invocation and all other acts of religious service are prerogative to God alone. That practice has a powerful influence, as among the Jews, the Greeks, and the Latins, to attach men to their ancestral faith. The church that neglects it is not wise. But we must steer clear of the Roman doctrine of Purgatory.

As the Universal Church has never defined as to what a Sacra-

ment is, nor as to the number of Sacraments, it is well not to do so till she does. The Greeks do not use the word *Sacrament* at all, but *Mystery*.

SECTION 8.

AMONG THE LUTHERANS.

REFERENCES.

1. CARPZOVII, *Isagoge in Libros Ecclesiarum Lutheranorum Symbolicos*, Lipsiae, 1665; 1675.
2. TITTMANN, *Libri Symbolici Ecclesiae Evangelicae, Editio Secunda*, A. D. 1827.
3. *Sylloge Confessionum sub tempus reformandae Ecclesiae editarum*, Oxonii, A. D. 1827.
4. DR. E. KÖLLNER, *Symbolik*, Hamburg, A. D. 1837. This contains the literature on this subject.
5. SCHAFF'S *Creeeds of Christendom*, fourth edition, A. D. 1890, Harper's, New York.

DIVISION I.

ECUMENICAL SYMBOLS.

I.

THE SYMBOL OF THE 318 HOLY FATHERS OF NICAËA.

I am not aware that the formularies of the Lutherans mention this Creed, nor am I aware that they use it.

2.

THE SYMBOL OF THE 150 OF I. CONSTANTINOPLE.

The *Formula of Concord* receives this (86). It has the Western

(86.) *Formula Concordiae* ad init.: Et quia statim post apostolorum tempora, imo etiam cum adhuc superstites essent, falsi doctores et haeretici exorti sunt, contra quos in primitiva Ecclesia Symbola sunt composita, id est, breves et categoricae confessiones, quae unanimem Catholicae Christianae fidei Consensum et Confessionem Orthodoxorum et verae Ecclesiae complectebantur, (ut sunt Symbolum Apostolicum, Nicenum, et Athanasianum), profiteamur publice, nos illa amplecti, et rejicimus omnes Haereses, omniaque dogmata, quae contra illorum sententiam unquam in Ecclesiam Dei sunt inuenta.

Farther on, in the *Formula Concordiae* we read: Et quia jam olim sincera Christi doctrina, in genuino et sano sensu, ex sacris literis collecta, et in articulos seu capita brevissima contra Haeticorum corruptelas digesta est,

additions of the Roman Church version, and like it, has "*ex Maria Virgine*," instead of "*et Maria Virgine*," in Article III., (87).

DIVISION II.

LOCAL CREEDS.

I.

THE ROMAN OR WESTERN.

The *Formula of Concord* receives this (88), in the eighth century, that is in the present form. (89).

2.

THE ATHANASIAN.

The *Formula of Concord* receives this. (90).

Dr. Schaff, note 1, page 180, volume 3, of his *Credo of Christendom*, states that "*the Apostles, the Nicene, and the Athanasian Creeds* * * * are incorporated in the *Lutheran Book of Concord*." That book on the same page speaks of them as "*the three approved Symbols*."

DIVISION III.

THE SIX ECUMENICAL SYNODS, AND THEIR ENACTMENTS IN DOCTRINE, AND DISCIPLINE, AND RITE.

I have not met with any proof that the Lutheran Symbolical books recognize these, (91).

They do, however, recognize faith in the Ecumenical Symbol of the 150. But I am not aware that they receive the Ecumenical Norms of Definition on it, and I am not aware that they recognize

amplectimur etiam tria, illa tria Catholica, et generalia summae auctoritatis Symbola: Apostolicum videlicet, Nicaenum et Athanasii. Haec enim agnoscimus esse breves quidem, sed easdem maxime pias, atque in verbo Dei solide fundatas, praeclaras confessiones fidei, quibus omnes Haereses, quae iis temporibus Ecclesias Christi perturbant, perspicue et solide refutantur.

These passages are in Tittmann's *Libri Symbolici*, pages 439, 487.

(87). See Tittmann's *Libri Symbolici*, as in last note, and id., pages 3, 4.

(88). Id., as in note 86 above.

(89). Id., p. 3.

(90). Id., as in note 86. See the Creed itself, id., pages 4-6.

(91). As to Luther's own opinions on Councils, see CARPZOV., *Isagoge in Libros Symbolicos*, p. 776, and under *Concilia* in the index to that work.

the binding authority of the Ecumenical Canons. Certainly much of their discipline is not based on obedience to them. And as to the doctrines of the Symbol of the 150 and the utterances of the *Formula of Concord*, many of them in the Old World and in this deny some, or most of them. Still others maintain them all, with the exception of Article IX., which they could not receive in the full sense without receiving the Six Ecumenical Synods. As things are at present among the Lutherans, doctrine, discipline and rite are too much at loose ends. Order and system are sadly needed. Let us hope that as that largest of Protestant Communion has gotten rid of so much that is idolatrous and Romish, and has restored so much that is primitive and Ecumenical, it may complete the work of the entire Restoration of the doctrine, discipline and rite of the Six Ecumenical Councils, and that before long; aye, as soon as possible. The Swedish part of it has at least a nominal Archbishop and Bishops, and so has the Finnish branch, and so both have more or less of the provincial system of the Ecumenical Canons still.

Though I have not met with any definite statement in the Lutheran Formularies that they receive the Six Ecumenical Councils, nevertheless they declare for much of their doctrine; for instance, Article I. of the Augsburg Confession, condemns the Arians, Eunomians, and Samosatenes; Article II. condemns the Pelagians; Article III. condemns Nestorian and Eutychian errors: and the *Formula of Concord*, Article VIII., *On the Person of Christ, Affirmative*, Section VII., condemns Nestorian error, and actually calls the Virgin Mary, "*Mother of God*," (*Mater Dei*), instead of confining itself to the more accurate church term, approved in the Third Ecumenical Council, *Deipara*, that is "*Bringer Forth of God*." So in Section XII. there, page 153, volume 3, in Schaff's *Creeds, etc.*, it condemns Nestorius and Eutyches, but falls into the heresy, forbidden by the Third Synod, of *the Communication of the Properties of Christ's Two Natures*. That *Formula of Concord* also condemns the Anabaptistic renewal of the Apollinarian error, that God the Word did not take flesh and blood of the Virgin Mary, and that infants may be saved without baptism, (Schaff, *Id.*, page 174), and the Monophysite error renewed by the Schwenkfeldians, that Christ's human nature has been changed into Divinity (*id.*, page 177). So the errors of the Arians and other Anti-Trinitarians, are condemned on pages 178-179, in the same *Formula*.

SECTION 9.

AMONG THE REFORMED.

REFERENCES.

1. JO. CHRIST. GUIL. AUGUSTI, *Corpus Librorum Symbolicorum qui in Ecclesia Reformatorum auctoritatem publicam obtinuerunt*. Elberfeldi, A. D. 1827.
2. BUTLER'S *Confessions of Faith*; London, 1816.

SYNOPSIS.

SECTION I.

THE ECUMENICAL SYMBOLS.

I.

THE SYMBOL OF THE 318 HOLY FATHERS IN NICAEA.

This is probably not in use among any of the Reformed. The term *Nicaean* used in the formularies mentioned below, probably refers in every instance, or in nearly every instance, not to that, but to its Constantinopolitan expansion.

2.

THE SYMBOL OF THE 150 HOLY FATHERS OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

1. The signers of the French Confession "*approve*" "*the Nicaean*" Symbol, as "*in agreement with the written word of God.*"
2. The signers of the Belgic, or Holland Confession "*gladly receive the Nicaean*" Symbol.
3. The signers of the Bohemian appeal to "*the agreement of the Nicaean Synod,*" on the subject of the Trinity, as openly testifying "*the Catholic faith*" on that subject.
4. The Agreement of Sendomir affirms that "*respecting God and the Holy Trinity, the incarnation of the Son of God, justification, and the chief heads of the Christian faith,*" the Bohemian Confession of the Waldenses contains nothing * * * which is not in accordance with Orthodox truth and with the pure Word of God. And it is on *the Trinity* that the Bohemian confession speaks of "*the agreement of the Nicaean Synod.*"
5. The Margrave, John Sigismund, Elector of Brandenburg, "*confesses from his heart* * * * *the Nicaean*" Symbol as among "*the Christian and Universal chief Symbols.*"

6. The signers of the Leipzig Colloquy "*confessed with mouth and heart * * * the Nicæan*" Symbol.

The signers of the Declaration of Thorn "*profess that*" they "*embrace as a sure and undoubted interpretation of the Scriptures the Nicæan and the Constantinopolitan Symbol, in the very same words in which it is set forth in the third session of the Council of Trent, as that starting point in which all who profess Christ's faith, necessarily agree, and as the firm and only foundation, against which the gates of the infernal regions shall never prevail.*"

DIVISION II.

LOCAL SYMBOLS.

I.

THE WESTERN OR ROMAN.

This is,

1. *Approved* by the French Confession;
2. Gladly *received* by the Belgic or Holland;
3. *Taught* by the Bohemian; which is received,
4. By the Agreement of Sendomir, and professed and adhered to by the Declaration of Thorn;
5. *Confessed* by the Margrave's "*from his heart*;"
6. "*Confessed with mouth and heart*" in the Leipzig Colloquy;
7. Received by the Declaration of Thorn as containing "*What is to be believed*," and is at the end of the Shorter Catechism [in the Westminster Confession of Faith, as] in the "*Confession of Faith*" of "*the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America.*"

2.

THE ATHANASIAN.

This is,

1. *Approved* by the French Confession as being "*in agreement with the written word of God*;"
2. Gladly *received* by the Belgic or Holland Confession; and
3. Appealed to by the Bohemian Confession as *openly testifying* "*the Catholic faith*" on the Trinity, which those who hold to that Confession "*teach.*" Moreover,

4. The Consent of Sendomir approves this Bohemian Confession on the ground that it "admits nothing respecting God and the *Holy Trinity*, the incarnation of the Son of God, justification, and the chief heads of the Christian faith, which is not in accordance with Orthodox truth and with the pure Word of God." The Athanasian Creed may thus be said to be received by the Consent of Sendomir.

5. The Margrave "*confesses*" the Athanasian Symbol "*from his heart.*"

6. The Leipzig Colloquy "*confessed with mouth and heart * * * the Athanasian*" Symbol.

7. The Declaration of Thorn *acknowledges* that with "*the Constantinopolitan Symbol,*" "*agrees the Symbol which is called the Athanasian;*" and it *embraces* "*as a sure and undoubted interpretation of the Scriptures the Nicæan and the Constantinopolitan Symbol,* in the very same words in which it is set forth in the third session of the Council of Trent" [therefore with the words "and the Son," and the other local innovations of the West] "*as that starting point in which all who profess Christ's faith necessarily agree, and as the firm and only foundation against which the gates of the infernal regions shall never prevail.*" This will serve to show how highly it esteems the doctrine of the Athanasian.

One can see at the same time the lack of full information among those writers of some things that we know better now, and especially as to what form of the two Ecumenical Creeds should be held to, and that the Athanasian is a mere local Creed. Certainly every Protestant Christian, that is, every anti-idolatrous Christian, should prefer the form of the Ecumenical Creeds used in the Fourth and the other two Ecumenical Synods after it, to the altered form used at Trent.

FULLER QUOTATIONS FROM CERTAIN CONFESSIONS OF THE REFORMED, OR OF PARTS OF THE REFORMED, ON THE TWO ECUMENICAL CREEDS, THAT IS ON THE SYMBOL OF THE FIRST ECUMENICAL COUNCIL, AND ON THAT OF THE SECOND: AND ON TWO LOCAL CREEDS, THAT IS, ON THE WESTERN CREED, WHICH IS COMMONLY CALLED THE APOSTLES', AND ON THE SO-CALLED ATHANASIAN.

The quotations on the Apostles' and the Athanasian are of little bearing or importance on the Six Ecumenical Councils, but we

retain them for the sake of fuller information on the topic of local Creeds, and to show how the Reformers of the sixteenth century and some later men regarded them, in an age, when, as yet, many or most in the Occident had not learned to distinguish between what is merely Western and of merely *local authority*, and what is Ecumenical, and of *universal authority and obligation*; and so we shall find them jumbled together often in their Credal or Confessional Utterances.

REFERENCES, same as under the *Lutherans*.

I.

THE FRENCH CONFESSION.

The Confession of faith of the French Churches exhibited to King Charles IX., in the year 1561, (92) has the following :

V. * * * "*We approve the three symbols, namely, the Apostolic, the Nicaean, and the Athanasian, because they are in agreement with the written word of God.*"

VI. "The Holy Scripture teaches us that in that single and uncompounded divine essence exist three Persons, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. The Father is the Cause, the First in Order, and the Originator of all things; but the Son is His Wisdom and Eternal Word; the Holy Ghost is His Virtue, Power, and Efficiency. The Son is eternally begotten out of the Father. The Holy Ghost proceeds eternally out of the Father and the Son. These three Persons are not confounded, but distinct; not separated, but co-existent, co-eternal, and co-equal, Deuter. iv., 12; Matt. xxviii., 19; I. John v., 7; John i., 1, and xvii., 5, 10. Finally, *on this mystery we approve what these four old Councils determined*, and we detest all the sects condemned out of the Word of God by those ancient holy doctors, as, for instance, by Athanasius, Hilary, Cyril, Ambrose and by the rest." (93).

(92). See Augusti *Corpus Librorum Symbolicorum*, p. 110.

(93). Augusti *Corpus Librorum Symbolicorum*, p. 112: after proclaiming Scripture to be the sole rule by which everything should be tested, this French confession continues: V. * * * *Quamobrem etiam TRIA ILLA SYMBOLA, NEMPE APOSTOLICUM, NICAENUM, ET ATHANASIANUM IDcirco APPROBAMUS, QUOD SINT ILLA VERBO DEI SCRIPTO CONSENTANEA.*

The work entitled *Corpus et Syntagma Confessionum Fidei*, published A. D. 1612 (94), thus speaks of this document :

"In the year 1559, in most difficult times, it was established in a National Synod at Paris. And, in the Colloquy of Poissy (Colloquium Possiacum), held in the year 1561, Theodore Beza, in the name of the Churches of France, offered it to King Charles IX. It was confirmed in a National Synod, at Rochelle (Rupella), in the year 1571, when it was publicly read through in that illustrious assembly. For there, to three copies transcribed for her on parchment, subscribed with their own hands, the most serene Queen of Navarre. (Johanna) (95); her most serene son, Henry the Fourth and Great, afterwards King of France and Navarre, who is most worthy of happy and perpetual memory: also the most illustrious Prince of Conde, whose name was also Henry; by the most illustrious Count of Nassau (Nassovia); Gaspar Coligny of Châtillon (Gaspar Colinius Castilionius), Admiral of France; and in the name of the French Churches, the Pastors and elders, who had been sent to that National Synod from all the provinces of France. How great an assembly was that! How ornate was it in memorable piety, and in all most splendid gifts, and how excellent in every kind of virtue. One of those autograph manuscripts, elegantly written on parchment, which the same most serene and illustrious persons, etc., subscribed, with their own hands, was sent by them to Geneva to be preserved, and it is kept in the archives of that city. It was published in Latin in the year 1566, and in the year 1581, (96).

VL. "Haec sancta Scriptura nos docet, in illa singulari et simplici essentia divina subsistere tres personas, Patrem, Filium et Spiritum Sanctum. Patrem videlicet primam ordine causam et originem rerum omnium: Filium autem ejus sapientiam et verbum aeternum: Spiritum Sanctum ejusdem virtutem, potentiam et efficaciam; Filium ab aeterno ex Patre genitum. Spiritum Sanctum ab aeterno ex Patre et Filio procedentem: quae tres personae non sint confusae, sed distinctae, nec tamen seperatae, sed coessentiales, coaeternae, et coaequales; Deuter. iv., 12; Matth. xxviii., 19; I. Joan v., 7; Joan i., 1, et xvii., 5, 10. Denique IN HOC MYSTERIO APPROBAMUS, QUOD VETERA ILLA QUATUOR CONCILIA DETERMINARUNT; et omnes Sectas a vetustis illis sanctis doctoribus, veluti Athanasio, Hilario, Cyrillo, Ambrosio, et ceteris, ex Dei verbo damnatus, detestamur."

(94). Augusti *Corpus Librorum Symbolicorum*, p. 611.

(95). The mother of Henry IV., the pious Jeanne d' Albret.

(96) Augusti *Corpus Librorum Symbolicorum*, p. 629.

2.

THE BELGIC, THAT IS, HOLLAND CONFESSION.

"*The Christian and Orthodox Confession of the Belgic Churches, embracing the same doctrine concerning God and the eternal salvation of souls, as it was recognized and approved in the Synod of Dort, (Synodo Dordrechtana,)*" (97).

This sets forth the following :

"This doctrine of the Trinity has always been asserted and preserved in the true Church, from the age of the Apostles to this very day, against Jews, Mohammedans, and certain false Christians and heretics, as, for instance, Marcion, Manes, Praxeas, Sabellius, the Samosatene, Arius, and others like them, who have been condemned lawfully and deservedly by Orthodox Fathers. Therefore in this business we gladly receive the three Symbols, namely that of the Apostles, the Nicæan, and that of Athanasius, and in like manner those things which have been established by the old Fathers, in accordance with the sentiment of those Symbols," (98).

This confession is thus described in Augusti :

"At first the manuscript was a private one, and was composed in the French tongue by some Belgic Pastors, among whom Guido de Bres and Adrian Saravia (99) held the first place. It was then translated into Dutch and Latin, and confirmed in various Synods in the years 1571, 1576, 1579 and 1581. The additions and the changes

(97). See Augusti *Corpus Librorum Symbolicorum*, p. 170.

(98). Id., p. 175. Atque hæc sanctæ Trinitatis doctrina, jam inde ab apostolorum ætate, in hunc usque diem, in vera ecclesia semper asserta et conservata fuit, adversus Judæos, Mahumetanos, atque quosdam Pseudo-Christianos Hæreticosque, utpote Marcionem, Manetem, Praxeam, Sabellium, Samosetanum, Arium et similes alios, qui jure meritoque, ab Orthodoxis Patribus condemnati fuerunt. Idcirco in hoc negotio lubenter recipimus tria illa Symbola: Apostolorum scilicet, Nicaenum, et Athanasii, similiterque ea quæ a veteribus patribus juxta illorum Symbolorum sententiam statuta sunt.

(99) Augusti *Corpus Librorum Symbolicorum*, p. 633. This Adrian Saravia I take it to be the Adrian Saravia who was the celebrated friend of Hooker. He held the doctrine of Apostolical succession exclusively in bishops, from the year 1564, when he lived at Ghent. This was only three years after the date of this Confession. He went over to the English Church thereafter. See concerning him the index under "Saravia" in Keble's Hooker.

which this Confession underwent up to the year 1618 are most accurately indicated and determined by Festus Hommius in the book entitled: *Specimen Controversiarum Belgicarum, S. Confessio Eccles. Reform. in Belgio; in usum futurae Synodi Nationalis*, Lugd. Bat., 1618. 4. At length, after it had been revised and read again, it was ratified by a Synod in 1619. See the *Acta Synod. Dordrac.*, P. I., pag. 350 seqq. Benthemii Holl. Kirchen. und Schulen-Staat, Th. I., c. 5. Jacob Revius translated it into Greek in 1623 and 1653," (100).

3

THE BOHEMIAN CONFESSION.

"*Sum and grounds of the faith and dogmas which are taught in our Churches on Justification throughout the Kingdom of Bohemia and the Margravate of Moravia, and elsewhere, also by the Elders of our Profession, endowed in all things with the same mind. It was first offered and exhibited sincerely and frankly to His Royal Majesty, and then to all pious and candid readers,*" (101.)

ARTICLE II.

ON THE CATECHISM.

"Hence they [that is, those who hold to this Confession] teach the Catechism, that is, this Catholic and Orthodox doctrine of the Fathers; which is the Decalogue of God's Commandments, and the Apostolic Faith, digested into twelve articles, and handed down in a Symbol, through the Nicæan Synod, and so elsewhere confirmed and set forth.

ARTICLE III.

CONCERNING FAITH IN THE HOLY TRINITY.

"Besides they teach in their faith, that God is revealed in the Scriptures as one in the substance of his Divinity, but as trine

(100). Ibid.

(101). See Augusti *Corpus Librorum Symbolicorum*, p. 275. The King here referred to was Ferdinand of Austria. This is clear from the date. For on this page, 275, note, Augusti remarks: *Titulus Generalis in syntagmate est: "Confessio fidel ac religionis Baronum ac Nobilium Regni Bohemiae, Serenissimo ac Invictissimo Romanorum, Bohemiae, etc. Regi, Viennae Austriae, sub. A. D. 1535 Oblata. Ex editione A. 1558. 4."*

in Persons, that is, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. In regard to the Persons they hold to a distinction between them, but in regard to existence and substance they hold that they are coequal and that there is no distinction to be made between them. And *that this is the Catholic faith, the agreement of the Nicæan Synod*, and of others with it, their decrees, and their sanctions, and the Confession or Symbol of Athanasius do openly testify;" (102). On this Confession Augusti remarks:

"The lovers of evangelical truth, who, after the slaughter of the Hussites, survived in Bohemia and Moravia, were called Bohemian Brethren and Moravians. The terms Waldenses and Picards were applied to them, because many of those who, from old times, had lived in Bohemia, embraced the cause of the Hussites. But, as Comenius in his *Histor. Fratr. Bohem.*, 1702, § 50, 51, testifies, they prefer to call themselves *Unity of the Brethren* (Unitas Fratrum), that is, Brethren of Unity. These, therefore put forth the first Confession of their faith in the year 1504, which, however, had been preceded by others, but different ones, from Flacius and Lydius, under the name of Waldenses. They exhibited to King Ladislaus what is read in *Lydii Waldens.* 5. ii., p. 1, seqq., and it was followed by new editions and apologies in the year 1507, 1508 and 1524. In the year 1532 they sent a new Confession to George, Margrave of Brandenburg, who handed it over to Luther to publish it. That edition bears the title: *Rechenschaft des Glaubens, der Dienst und Ceremonien der Brüder in Boehmen und Mähren, welche von etlichen Pikarden, und von etlichen Waldenser genannt werden*, Wittenb., 1532. Three years after, the same person edited a New Confession of the Brethren, which, in the year 1535, they had offered to King Ferdinand, and

(102). See Augusti *Corpus Librorum Symbolicorum*, p. 277-279:

ARTICLE II. *De Catechismo.* Hinc *Catechismus* docent, hoc est, Catholicam hanc et Orthodoxam patrum doctrinam: quae *Decalogus* est mandatorum Dei, et *fides Apostolica*, in duodecim articulos digesta, et tradita in *Symbolo* per *Nicaenam Synodum*, atque adeo alias confirmata et exposita. * * * *

ARTICLE III. *De fide Sanctae Trinitatis.* Praeterea fide nosci Deum Scripturis docent, *unum* in substantia divinitatis, *trinum* autem in personis, Patrem, Filium, et Spiritum Sanctum. Ex parte quidem personarum habere discrimen, ex parte vero essentiae ac substantiae coaequalitatem et indistinctionem. Id autem fides Catholica et Nicaenae Synodi, aliarumque cum hac idem consensus, decreta et sanctiones, *Athanasii Confessio*, seu Symbolum, aperte testantur.

besides, he decked it out with many remarks in a Preface. In these remarks he had the consent of Melancthon, Bucer, Calvin, and others.

After new harassings and persecutions, which the brethren suffered in Bohemia in 1547 and 1548, many migrated into Poland and Prussia, where, on account of the remarkable moral discipline in which they excelled, they secured the applause of all, and especially of the Magnates and Nobles, and they lived in peace and concord with the Lutherans and the Reformed. The reason why the brethren desired to be joined in a closer bond with them" [the Lutherans and the Reformed] "was not only the Roman Catholics, whose torch and trumpet for a long time was Hosius, the Cardinal, but more especially the Socinians, that is, the Unitarians, who at that time had crept in among them under the name of *Polish Brethren*. The Lutherans, therefore, the Reformed, and the Bohemian Brethren, that is, the Waldenses, when about to make common cause in a triple compact against a common enemy, entered into an ecclesiastical union in a general Synod at Sendomir in 1570, and put forth that AGREEMENT OF SENDOMIR, which we have given, P. I. But in this AGREEMENT our Confession is publicly recognized as a genuine declaration of evangelical doctrine, and as, in a certain sense, to be deemed equal to the Augsburg Confession," (103).

4.

THE AGREEMENT OF SENDOMIR.

The mutual agreement on points of the Christian religion between the Churches of Greater and Lesser Poland, of Lithuania, and Samogitia, which Churches according to the Augustan [that is, the Augsburg] Confession, according to that of the Waldensian Brethren, as they are called, and, according to the Helvetic Confession, seemed in certain respects to differ from each other. This agreement was made April 14, in the year 1570, in the Sendomir Synod.

This Agreement approves the Bohemian, that is, Waldensian Confession from which we have just quoted. It affirms that it admits nothing respecting God and the Holy Trinity, the incarnation of the Son of God, justification, and the chief heads of the Christian faith,

(103). See Augusti *Corpus Librorum Symbolicorum*, p. 637-639.

which is not in accordance with Orthodox truth and with the pure Word of God, (104).

5.

THE MARGRAVE CONFSSION, OR CONFSSION OF JOHN SIGISMUND,
ELECTOR OF BRANDENBURG. (105).

"At the beginning, and for the first, his Electoral Grace, confesses from his heart the true infallible and alone-saving Word of God, as the same is comprised in the Scriptures of the Holy Prophets and Apostles in the Holy Bible * * * in the next place [he confesses] the Christian and universal chief Symbols, as the Apostolic, the Athanasian, the Nicæan, the Ephesian, and Chalcedonian; and that in them the articles of the Christian faith are briefly and plainly handled, and sufficiently proved and maintained out of Scripture against old and new heresies, (106).

(104). Augusti *Corpus Librorum Symbolicorum*, p. 254, 255: Visum est iisdem ecclesiis Polonicis Reformatis et Orthodoxis, quae in quibusdam capitibus et formulis doctrinae (hostibus veritatis et Evangelii) minime consentire videbantur, pacis et concordiae studio, Synodum convocare, ac consensionem mutuum testari. Quare habita collatione amica et Christiana, sic junctis compositisque animis consenserunt in haec capita.

Primum. Quemadmodum et nos, qui in praesenti Synodo nostram confessionem edidimus, et fratres nunquam credidimus eos, qui *Augustanam Confessionem* amplectuntur, aliter quam pie et orthodoxe sensisse de Deo, et sacra Trinitate, atque incarnatione Filii Dei, et justificatione, aliisque praecipuis capitibus fidei nostrae: ita etiam ii, qui Augustanam Confessionem professi sunt candide et sincere, se vicissim tam de nostrarum ecclesiarum, quam de fratrum, quos vocant *Waldenses*, confessione de Deo, et Sacra Triade, incarnatione Filii Dei, justificatione, et aliis primariis capitibus fidei Christianae, nihil agnoscere, quod sit absonum ab orthodoxa veritate, et puro verbo Dei. Cf. Augusti id., p. 639, where speaking of this Consensus-Sendomiriensem, he remarks: In hoc autem Confessio nostro [That is the Bohemian Confession quoted by us above] tanquam genuina doctrinae evangelicae declaratio et Augustanae Confessionis quodammodo aequiparanda publice agnoscitur.

(105). See Augusti *Corpus Librorum Symbolicorum*, p. 369.

(106). Id., p. 371. Anfänglich und fürs erste, bekennen sich Se. Churf. Gn. von Herzen zu dem wahren unfehlbaren und allein seligmachendem Wort Gottes, wie dasselbige in den Schriften der heiligen Propheten und apostol, in der heiligen Bibel verfasst * * * hernach auch zu den Christlichen und allgemeinen Hauptsymbolis, als dem apostolischen, Athanasianischen, Nicenischen, Ephesianischen, und Chalcedonischen, darinnen die artikel christlichen Glaubens, kurz und rund begriffen, und wider alte und neue Ketzereien aus der Schrift genugsam bewahret und behauptet sind.

On this Confession Augusti remarks:

"When John Sigismund, Elector of Brandenburg, in the year 1613, went over to the side of the Reformed, in a Confession put forth in his own name in the year 1613 and 1614 (of which Pelargus, a theologian, of Frankfort, is held to have been the author), he set forth a new form of doctrine, and proposed it to his subjects, not as a norm, but as an example. But afterwards, the Margrave's Confession, *Confessio Marchica*, (for so they were accustomed to call it) was prescribed by public authority, together with the Leipzig Colloquy in the year 1631, and the Declaration of Thorn in the year 1645, as a book by which all the teachers of the Reformed Church in the territories of Brandenburg and Prussia were to be bound, and this obligation continued until the year 1817. Compare the book entitled: *Der Chur Brandenburg Reformatiōns-Werk: die drey confessiones oder Glaubensbekenntnisse, welche in den churfürtl. Brandenburg. die Religion betreffenden Edictis zu beobachten befohlen worden*; Coeln an der Spree, 1695, 4. From this authentic book flowed all the remaining editions, even that which is read in the appendix of D. H. Hering's *historische Nachricht von dem ersten Anfange der evang. reform. Kirche in Brandenburg und Preussen*, Halle, 1778, 8; and which is repeated in other works.

"Inasmuch as the Margrave's Confession and the Leipzig Colloquy are written in German, and inasmuch as no Latin version which can be maintained to be authentic, is known to us, we have deemed it our office to exhibit no other text than that which is genuine and original, as it is extant in *Mylii Corp. Constitut. Marchicar.*, t. 1."

6.

THE LEIPZIG COLLOQUY IN THE YEAR 1631.

"*The Reformed and Lutheran Theologians who were there present arranged a settlement as to how far they agree and how far they do not,*" (107).

"In conclusion they held that there is no better means for agreement on this point than that in those high mysteries they should abide by those modes of speech alone, which are expressly employed in Holy Scriptures IN THE MOST ANCIENT ECU-

(107). See Augusti *Corpus Librorum Symbolicorum*, p. 386.

MENICAL COUNCILS, and in the Augsburg Confession, as they then, for their part, would bind themselves to no other expressions. This last the Saxon Electorate have left to be arranged on future and farther conference, and on more investigation; and so much of the third article was left, to which the theologians on both sides adhere so far as this, namely, that they from their hearts condemned and rejected all the errors of the old and new Arians, Nestorians, Eutychians, Monothelites, Marcionites, Photinians and whatever names they might still bear, and on the other hand confessed with mouth and heart the Apostolic, Nicaean and Athanasian Symbols," (108).

On this Augusti remarks:

"At length, in the time of a most deadly war, Jo. George I., Elector of Saxony, George William, Elector of Brandenburg, and William, Prince of Hesse, and Landgrave, thought of restoring peace and concord to the Evangelical Church. In a meeting held at Leipzig in the year 1631, they commanded Theologians selected from both parties to hold a Colloquy on controverted articles, and to state in a public Declaration in what respects they could agree. This was done in our document, which was written in the vernacular tongue, in order that it might be of use to all, and it was subscribed with the names of those who took part in the Colloquy, and was published in the same year. If thou glancest at the effect of this Colloquy, thou shouldst grieve that it has been almost nothing, for it is evident, that a little after it, new dissensions and increased hatreds burst forth, but the value of this peace-favoring and love-producing writing is not lessened by that result. And the judgment which Henke

(108). Id., p. 399: Schliesslich halten sie es dafür, das kein besser Mittel zur Vergleichung in diesem Punkt sey, als, das man in diesem hohen Geheimniss bey denen Redensarten allein, welche in der heiligen Schrift, in den uralten allgemeinen conciliis, und in der augsburgischen confession ausdrücklich gebraucht worden, verbleibe, wie sie denn ihres theils zu keinen andern Reden sich verbinden wollen. Welches letzere die Chur-Sächsische auf Künftige fernere Unterredung und mehrere Ausführung haben gestellet seyn lassen. Und so viel vom dritten Artikel; bey welchem beiderseits Theologi angehänget, dass sie von Herzen verdammten und verwürfen alle Irrthümer der alten und neuen Arianer, Nestorianer, Eutychianer, Monotheliten, Marcioniten, Photinianer, und wie sie immer Namen haben möchten dargegen sich zum Apostolischen, Nicenischen, Athanasischen Symbolen mit Mund und Herzen bekennen thäten.

(Gesch. der Chr. Kirche, Th. III. p. 309) has given concerning it is very true, (109).

DECLARATION OF THORN.

"A General Profession of the Doctrine of the Reformed Churches in the Kingdom of Poland, in the Grand Dukedom of Lithuania, and in the Provinces adjoining the Kingdom, exhibited on the first day of September, in the meeting which was held at Thorn for the purpose of maturing a settlement of controversies," (110).

After a profession of faith in *"the Holy Canonical Scriptures of the Old and the New Testament,"* as being *"alone, the rule of faith and worship,"* (111), this Declaration goes on:

"And a sort of compend of these Scriptures, so far as what is to be believed is concerned, is contained in the Apostolic Symbol, in which we were baptized; so far as what is to be done is concerned, in the Decalogue, the sum of which consists in love to God and to one's neighbor; so far as what is to be sought after and hoped for, in the Lord's Prayer. All of which things are confirmed by our Lord Jesus Christ both in the institution of baptism, as the sacrament of initiation or regeneration, and in the Holy Eucharist as the sacrament of our spiritual nutrition.

Under these heads, therefore, we deem the sum of saving doctrine to exist; for the propagation and preservation of which doctrine in the Church our Lord established the holy Ministry for preaching the Gospel and for administering the Sacraments, and armed them with the spiritual power of the keys against unbelievers and the disobedient.

(109). Augusti *Corpus Librorum Symbolicorum*, p. 641, 642. On page 642, in a note to the last sentence above, he adds the passage from Henke to which he refers: *"Apponeuda censemus ejus verba, quæ etiam nostris diebus dicta sunt: Noch nie war mit solcher Klugheit und Mäßigung, noch nie mit so günstigem Schein des gewisserten Erfolgs, die aussöhnung beider protest. Kirchen und das Ende jener, von ihren Feinden mit Freude und Hohn bemerkten, mit List und Glück unterhaltenen Streitigkeiten vorbereitet worden. So wenig auch die Fürsten, welche diese Abrede schlossen, andern protestant. Regenten oder Gemeinheiten vergeifen oder vorschreiben wollten, so diente doch dieser ihr Versuch, bey ihrem Ansehn, zum nachahmlichen Beyspiele wie Nachbarn bei drohender Feuersbrunst ihre sonst Kleinen Streitigkeiten vergessen und die gemeinschaftliche Gefahr bedenken mussten.*

(110). Augusti *Corpus Librorum Symbolicorum*, p. 411.

(111). Ibid.

But if any doubt or controversy arises regarding the genuine sense of these heads of Christian Doctrine, *we hereby profess, moreover, that we embrace as a sure and undoubted interpretation of the Scriptures the Nicæan and the Constantinopolitan Symbol, in the very same words in which it is set forth in the third session of the Council of Trent, as that starting point in which all who profess Christ's faith necessarily agree, and as the firm and only foundation against which the gates of the infernal regions shall never prevail.*

And we acknowledge that with this Symbol agrees the Symbol *which is called the Athanasian, and, moreover, the confessions of the First Synod of Ephesus, and of the Synod of Chalcedon, and, moreover, those which the Fifth Synod and the Sixth Synod opposed to the relics of the Nestorians and of the Eutychians; and, moreover, what the Synod of Milevis and the Second of Orange formerly taught from the Scriptures against the Pelagians; and, besides, whatever from the very times of the Apostles and thereafter with unanimous and notorious consent, the primitive Church believed and taught as a necessary article of faith, the same, we also, from the Scriptures profess both to believe and to teach.*

By this Profession of our faith, therefore, we, *as being truly Catholic Christians, hereby separate ourselves and our churches from all old and recent Heresies, which the ancient Universal Church with unanimous consent, from the Scriptures rejected and condemned,"* (112).

(112). Augusti *Corpus Librorum Symbolicorum*, p. 411: *Profitemur itaque imprimis quidem, nos amplecti sacras canonicas Veteris et Novi Testamenti Scripturas, in Veteri, Hebraea, in Novo, Graeca lingua, a Prophetis et Apostolis, instinctu Spiritus Sancti primitus scriptas, quas solas fidei et cultus nostri regulam perfectam esse agnoscimus: in quibus aperte posita inveniuntur illa omnia, quae ad salutem omnibus sunt necessaria, seu, ut h. Augustinus loquitur, quae continent fidem, moresque vivendi, spem scilicet et caritatem.*

Quarum etiam velut Compendium quoddam, quoad credenda, Symbolo Apostolico, in quod omnes baptizati sumus; quoad facienda, Decalogo, cujus summa consistit in dilectione Dei et proximi; quoad petenda et speranda Oratione Dominica continetur. Quae et ipsa a Domino nostro Jesu Christo, institutione tum Baptismi, seu sacramenti initiationis sive regenerationis tum S. Eucharistiae, seu sacramenti nutritionis spiritualis confirmata sunt.

In his ergo capitibus summam doctrinae salvificae consistere censemus; cui in ecclesia propagandae et conservandae, sacrum etiam evangelii praedicandi et sacramentorum administrandorum Ministerium Dominus Noster instituit, et potestate clavium spirituali adversus incredulos et immorigeros, armavit.

They add further, below, that on the controversies which at the Reformation separated the Western Church, they approve, among other confessions, the Bohemian. This we have quoted above, (113).

On this Declaration, Augusti, after speaking of the unsuccessful result of the Leipzig Colloquy, remarks as follows:

"Almost the same holds true of that loving Colloquy which was held in the year 1645 at Thorn under the auspices of Uladislaus IV., King of Poland, between Catholic, Lutheran and Reformed Theologians. The counsel of a very good King was fruitless, and greater discord burst forth. The reception of the Declaration of Thorn as a new Symbol by the Reformed Church in the territories of Brandenburg was the only fruit that remained. Cf. Hofmanni *Hist. lit. Colloquii Charatave Thorun. et Heringii* Beytr. zur Gesch. der reform. Kirche, Th. I., p. 158, Th. II., p. 55, seqq."

There sentiments for the most part are orthodox and noble. The regard for the *Filioque* is among the things to be regretted.

Moreover, certain blunders mar some of these documents. The following may be noted:

I. The statement in the Bohemian Confession that "the apostolic faith digested into twelve articles," had been "*handed down in a*

Si quid vero in hisce doctrinae Christianae capitibus dubitationis aut controversiae de genuino eorum sensu exoriatur, profiteamur porro, nos amplecti ceu interpretationem Scripturarum certam et indubitam, Symbolum Nicaenum et Constantinopolitanum, iisdem plane verbis, quibus in Synodi Tridentinae Sessione tertia, tanquam principium illud, in quo omnes qui fidem Christi profitentur, necessario conveniunt, et fundamentum firmum et unicum, contra quod portae inferorum nunquam praevalerunt, proponitur.

Cui etiam consonare Symbolum, quod dicitur Athanasianum, agnoscimus: nec non Ephesinae primae, et Chalcedonensis Synodi Confessiones: quin etiam, quae quinta et sexta Synodi, Nestorianorum et Eutychianorum reliquiis opposuerunt: quaeque adversus Pelagianos olim Milevitana Synodus et Arausicana secunda ex Scripturis docuerunt. Quinimo, quicquid primitiva ecclesia ab ipsis usque Apostolorum temporibus, unanimi deinceps et notorio consensu tanquam articulum fidei necessarium credidit, docuit, idem nos quoque ex Scripturis credere et docere profiteamur.

Hac igitur fidei nostrae professione, tanquam Christiani vere Catholici ab omnibus veteribus et recentibus Haeresibus, quas prisca Universalis Ecclesia unanimi consensu ex Scripturis rejecit atque damnavit, nos nostrasque ecclesias segregamus."

(113). Id., p. 413.

symbol through the Nicæan Synod." If by this is meant as one might understand, that the Western Creed called the Apostles' had been digested into twelve articles before that Synod, and that it had been handed down through that Council the mistake is a bad one. For the Acts of the Council make no mention of it: and when Rufinus first mentions the Western Creed, about A. D. 390, it lacked the twelfth article, and besides was not so full in other articles as it has been made since. But I have shown the baselessness of such notions more fully in writings on the Creeds which, if God gives me the means, I hope to publish.

It is very much to be regretted that vast multitudes of the Continental Reformed have swerved from these productions of some of the ablest theologians they have ever had, into some of the forms of Arianism or infidelity, and that in the British Dominions and in the United States, they have turned aside into later and more unlearned and unscriptural notions. In English-speaking Christendom whatever of orthodox learning there may be on these points is deluged and swamped in the flood of popular ignorance which rules those bodies: and so some in them make mere feeling without baptism to be regeneration; deny a hell, deny the Trinity, deny baptism for the remission of sins, and other fundamentals. With regard to his work, Augusti remarks appositely to the lamentable position of the European Reformed:

"Thou hast here, therefore, kindly reader, a new collection of the Symbolic Books of the Reformed Church, which is not only increased by our care, of whatsoever sort that be, but even a little more correct, and disposed in better order. * * * It has been our task so far as it may be done, to assist the desire of those who wish to draw the doctrine of the Reformed from sources which are known to very few: and we do not doubt that those judges, who are just in these matters will deem our edition adapted to this purpose. This only however we foresee, namely, that those Genevan Pastors, who, in a writing lately published, set forth a *Suppression of Belief in Confessions*, (perchance, forsooth, as a propitiatory offering to Servetus in the very place of his punishment,) will be sharply incensed at us. For if they bore with pain and difficulty the repetition of the Helvetic Confession put forth anew by two of their own colleagues, how much more angry will they be with us for putting forth the whole body of Confessions!

But, although, from our heart we grieve over it, we can have nothing in common with anti-creed Pastors and Theologians, (who, besides those of Geneva, seem to have, here and there, brethren and comrades), until they change their minds; and nothing remains for us except to endure their attacks with composure, and to suffer it patiently, whether they wish to call us Athanasians, or Mummerys, or by any other invidious name whatever," (114).

In a note he adds: "In a work put forth by public authority, entitled a Discourse pronounced at the Consistory of the Church of Geneva, January 14, 1819, by M. de Ferney, Pastor, Geneva and Paris, Paschoud, 1819, 8, p. 20, are read these words, namely:

"The suppression of Confessions of Faith is then, I am sure, the most proper means of bringing together individuals and Churches, and when these shall be animated by a sincere love of peace, nothing will hinder them from stretching out the hand of fellowship, and from causing the disappearance of all sects!"

"Add the work entitled, *Histoire veritable des Momiers de Genève* etc. Paris, 1824, 8, p. 76, seqq." (115).

That would assuredly be a happy family in which one would hold firmly to the doctrine of the Trinity as vastly and essentially important, and another should hold it in utter abhorrence; in which one should profess as articles of saving faith the doctrine of Christ's divinity and of his atonement and another should deny both, and deem the divine Redeemer a mere creature and the worship of Him but idolatry, etc!! Common sense and experience teach that sects without Confessions, as, for instance, the Antipaedobaptist sects of England and the new world, divide readily when they differ, into hostile camps. The following varieties of this one particular class exist in the United States alone:

1. Regular or Calvinistic Baptists.
2. Freewill Baptists.
3. Six Principle Baptists.
4. Campbellites.
5. Seventh Day Baptists, single immersionists.
6. Winebrennarians.
7. Mennonites.

(114). Augusti *Corpus Librorum Symbolicorum*, p. 649.

(115). Augusti *Corpus Librorum Symbolicorum*, p. 650.

8. Reformed Mennonites.
9. Tunkers, First Day.
10. Tunkers, Seventh Day.
11. Anti-Mission Baptists.
12. River Brethren, and at least one or two others.

As to the points on which this happy family squabble, and those on which they agree, we can waste no time. Each one of them is perfectly sure that it is right and that the others are wrong. The Regular Baptist baptizes the Mennonite because he has no valid baptism, for the Mennonite ordinarily sprinkles or pours; and the Tunker baptizes the Calvinistic Baptist because the Calvinistic Baptist and the other single-immersion sects are not immersed thrice. These are only a few of the varieties. Will not a satirical man say, the conflict of ideas in these sects is of the same affectionate and loving kind for which Kilkenny cats are noted when they fairly get at each other? Will not the satirist say, Down with all barriers to fatal and soul-destroying error, then? Let the wolf come into the fold! Let anarchy reign! Let the flock of Christ be scattered and made the laughing-stock of His enemies, of Pagan and Jew and Mohammedan! Let it be destroyed! Down with creeds! Is this superlatively sensible, and well pleasing to Christ and beneficial to His religion? Hurrah for cant and twaddle and humbug!

NEVIN (ONE OF THE REFORMED) IN FAVOR OF CREEDS.

John W. Nevin, D. D. German Reformed, in the *Mercersburg Review* for Nov., 1852, pp. 606-620, has an article which, although defective in certain points of learning, is in the main deserving of respect, if much of what he has said of the so-called Apostles' Creed be asserted of the Nicene Symbol and the Constantinopolitan, and of Primitive Tradition. But he errs in teaching that the so-called Apostles' Creed was the Norm of Ecumenical doctrine in the Ante-Nicene or any other period when the Universal Church was undivided. But the Historic Tradition, that is what was held "everywhere, always and by all" from the first, was a guide in defining on doctrine, discipline, rite and custom. What we propose to quote from him is directed against the patrons of "the Anti-Creed heresy" as he terms it, who undervalue the importance of doctrinal symbol, in interpreting the Holy Scriptures. He writes:

"There is no such thing in truth as this sort of unsymbolical independence in the interpretation of the Bible ; and those who promise liberty in this way, only bring in always a real bondage of Spirit in the room of the lawful and just authority they dare to set aside. No man reads the Bible without a theological habit of some sort, (even if it be that of a Voltaire or Paine only) which goes to determine for him the sense of its words. Every sect has its Symbol, its tradition, written or unwritten, generally both, for the most part poor, harsh hard, and dead, under whose iron yoke is sung the melancholy song of freedom all the day long. Of all conceivable forms of spiritual vassalage, the most dismal surely is to be estranged from the Ecumenical faith, the Catholic Creed, of God's Church as it has stood from the beginning, and to be adopted into the glorious liberty of some paltry sect, which has manufactured a new edition of Christianity for its own use, fresh from the mint of the Bible, in the most approved Puritan style, and now requires you, on pain of sore heresy, if not actual perdition, to read the Bible and do up all your religious thinking in this same fashion precisely, and no other. *For our part, we think it infinitely more safe, as well as vastly more respectable, to take the sense of the inspired volume, with such men as Irenæus, Cyprian, Athanasius, Chrysostom, Augustine, and the ancient fathers generally, from the standpoint of the old Ecumenical Councils and Creeds, than to sit for the same purpose at the feet of any modern sect whatever, presuming to set up any new scheme of faith, not rooted in the Apostles' Creed* [he should have said "Ecumenical" instead of "Apostles'," J. C.] as a better and surer version of what the Scriptures actually mean."

DIVISION III.

QUOTATIONS FROM CONFESSIONS OF THE REFORMED, ON THE SIX
ECUMENICAL SYNODS, AND ON THE RECEPTION OF THEIR
NORMS OF DEFINITION ON THE TWO ECUMENICAL
CREEDS, THAT IS, ON THAT OF THE FIRST ECUMENICAL SYNOD AND ON THAT OF
THE SECOND.

A HELVETIC CONFESSION.

"*A brief and simple Confession and Exhibition of sincere Christian Faith,*" (116).

(116). See Augusti *Corpus Librorum Symbolicorum*, p. 3.

This is the first of the Helvetic Confessions in Augusti's *Corpus Librorum Symbolicorum*.

This recognizes the importance of maintaining discipline among ministers, by means of Synods, and the right to lead back into the way of truth any of them who may have erred, if they can be healed, or of deposing them if they are incurable; and then adds:

"Nor do we disapprove Ecumenical Councils, if, in accordance with apostolic example, they be celebrated for the safety of the Church, and not for its ruin," (117).

Of this Confession, Butler, in his *Confessions of Faith*, remarks:

"It was composed in 1566, by Bullinger, under the particular direction of the Elector Palatine. Some writers have asserted that the Elector was its real author. With the exception of Bâsle, it was adopted by all the Helvetic and Rhaetian cities, which had embraced the Reformation. The divines of Bâsle refused to sign it, not because they objected to the doctrine which it contained; but because, in their opinion, their previous subscription of their own creed, in 1530, rendered it unnecessary. It is greatly esteemed by all the Reformed Churches, and is particularly curious, from its generally expressing the Zuinglian creed, before it was newly modelled by Calvin," (118).

But Augusti gives a different date and a somewhat fuller account, for he writes that

"In the year 1566 it was revised and corrected *in the name and by the authority of all the Helvetic Churches*, except Bâsle and Neufchatel (excepta Basiliensi et Neocomensi) and approved by the Re-

(117). Augusti *Corpus Librorum Symbolicorum*, p. 64, 65: Scimus, sacramenta ex institutione et per verbum Christi sanctificari, et efficacia esse piis, tametsi offerantur ab indignis ministris. De qua re ex Scripturis multa contra Donatistas disputavit beatus Dei servus Augustinus.

Atqui debet interim justa esse inter ministros disciplina. Inquirendum enim diligenter in doctrinam et vitam ministrorum, in Synodia. Corripiendi sunt peccantes a senioribus, et in viam reducendi, si sunt sanabiles, aut depoenendi et velut lupi abigendi sunt per veros pastores a grege dominico, si sunt incurabiles. Si enim sint pseudodoctores, minime ferendi sunt. Neque vero et oecumenica improbamus concilia, si ad exemplum celebrentur apostolicum, ad ecclesiae salutem, non perniciem.

(118). Butler's *Confessions of Faith*, ed. London, 1816, p. 41.

formed Churches in England, Scotland, France, Belgium, Poland, Hungary and Germany. It was first written at a gathering at Bâle in the year 1536, by a triumvirate selected for this business, Henry Bullinger, Oswald Myconius, and Simon Grynaeus, with the special design of promoting good feeling and concord with the adherents of the Augsburg Confession. But afterwards, when it was seen that this did not come to pass as had been desired, and that this Confession was disapproved by many as not sufficient, at the persuasion of Frederick III., especially, the Elector Palatine, it was worked up into a much increased and much more elaborate form. In this business Henry Bullinger, Theodore Beza, and Rudolph Gualterus, had the chief parts. Compare Rud. Hospiniani *Concordia Discors.* Tigur. 1607 f. p. 92, 104, seqq. Ejusdem *Histor. Sacrament.* P. II., p. 56, seqq., p. 238, p. 564, seqq., (119).

A fuller account of it is in the Philadelphia translation of Herzog's Theological and Ecclesiastical Encyclopædia, article *Helvetic Confessions*.

This article remarks that "*the Confession [in German], also the improved Latin edition, was finally adopted and subscribed as the common confession of the Swiss Churches.*"

The Preface to it is in Augusti's *Corpus Libror., Symbol*, p. 623, seq., and, to one curious in such matters, it repays perusal.

THE SCOTCH CONFESSION.

"*The Scotch Confession of Faith. The Orders of the Kingdom of Scotland and all in this realm, professing Christ Jesus and His Holy Gospel, for their own countrymen and for other Kingdoms and Nations, professing together with themselves the same Christ Jesus, pray grace, mercy and peace from God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, with the Spirit of right judgment and salvation.*

ARTICLE XX.

ON GENERAL COUNCILS—THEIR POWER, THEIR AUTHORITY, AND THE CAUSES OF THEIR ASSEMBLING.

"*As we do not rashly condemn that, which pious men, legitimately assembled in General Council have set forth to us, so, on the other hand,*

(119). Augusti *Corpus Librorum Symbolicorum*, p. 622.

we do not admit whatever, without just examination, is thrust on men, in the name of a General Council, (120). For it is manifest, that inasmuch as they were men, for that reason certain of them have manifestly erred, and that too in matters of the greatest weight and moment. So far, therefore, as a Council proves the sentence and command which it gives, by the plain Word of God, so far do we at once reverence and embrace it. But if any persons pretend, in the name of a Council, to coin new articles of our faith, or to make constitutions repugnant to the Word of God, notwithstanding it behooves us to reject utterly as doctrines of devils all that calls away our souls from the voice of our God alone to follow the doctrines and constitutions of men, I. Tim. iv., 1. The reason, therefore, why General Councils came together was not that they might make any law perpetual which had not already been enacted by God, nor that they might fabricate new articles of our faith, or that they might confer any authority on the Word of God, much less that they might make that to be the Word of God or that to be its true interpretation which had not before been His holy will, expressed in His Word. But the reason why Councils assembled (for we speak of those which deserve the name of Councils) was partly for the refutation of heresies, and to give a public confession of faith to posterity, for it to follow, both which things they did from the authority of the written Word of God, and that too without holding the opinion of their possessing any such prerogative, as because they were in a General Council, therefore they could not err. This, in our judgment, was the first and principal reason for General Councils. Another was for the establishment and observance of good government in the Church, in which, as being God's House, it is fit that all things be done decently and in order; not, however, that we judge that the same government in every thing, and just the same order of ceremonies in every respect can be established for all ages, times and places. For inasmuch as ceremonies invented by men are only temporary, therefore they can be and they ought to be changed when their use is found to suffer or to foster superstition rather than to edify the Church of God," (121).

(120). Augusti *Corpus Librorum Symbolicorum*, p. 160, Art. XX. *De Conciliis generalibus, eorum potestate, auctoritate, et causis, cur conveniunt.*

Quemadmodum non temere damnamus illud, quod viri pii, congregati in generali concilio legitime convocato, nobis proposuerunt; ita sine justo examine non admittimus quicquid hominibus, generalis concilii nomine, obtruditur.

(121). Augusti *Corpus Librorum Symbolicorum*, p. 160-162.

This contains some things which are excellent and some things which need limiting. The General Councils here faulted were probably the local Synods of the whole West which after the separation of West and East were termed *General*, in the West. The Second of Nicaea, the so-called Seventh Ecumenical Synod, would be included.

In Article XVIII., this Confession states :

"If therefore an interpretation, determination, or sentence of any doctor of the Church or of a Council is repugnant to the express word of God, in any other place of Scripture, it is certain that that interpretation is not the mind and sense of the Holy Spirit, although Councils, Kingdoms, and Nations may have admitted and approved it. For we dare not admit any interpretation which is repugnant to any chief article of faith, or to any plain text of Scripture or rule of love," (122).

On this confession Augusti remarks :

"The statement in the Syntagma that '*it was written in the year 1568 in the Scotch language alone*' is false. That this statement is not a typographical error is clear from what follows: *It was first published in the year one thousand five hundred and sixty-eight*. But it is certain that it was hastily written in a full session of the Edinburgh Parliament (for a space of only four days was allowed) and it was there exhibited and confirmed. Cf. Stuarti Gesch. der Reformat. in Scotland, p. 225, seqq. et Schroekhii Kirchengesch. seit d. Reformat. Th. II., p. 478 seqq. John Knox is reputed to have been its chief author.

"What is exhibited in the Syntagma, p. 126-128, namely, '*The General Confession of the true and Christian Faith and Religion, according to the word of God and the acts of our Parliaments, which his Royal Majesty and his family and various others have subscribed for the glory of God, and as a good example to all. At Edinburgh, on the 28th day of January A. D., 1581, and in the fourteenth year of His Royal Majesty's reign,*' is nothing else at all but a new confirmation and commendation of the Scotch Confession. The Scots solemnly declare that they will firmly adhere to the Confession publicly confirmed, in all its articles, and that they will manfully defend it against Popery,

and especially against the erroneous and bloody decrees of the Council of Trent. A little after this is added: 'We therefore * * * protest, and call the searcher of hearts and reins to witness, that our minds and hearts do plainly assent to this Confession, promise, oath and subscription,' etc.

"Although such great praise had been lavished upon this Confession; and although it had thus been exalted so high, nevertheless, a little while after, it was receded from, and a new *Confession of the Presbyterians*, composed in the year 1643 and 1646, succeeded to its place. This last has the following title: '*Confession of Faith elaborated in an Assembly of Divines, convoked by the authority of the English Parliament, and afterwards exhibited to the same Parliament, and moreover recognized and approved by the same, and thereafter by the Scotch Kirk, together with the double Catechism.* Cambridge 1559 [1649?]' And this prevails among the Reformed in England and Scotland even at this day, but not, however, in such a sense as wholly to take away all symbolic authority from that which has been mentioned above," (123).

THE TETRAPOLITAN CONFESSION.

"*The Confession of the four cities of Strasburg, Constance, Memmingen and Lindau, in which they set forth their faith to His Most Sacred Cæsarean Majesty, at the Augsburg Gathering,*" (124).

This mentions as "in agreement with Christ's Doctrine" * * * "what the Church of Christ has hitherto believed regarding the most Holy Trinity, namely, that God, the Father, Son and Holy Spirit are one in substance, and it admits no other distinction between them than that of Persons. Moreover, the Saviour, our Lord Jesus Christ was made very God and very Man, but the Natures in Him were not mixed together, but they were so united in the same person that they are never to be separated," (125).

(123) Augusti *Corpus Librorum Symbolicorum*, p. 632.

(124). Augusti *Corpus Librorum Symbolicorum*, p. 327.

(125). Id., p. 330: Cap. II., *De Sacrosancto Trinitate, mysterioque incarnati Christi*.

Ex hac igitur cum sacrae apud nos conciones ducerentur, ablegatis perniciosioris contentione, ii mox quibus aliquod pietatis studium erat, Christi doctrinam et certius consequuti sunt, et vita exprimere ferventius coeperunt, sicut revocati ab iis, quae dogmatis Christi mala assuta sunt, ita in iis confirmati

But this language respecting the faith "believed" by "*the Church of Christ hitherto*" must have reference to what the Western Church had received up to the Reformation on these subjects. And we know that all the West received the faith of the Six Ecumenical Synods on these points. Indeed in them alone were they defined. For the first two defined the doctrine of the Trinity, and the last four defined respecting the doctrine of the two Natures in Christ, etc.

This Confession adds :

"*Since on these points we vary in no respect from the Fathers, nor from the common consent of Christians*, we believe that it will suffice for us in this manner to testify our faith," (126).

Constantine assembled the Ecumenical Synod of Nicaea, Theodosius the Elder that of I. Constantinople, the Second World-Synod. This Confession thus alludes to these monarchs :

"Therefore let thy Most Holy Majesty prefer to follow the examples of those most powerful and truly happy Cæsars, Constantine, Jovian, Theodosius, and others like them, who, presenting every doctrine with mildness daily *through most holy and most vigilant Bishops, and by properly assembling Councils*, and by grave discussion of all things, dealt with the erring ones, and tried every means to recall them into the way before they enacted anything more severe against them," (127) etc.

quae illis existunt consentanea. Inter quae illa sunt, quae Christi ecclesia de sacrosancta Triade haecenus credidit, nempe unum esse substantia Deum, Patrem, Filium et Spiritum Sanctum, nec ullam quam personarum discrimen recipere. Servatorem quoque nostrum Jesum Christum, eundem verum Deum, etiam verum hominem factum, naturis quidem impermixtis, at ita in eadem persona unitis ut in omnia secula nunquam rursus solvantur. * * * In his quoniam nihil a Patribus, nihil a communi Christianorum consensu variamus, satis fore credimus, hunc in modum nos fidem nostram esse testatos.

(126). Ibid.

(127). See Augusti *Corpus Librorum Symbolicorum*, p. 365: Malit itaque S. M. T. exempla sequi potentissimorum et vere felicium Caesarum, Constantini, Joviniani, Theodosii, et similium, qui doctrina omni cum mansuetudine quotidie per sanctiss. et vigilantiss. Episcopos impartita, tum conciliis rite coactis, gravique omnium rerum discussione, cum errantibus agere, tentareque omnia, ut in viam eos revocarent, prius quam severius quicquam in eos statuerent, quam eorum quibus constat fuisse consultores, et priscis illis vereque sanctis patribus dissimillimos, et eventum quoque contigisse pietati illorum parum respondentem.

Then they complain of the Council of Constance, which was not Ecumenical but only Western, and therefore local.

Below complaint is made of the disrespect shown former Councils, and they pray the Emperor not to regard the Council of Constance, "*especially since he may see that of unnumbered decrees not less holy than necessary of former Councils not even a hair is observed by Ecclesiastics, and so every thing had degenerated among them to such an extent that there is no one endowed with even common sense, who does not exclaim that a council is needed to restore religion, and the sanctity of the ecclesiastical order,*" (128).

THE LEIPZIG COLLOQUY.

This has a thoroughly Orthodox passage against the Nestorian heresy, which tells well for the learning of its composers. The theologians of the Electorate of Brandenburg and of the Princedom of Hesse, say as follows:

"*They uncontradictingly believe, not less than the Saxon Electorate, that God the Son became very man, born out of the Virgin Mary, who before, in, and after her delivery remained a true virgin, and she was not only a Man-bearer, and not only Χριστοτόκος or a Christ-bearer, but in the true sense a θεοτόκος, God-bearer,*" (129).

THE DECLARATION OF THORN.

The signers of this Declaration "*acknowledge*" the faith of the first six Ecumenical Synods, at least what of them is outside of some Canons of those Councils, for they state:

(128). Augusti *Corpus Librorum Symbolicorum*, p. 366: Hinc S. M. T., re-
vocare se illud ne patiat, quod pleraque, de quibus nunc disceptatur, decisa
sunt olim, et praecipue in Concilio Constantiensi, maxime cum videat ex innu-
meris, non minus sanctis quam necessariis superiorum conciliorum decretis, ne
pilum quidem ab Ecclesiasticis servari, sicque degenerasse apud eos omnia, ut
nemo vel communi sensu praeditus, non clamet, concilio ad restituendam reli-
gionem, ecclesiasticique ordinis sanctimoniam, opus esse.

(129). Augusti *Corpus Librorum Symbolicorum*, p. 391. Denn sie [die
Chur. Brandenburgische und Fürstliche Hessische] nicht weniger als die Chur
Sächsische unwidersprechlich glaubeten, Gott der Sohn sey wahrer Mensch
geworden, geboren aus der Jungfrauen Maria, welche, vor, in, und nach der
Geburt eine reine Jungfrau geblieben, und nicht nur eine Menschengebä-
rerin, auch nicht nur Χριστοτόκος oder eine Christegebä-
rerin, sondern wahrhaftig eine
θεοτόκος Gottesgebä-
rerin, sey.

"We embrace as a sure and undoubted interpretation of the Scriptures the Nicæan and the Constantinopolitan Symbol, in the very same words in which it is set forth in the third session of the Council of Trent, as that starting point in which all who profess Christ's Faith necessarily agree, and as the firm and only foundation against which the gates of the infernal regions shall never prevail.

*"And we acknowledge that with this Symbol agrees * * * the confessions of the First Synod of Ephesus, and of the Synod of Chalcedon, and, moreover, those which the Fifth and Sixth Synods opposed to the relics of the Nestorians and of the Eutychians."*

They add further :

"And, besides, whatever, from the very times of the Apostles, and thereafter, with unanimous and notorious consent, the primitive Church believed and taught as a necessary article of faith, the same, we also, from the Scriptures, profess both to believe and to teach."

See more of the English and the Latin above, pp. 143 to 145.

The above professions logically followed out would make them believe all primitive Christian doctrine, discipline and rite, so far as they were held as *necessary*, as well as the faith of the Six Synods.

THE WESTMINSTER CONFESSION.

This in the form adopted as "the Confession of Faith," of "the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America," thus speaks "of Synods and Councils."

"CHAPTER XXXI.

OF SYNODS AND COUNCILS.

1. "For the better government and further edification of the Church, *there ought to be* such assemblies as are commonly called Synods or Councils, and it belongeth to the overseers and other rulers of the particular churches, by virtue of their office, and the power which Christ hath given them for edification, and not for destruction, to appoint such assemblies; and to convene together in them, as often as they shall judge it expedient for the good of the Church. * * *

2. "It belongeth to Synods and Councils, ministerially, to determine *controversies of faith*, and cases of conscience; to set down rules and directions for the better ordering of the public worship of God, and government of his Church; to receive complaints in cases

of mal-administration, and *authoritatively to determine the same*, which decrees and determinations, if consonant to the word of God, are to be received with reverence and submission, not only for their agreement with the Word, but also for the power whereby they are made, as being an ordinance of God, appointed thereunto in his Word.

3. "All Synods or Councils since the Apostles' times, whether general or particuler, may err, and many have erred; therefore they are not to be made the rule of faith or practice, but to be used as a help in both."

This, though not so definite as is to be desired, nevertheless, in the general principle laid down, warrants the reception of much of the Six Synods. That principle is that: "*It belongeth to Synods and Councils, ministerially to determine controversies of faith * * * which decrees and determinations, if consonant to the Word of God, are to be received with reverence and submission, not only for their agreement with the Word, but also for the power whereby they are made, as being an ordinance of God, appointed thereunto in His Word.*"

As the Presbyterians agree with most of that part of the faith of the Six Synods which is outside of the canons of the first four, they might in accordance with this principle, receive them so far. The fifth and sixth made no canons.

DIVISION III.

QUOTATIONS FROM THE REFORMED ON PROPER DEFERENCE TO THE FATHERS.

This bears to some extent on our subject, for while it is true that the sole *Ecumenical* definitions are in the Six *Ecumenical* Synods, nevertheless in them the Church has ever professed to define no new faith but that which had come down from the beginning, and which had been held by the Fathers. We shall indeed find that certain private views of individual Christian writers, which had never, however, been held "*Always, everywhere and by all,*" have been condemned by an *Ecumenical* Council, as, for instance, the view of St. Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, that *all* heretical baptism is invalid, and that persons with it alone must be baptized when they come to the Universal Church, is negatived as to the Novatians, that is the Cathari, by Canon VIII. of the First *Ecumenical* Council, and by Cannon VII. of the Second, and so the last named Canon receives

the Arians, Macedonians, and some other heretics with the Chrism, while the adherents of certain heresies which erred evidently against the *mode, the form of words, or the design* of baptism, are to be baptized.

So once famous writers, Origen and Theodore of Mopsuestia, are condemned in the Fifth Ecumenical Synod, because of what is heretical in their writings.

And so Honorius, bishop of Rome, is condemned in the Sixth, because of what is heretical in his.

Yet in condemning the views of individuals the Ecumenical Councils have always done so on the ground of their opposition to a clear written tradition, that is to a *clear* historic transmission and consensus in the great bulk of Christian writers *from the beginning*, and to the constant faith of the church, East and West. And the Norm which they followed was therefore the faith and practice, not which began in the third century or the fourth but which had been held "*always, every where and by all*" from the Apostolic age.

In other words the Universal Church in her only Ecumenical Tribunal, a Synod representing the whole, always follows in interpreting Scripture, in condemning error and in approving truth the historic consent of those Fathers whose testimony was one way *from the Apostles' days* to the Synod in favor of any particular doctrine, discipline, rite, or custom in dispute. She accepts no late tradition. It is always with her as in Canon VI. of Nicaea, "*Let the ancient customs prevail.*" (τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἔσθ' ἡ κρατεῖτω). And an Ecumenical Synod which is so guided, and so acts, always finds acceptance at the last, even if it has as many enemies as Nicaea had. Whereas a Council like the Latrocinium of A. D. 449 at Ephesus against the two Natures in Christ, or like the idolatrous Conventicle of Nicaea A. D. 787, against the truth that God alone is to be worshipped will finally be anathematized by all on the ground of their opposition to the sense of the Scriptures as witnessed to by the faith and practice of the Fathers and the whole Church from the very beginning. And the Six Synods which have decided in accordance with the testimony of the Orthodox Fathers are irreversible, for every such sound Synod is the highest and final tribunal, and to it all the *private opinions* of even her most distinguished sons may be brought to be tried and authoritatively approved or condemned.

A HELVETIC CONFESSION.

This is the first of the Helvetic Confessions given by Augusti in his *Corpus Librorum Symbolicorum*. As to its history see above, p. 150, under the head of Reformed Confessions on the Six Ecumenical Synods and the reception of their Norms of Definition on the two Ecumenical Symbols, namely, that of Nicaea, and that of I. Constantinople.

After justly refusing to admit "what they call the sense of the Roman Church" as the binding and authoritative sense of Scripture, this Confession continues:

"We do not spurn the interpretation of the holy Fathers, Greeks and Latins, nor do we disapprove their disputings and treatment of holy things where these disputings and this treatment agree with the Scriptures; but notwithstanding, we modestly depart from them when they are found to introduce any thing alien to the Scriptures or contrary to them. Nor do we think that we do them any injury by this course, because they all with one mouth are unwilling that their writings should be considered as equal to the Canonical Scriptures, but they command us to approve their writings so far as they agree with those Scriptures, or to disapprove them where they disagree with them, and they command us to receive what agrees with the Scriptures and to depart from what disagrees with them. In the same rank are also to be placed the definitions or canons of councils," (130).

THE GALRICAN CONFESSION.

This has the following passage:

"We detest all the sects condemned out of the Word of God by the ancient holy doctors as, for instance, by Athanasius, Hilary, Cyril, Ambrose, and by the rest," (131).

(130). Augusti *Corpus Librorum Symbolicorum*, p. 6: Proinde non aspernamur sanctorum Patrum Graecorum Latinorumque interpretationes, neque reprobamus eorundem disputationes ac tractationes rerum sacrarum, cum Scripturis consentientes: a quibus tamen recedimus modeste, quando aliena a Scripturis aut his contraria adferre deprehenduntur. Nee putamus illis ullam a nobis hac re injuriam irrogari, cum omnes uno ore nolint sua scripta aequari canonicis, sed probare jubeant, quatenus vel consentiant cum illis, vel dissentiant, jubeantque consentientia recipere, recedere vero a dissentientibus. Eodem in ordine collocantur etiam conciliorum definitiones vel canones.

(131). Confessio Gallicana, p. 112 of Augusti *Corpus Librorum Symbolicorum*. Omnes Sectas a vetustis illis sanctis doctoribus veluti Athanasio, Hilario,

Finally, *on the need of Church Authority as set forth in the Six Synods.*

The following sets forth to us the need of the Ecumenically canonical discipline, and the need also of the Six Ecumenical Synods as the sole basis of Church Union, and the sad results of unlimited private twistings of Scripture against them:

Count Dimitry Tolstoy, a Russian and a member of the Russo-Greek Church, in his work in French on "*Roman Catholicism in Russia*," volume I. (Paris, 1863), pages 225, 226, 227 and 228, has some noteworthy remarks on the fall of Protestantism in Lithuania, where it once had considerable strength, but where to-day it has not, according to the article "*Russia*," in McClintock and Strong's Cyclopaedia, much more than one hundred thousand souls. The causes of its ruin he ascribes in part, 1, to *its lack of organization*, for it was Presbyterian, not Episcopal: and 2, to the carelessness of the ministers in not spreading their doctrines among the common people, but in confining their efforts mainly to the higher classes and to the Third Estate, that is the untitled but well off people. His words convey a lesson which Christians everywhere should heed, and therefore I quote:

"From the seventeenth century Calvinism began to grow weak in Lithuania; the Protestant Churches were abandoned more and more. The clergy grew fewer. Two sorts of reasons provoked that decadence: internal causes inherent in the very organization of the Calvinist Church, and external reasons, which consisted in oppressive measures on the part of the administration. *That Church had no fixed centre; the convocation of Synods could not supply the lack of firmly established ecclesiastical authority. The appearance of new sects, particularly of Socinianism, which got a great development, only weakened Protestantism still more.* Lastly, the two chief branches of that doctrine, Calvinism and Lutheranism, had no close connection with each other."

Then, after referring to the fact that another cause of the divergence between those two denominations was the fact that the Calvinists were Polanders, and the Lutherans almost exclusively

Cyrillo, Ambrosio, et ceteris, ex Dei verbo damnatas, detestamur. For an account of this Confession see in this work, page 134 above.

Germans, he mentions the attempt made by Vladislas IV. to reconcile the clergy of the Protestant denominations by the Council of Thorn in A. D. 1644, and tells us that "It had a result utterly opposed to what he had hoped; not only did no reconciliation in matters of faith follow, but the ecclesiastics returned *more embittered against each other*. The Calvinist ministers are themselves the cause of their doctrine not having taken deeper root in Lithuanian soil, for they limited their activity exclusively to the high classes of society and in part to the Third Estate, without troubling themselves to spread it among the mass of the people. To this internal weakness was joined external persecutions: dissidents were deprived of the right of sending deputies to the Diet, to hold public offices, and after 1717 even to have representatives in the tribunal of Lithuania, which judged of appeals between Latins and dissidents: the Roman clergy, after having taken from them the right to celebrate publicly their religious offices, took possession of their Churches, summoned them to appear before their tribunals, and converted them by every means to their faith. Thus, for example, the Protestant children of a widow of the same rite were obliged to embrace Latinism if their mother contracted a second marriage with a Catholic."

Below he states as the result of all the causes mentioned above, that

"About the second half of the seventeenth century, in the large cities like Vilno, Witebsk, Polotsk, etc., there were scarcely any Calvinists longer; at the end of that century one could count in Lithuania only forty-eight Churches of that religion, four schools, and forty-seven pastors; at the end of the eighteenth century there remained to them in all that country only twenty-eight Churches."

NICÆA, A. D. 325:

THE FIRST ECUMENICAL COUNCIL.

INTRODUCTORY MATTER.

CHAPTER III.

ARIUS AND HIS HERESIES.

AUTHORITIES AND REFERENCES.

The authorities for the Synod of Nicaea, are given by Stanley in his *History of the Eastern Church*, (New York, Scribners' edition, 1862), pages 144, 145. To these the reader is referred. Stanley's work itself should be added. Three remarks may be made regarding it:

1. It is very rich in the citation of original authorities.
2. The indifference and unbelieving spirit of the author, as well as his lack of Churchliness, (a sure sign of sympathy with heresy), crops out here and there. Compare, as samples of his misrepresentation of the church, or scepticism, pages 245, 246, 314, 315, 331 and 349. On page 315 he seems to deny the Symbol, that is Creed-doctrine, of "one Baptism for the remission of sins," and makes it pagan; and on page 349 he quotes the heretical Theodoret's outrageously unjust abuse of St. Cyril of Alexandria, seemingly with approval.
3. Though he deserves praise for much erudition, nevertheless he is inexact in places, his mistakes being generally, uniformly so far as I have noticed, against the Universal Church.

REMARKS ON THE ORIGINAL AUTHORITIES BEFORE THE SIXTH CENTURY THERE CITED.

Philostorgius was positively heretical, and in sympathy with the radical Arian that is, Eunomian, party to which he belonged.

His testimony is branded again and again as false by the learned Photius.

Constantine had good intentions, but, as his letter to Alexander and Arius proves, was at first without any due sense of the vital character of the points involved. Afterwards he did better. But towards the last he fell into the hands of Arian ecclesiastics, though even then he recalled Athanasius from exile.

Eusebius, bishop of Caesarea, was an Arian, as St. Athanasius, elsewhere to be quoted, shows.

Auxano, was a Novatian presbyter, and therefore a schismatic, perhaps we may say, therefore, a heretic.

Socrates was a layman, whose orthodoxy, justly or unjustly, has been called in question. He fails often to appreciate the value of a stand for truth on the part of its early champions, owing to his indifference to doctrine. Like many other laymen, he is so shallowly fond of the *practical* as occasionally to forget that the basis of all *practice* acceptable to God is His *dogmatic teaching* by his Holy Spirit in the Word and in the Church in Ecumenical Council assembled.

Sozomen writes with that mixture of thoroughness and shallowness which might be expected of a mere civil lawyer discoursing on recondite theological questions.

SECTION I. *Arius*.

2. *His character and personal appearance.*
3. *His talents.*
4. *His pride of intellect.*
5. *Cheerful aspect of the Church just before the Arian heresy arose.*
6. *The beginning of the Arian Controversy.*
7. *Arius and his Heresies.*
8. *St. Athanasius brands his heresy as resulting in polytheism and creature-worship. St. Epiphanius and other Fathers to the same effect.*
9. *Spread of creature-service the result of Arian teaching.*

1. The founder of the Arian heresy was Arius (132), who is said to have been a Libyan (133). "*At first*," writes Sozomen (134),

(132). Sozomen, i., 15.

(133). Epiphanius. *Haeres.*, lxi., 1.

(134). Sozomen, i., 15.

"pretending to be zealous for dogma, he coöperated with Meletius," the Egyptian schismatic, "in his innovations. But afterwards he forsook him and was ordained deacon by Peter the Bishop of Alexandria." Peter's episcopate was in A. D. 300-311. "And again he was cast out of the church by him because when Peter excommunicated the partisans of Meletius and refused to admit their baptism, Arius attacked the acts of Alexander and could not bear to be quiet (135). But when Peter died a martyr, Arius asked pardon of Achillas [Peter's successor], and was permitted to minister as deacon, and was deemed worthy of the presbyterate." Achillas was bishop of Alexandria A. D. 311, 312. "And after those things Alexander" [Achillas' successor and bishop of Alexandria, A. D. 312-325] "also held him [Arius] in honor (136). And Arius became very much skilled in dialectics, for he was said to be not without a share of knowledge in such sciences; and he developed absurd doctrines, so that he dared to declare in church WHAT HAD NEVER BEEN SAID BY ANY OTHER BEFORE HIM, namely, THAT THE SON OF GOD WAS MADE OUT OF THINGS WHICH HAD NO EXISTENCE, AND THAT THERE WAS ONCE WHEN HE WAS NOT, AND THAT HE IS CAPABLE OF VIRTUE AND OF VICE, AND THAT HE IS A CREATURE AND A WORK, and many other things which one who maintained such absurdities would be likely to assert as he went forward into disputations and into the examination of particular questions."

One incident related of him by the inexact and Arian writer Philostorgius would be much to his credit if true. Photius epitomizes his statement thus:

2. "The impious Philostorgius says that when the votes for the

(135). In the English translation of this place in Bohn's Ecclesiastical Library, we find the following note:

"In the Acts of Peter the Martyr, (which are so ancient that they are quoted by Justinian), it is asserted that Arius was excommunicated on account of his perverse opinions, and not as Sozomen here says, because he sided with the Meletians. As Valesius remarks, it is somewhat strange that neither Alexander nor Athanasius make any mention of this excommunication of Arius by Peter." However strange it may be, it is not so strange as to render the statement incredible, for there are other things which are related by another or others, of which they do not speak, when we might suppose they would. Moreover, such omissions are common in all periods. Besides, the remains of Alexander are quite meagre.

(136). Sozomen's *Ecl. Hist.*, i, 15.

archiepiscopate [of Alexandria] were inclining to Arius, Arius preferred Alexander to himself, and so contrived that the votes turned about to him" (137).

But Philostorgius' work abounds in lies. Photius justly criticizes it as follows: "The History was written by Philostorgius as an encomium on the heretic, and as a slander and a casting of blame upon the Orthodox rather than as a history" (138). In his epitome of Philostorgius' so-called *History*, Book II., chap. xi., he denominates him. "This impious contriver of falsehood" (139); moreover the date of the alleged action was before the beginning of Alexander's pope-dom, and therefore before Arius' lapse into heresy.

2. Epiphanius this describes *his character and personal appearance*:

"The old man, puffed up by vanity, stood aside from the appointed way. He was of very tall stature, of downcast look, apparelled himself like a crafty serpent, and was able to steal away every guileless heart by means of his unscrupulous pretence. For he was such a person that he always wore a *hemiphorium* (140) and a colobion, (141). He was sweet in his address, always persuading and flattering souls," (142).

3. *Arius' talents.*

Sozomen writes of him that "he became very much skilled in dialectics" (143), and Socrates speaks of him as "*not without some share of dialectic utterance*," (144).

4. *His pride of intellect.*

(137). Philostorgius' *Ecl. Hist.*, col. 461, tome 65, of Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*.

(138). Id., Preface before bk. i., col. 460, tome 65, of Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*.

(139). Id., II., xi., col. 473, Migne, id.

(140). Sophocles, in his Glossary of Later and Byzantine Greek, informs us that this *ἡμιφόριον* and the *ἡμιφάριον* were the same, viz.: a "*light outer garment*." The name signifies a *half φᾶρος*. See *φᾶρος*.

(141). Liddell and Scott's Greek Lexicon, under *Κολοβίον* refers us to *κολοβιον*, both words having the same signification, viz.: *an under-garment*, with its sleeves *curtailed* (v. *κολοβιός*), i. e., reaching only half down to the elbow, or entirely without sleeves. On both *ἡμιφόριον* and *κολοβίον* see Patavius, *animadversion*, p. 284, t. ii., of his edition of Epiphanius, Colon., A. D. 1682.

(142). Epiphanius. *Haeres.*, lxix., 3.

(143). Sozomen *Ecl. Hist.*, i., 15, col. 905, A., tome 67, of Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*.

(144). Socrates' *Ecl. Hist.*, i., 5, col. 41, A., id.

Epiphanius ascribes his departure from truth to his being "puffed up with vanity," (145).

The language of Alexander, Pope [that is Father] of Alexandria, (we use ancient terms in ancient senses) is more detailed, and exhibits a strong light the disregard of the Arians for the Historical Tradition of the Church, a feature in all the rout of similar Antitrinitarian heresies since.

After stating the heresies of Arius and the deacon (or presbyter) Achillas, Alexander adds :

"We therefore, though slowly, because their errors were concealed from us, inflicted on them those penalties which befitted both their lives and their unholy attempt, for by a unanimous vote we expelled them from the Church which worships the Divinity of Christ," (146).

Further on in the same document, Alexander after speaking of their sins against Christ, adds :

"And why then, beloved [brethren] should what I am about to relate be deemed wonderful; why should it be deemed wonderful, if I call all set forth their lying and false accusation against me, and against our most pious laity? For those who have arrayed themselves against the Divinity of the Son of God do not shun to utter their unfavorable and drunkard-stories against us. They do not deem any of the ancients worthy to be compared with themselves, nor can they bear to be put on a level with those teachers with whom we were conversant from our boyhood. Moreover, they do not think that any of our fellow-ministers anywhere possesses even a measure of wisdom, but say that they themselves alone are wise and that they themselves alone are without property; and that they themselves are discoverers of doctrines, and that those things have been revealed to themselves alone which never came into the mind of any man under the Sun. Oh unholy conceit, and unmeasured madness, and empty glorying which befits the melancholic, and oh the Satanic way of thinking which has become venerated in their unholy souls! Neither the dear to God clearness of

(145). Epiphanius. *Haeres.*, lxi., cap. 3, 'Ἐπάρματι γὰρ ἁρθεὶς ὁ γέρον τοῦ πεποιημένου ἐξίστη.

(146). Col. 889, tome 82 of Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*, Theodoret's *Eccl. Hist.*, book i., chap. 3: παμψηφεί τῆς προσκυνοῦσης Χριστοῦ τὴν Θεότητα αὐτοῖς Ἐκκλησίας γλῶσσαν. This contains a hint in favor of the doctrine of St. Cyril of Alexandria's Anathema VIII., and Anathema IX. of the Fifth Ecumenical Synod.

the ancient writings has not sufficed to put them to shame, nor has the harmonious piety of our fellow-ministers regarding Christ lessened their audacity against Him. Not even the demons can endure their unholy conduct, for they are on their guard against uttering any blasphemous expression against the Son of God (147).

Theodoret associates *Arius' love of power and jealousy* with the origin of his heresy: for in Chapter I., book 1, of his *Ecclesiastical History*, he writes:

"At that time Arius, who was enrolled in the catalogue of the presbyters, and was entrusted with the explanation of the Scriptures of God, seeing that Alexander's hand held the helm of the High Priesthood (148), did not bear up against the assault of envy; but being pricked on by it, he began to seek for occasions for quarreling and for conflict. And [yet] when he gazed at the praiseworthy conduct of the man, he could not contrive any accusations against him, but, nevertheless, his envy hindered him from keeping quiet. The enemy of the truth finding him a fit instrument for his wickedness by him stirs up and moves a surging tempest against the Church. For he persuades him to contradict openly the Apostolic teaching of Alexander. And [so] when Alexander, following the godly doctrines (149), was saying that *the Son is of the same honor as the Father* and that *He has the same substance* as the Father who brought him forth, Arius [on the other hand] openly fighting against the truth, called Him a "*creature and a work*;" and added the expression, "*There was once when He was not*," and those other errors which we shall learn more clearly from his writings. And not only did he continue to say those things in the Church, but also outside in assemblies of the people, and in sessions of the clergy. And going about among the houses he led captive as many as he could. But Alexander, the advocate of the Apostolic Dogmas, at first tried by exhortations and by counsels to persuade him to change his mind. But when he saw that he was as frantic as a Corybant

(147). Theodoret, *Ecc. Hist.*, i, 3, col. 901, C., tome 67 of Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*.

(148). Greek, ἀρχιερωσύνης, that is the episcopate. To-day one sometimes hears in Greece the term *High Priest* (ἀρχιερεύς) for *Bishop*.

(149). Or, according to another reading, "*the divine Oracles*," τοῖς θεοῦς λόγοις, where *Oracles* mean the Scriptures, as in Rom. iii., 2, etc.

(150) and that he was openly preaching his impiety, he expelled him from the hieratic registers: for he heard the Law of God crying out, *If thy right eye cause thee to offend, pluck it out and cast it from thee*" (151).

5. *The cheerful aspect of the church when Arius appeared* is thus depicted by Theodoret; who though free from Arian denial of Christ's Divinity, nevertheless favored Nestorius, the man-worshipper:

"After the death of the wicked tyrants, Maxentius, Maximin and Licinius, the storm abated which their atrocity had, like a furious whirlwind, excited against the church: the hostile winds were hushed and tranquility ensued. This was effected by Constantine, a prince deserving of the highest praise, who, like the divine apostle, was not called by man or through man, but by God (152). He enacted laws prohibiting sacrifices to idols, and commanding churches to be erected. He appointed believers to be the governors of the provinces ordered that honor should be shown to the priests, and threatened with death those who dared to insult them. The churches which had been destroyed were rebuilt, and others still more spacious and magnificent than the former ones were erected. Hence the concerns of the church were smiling and prosperous, while those of her opponents were involved in disgrace and ruin. The temples of the idols were closed; but frequent assemblies were held, and festivals celebrated in the churches. But the Devil, the enemy of mankind although conscious that the church was upheld by the Creator and Ruler of the world, could not see her sailing on her course in prosperity without devising plans for overwhelming her. When he perceived that his former artifices had been detected, that the error of idolatry was recognized, and that the greater number of men worshipped the creator, instead of adoring, as heretofore, the creature, he did not dare to declare open war against our God and Saviour; but having found some who, though bearing the name of Christians,

(150). The *Corybants* were priests of *Cybele*, and their rites were of a frenzied, enthusiastic, and wild character, so that the word here used *κορυβαντισται*, from *κορυβαντιω*, came to mean one who acted in a frenzied, wild manner. See that Greek word in Liddell and Scott's Greek Lexicon.

(151). Migne's *Patrologia Græce*, tome 82, column 885. Theodoret's *Ecclesiastical History*, Book I., Chapter I.

(152). Gal. I., 1.

were yet slaves to ambition and vainglory, he thought them fit instruments in the execution of his designs. He accordingly used them as the means of drawing others back into error, not indeed by the former artifice of setting up the worship of the creature, but by attempting to bring down the Creator to a level with the creatures" (153).

Theodoret should have added that Arius not only made God the Word to be a creature, but also by so doing reintroduced creature-worship and polytheism. But as he was a Nestorian, he was a man-worshipper himself.

6. *The Beginning of the Arian Controversy* is not told by all authors in the same manner. But perhaps all the accounts may be reconciled, at least in the main, by placing the events in the following order:

1. Personal ambition had much to do with the rise of the heresy. This is charged against Arius by his own bishop, Alexander (154).

Indeed, factions and heretical action among the Alexandrian presbyters were not confined to him, for we are informed by Epiphanius, that each of four ministers of that rank, Colluthus, Carpones, Sarmatas and Arius had by variety of interpretation in their public teachings, each one in his own separate congregation, caused strife among the people, so that some ranged themselves under the standard of Arius, others under that of Colluthus, others under that of Carpones, and others under that of Sarmatas and some termed themselves Colluthians, and others Arians, (155). Colluthus had even gone so far as to teach perverse heresy, though it soon

(153). Theodoret *Ecl. Hist.*, translation in Bohn's *Eccl. Lib.*, Book I, Chapter ii.

(154). See his Epistle to Alexander in Theodoret's *Ecl. Hist.*, i, 4.

(155). Epiphanius. *Haeres.*, lxix., cap. 2, Petavius ed. After mentioning churches of the Orthodox in Alexandria, he adds: "Εν μὲν δὲ τούτων Κόλλουθος τις ὑπῆρχεν, ἐν ἑτέρᾳ δὲ Καρκώνης, ἐν ἄλλῃ δὲ Σαρματᾶς, καὶ Ἀρείος οὗτος ὁ προσηρημένος μίαν τῶν προσηρημένων κατέχων Ἐκκλησίαν. Ἐκαστος δὲ τούτων δῆλον κατὰ τὴν εἰθισμένην σὺναξιν τὸν αὐτῷ πεπιστευμένον λαὸν διδάσκων, ἐν ταῖς ἐξηγήσεσιν ἔρεν τινα ἐνέβαλον ἐν τῷ λαῷ. Καὶ οἱ μὲν προσελίθησαν Ἀρείῳ, ἕτεροι δὲ Κολλουθῷ, ἄλλοι δὲ Καρκώνῃ, ἕτεροι δὲ Σαρματᾶ. Ὡς οὖν ἐξηγεῖτο ἕκαστος ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ Ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἄλλος ἄλλο τι, καὶ ἄλλος ἄλλο, ἐκ τῆς προσκλήσεως [Forte προσκλήσεως, marg. note] καὶ ἐπαίνου δὲ τοῦ παρ' αὐτῶν, οἱ μὲν Κολλουθιανούς ἐαυτοὺς ὀνόμασαν, ἄλλοι δὲ Ἀρειανούς. This reveals a sad state of strife among the presbyters of a single city.

perished, and presbyter only as he was, had assumed the functions of a bishop, and had ordained many presbyters and deacons. His ordinations, however, were afterwards cancelled in a Synod held at Alexandria, as is asserted by St. Athanasius (156). Alexander teaches plainly that he was guilty of the sin of *making merchandise of Christ* (157), or simony. Carpones and Sarmatas followed the heresy of Arius. Their names are signed with his to a letter from Nicomedia containing a profession of their heresy (158). It was written after their expulsion (159). If the Colluthiani mentioned by St. Augustine are the same as the *Κολλουθιανούς* mentioned here by Ephiphanius, the heresy which distinguished them was the assertion that God had not made evil things (160). Besides this Alexandria was cursed by the Puritan schism of Meletius, not to mention other sects. So that its Bishop certainly had his hands full of trouble. Alexander charges Arius with imitating, though with less reason, the ambition of Colluthus.

He writes as follows: "Alexander sendeth greeting in the Lord to Alexander the most honored and same-minded brother. The rule-loving and money-loving disposition of wretched men is always wont to plot against those dioceses which seem to be the greater, and on different pretexts such men assail the church's piety. For, goaded to frenzy by the devil who works in them, they are driven on to their purposed lust, and they skip away from all piety, and trample on the fear of God's judgment. Inasmuch as I have suffered from them it was necessary that I should tell the facts regarding them to your piety, in order that you may be on your guard against such men, lest any of them may dare to attack your dioceses, also either in their own persons (for the cheats are wont to play the hypocrite to deceive), or by letters lyingly and elegantly gotten up and capable of stealing away the man who cherishes simple and pure faith. And so Arius and Achillas have lately made a conspiracy and have

(156). Page p. 15, of Bohn's edition of the English Translation of Theodoret.

(157). Epistle of Alexander of Alexandria to Alexander of Constantinople, in Theodoret, *Ecd. Hist.*, i., 3.

(158). Epiphan. *Haeres.*, lxi., 7, 8.

(159). Id., *Haeres.*, lxi., 2, 3, ad. fin.

(160). Augustin. *Lib. de Haeres.* *Haeres.*, lxx.: "Coluthiani a quodam Colutho, qui dicebat Deum non facere mala; contra illud quod scriptum est, *Ego Deus creans mala.*" Is., xlv., 7.

emulated Colluthus' love to rule, and have acted in a much worse way than he did."

At this epoch Alexandria contained several churches, over each of which a presbyter was appointed. Epiphanius notes this, as it would seem, as a singular circumstance. For in early times and in his day the general rule had been for the churches of the cities outside of the cathedral to be supplied from it, the modern parish system not having yet been generally established. Alexandria however was an exception, for here it was customary to place a presbyter in permanent charge of each congregation (161). The account of this arrangement given by Epiphanius is as follows: "They say that he" [Arius] "was a Libyan by nation, and became a presbyter in Alexandria. He was over the church called the Baucalis. For all the churches of the Universal Church in Alexandria are under one Archbishop; and particular presbyters are placed over them (162), for the ecclesiastical needs of those of the inhabitants who are near each church, and quarter or labae (163), as they are termed in the dialect of their country, by the Alexandrians inhabiting the city," (164).

This position gave him an opportunity of propagating his doctrine for a time, at least, in secret.

From Epiphanius, we learn that Arius craftily at first propagated his heresy unknown to his Bishop. For "straightway he drew off under one banner" (165), "seven hundred of the virgins of the

(161). See the ten volume edition of Bingham's *Antiquities*, Oxford, A. D. 1855, Vol. VIII, p. 432, index under "Parochial Churches," and especially Vol. III., p. 416-418, Book IX., Chap. viii., Sec. 5, where the very passage above quoted from Epiphanius is adduced.

(162). The Greek is καὶ κατ' ἰδίαν ταύταις ἐπιτεταγμένοι εἰσὶ πρεσβύτεροι, διὰ τὰς ἐκκλησιαστικὰς χρείας τῶν οἰκητόρων, πλησίων ἐκάστης Ἐκκλησίας αὐτῶν, καὶ ἀμφοτέρων, ἢ τοι λαβῶν ἐπιχωρὶς καλουμένων ὑπὸ τῶν τὴν Ἀλεξανδρείαν κατοικούντων πόλιν. See it in Epiphan. Haeres., lxix., 1. This might imply that two or more presbyters were attached to every church, but that one was over the rest, or it may mean that there was only one in each church.

(163). The term in the Greek is λαβῶν. In the margin of p. 727, t. 1, Petavius' edition of Epiphanius, Colon., A. D. 1682, is found "Forte λαυρῶν." See the edition of Bingham just mentioned, Vol. iii., p. 416, note 91, where the reading λαβρῶν is suggested. Both λαυρῶν and λαβρῶν mean *alleys, lanes*.

(164). Epiphan. Haeres., lxix., 1.

(165). Epiphan. Haeres., lxix., cap. 3.

church, and, the account of it has it, seven presbyters and twelve deacons" (166). Nor did the poison stop here. It extended itself to certain members of the episcopal order. For he persuaded and led away with him Secundus, Bishop of Pentapolis, and others. "But these things," writes Epiphanius, "occurred in the church without the knowledge of the blessed Alexander the Bishop" (167), until his suffragan Archbishop (168) Meletius the prelate from the Thebaid told him (169). For as yet Meletius had not gone to the extreme of hostility which afterwards marked him, (170).

At this point Alexander, at whose sermon, if we may credit Socrates, Arius had started his opposition, now reappears on the stage.

He sends for Arius, and asks him whether the charge against him is true. Arius, without doubt or fear at once avows his misbelief in plain terms. Then Alexander assembles his presbytery, and certain Bishops who were present (171), "and sat down as judge, to hear the statements of the contending parties" (172). Up to this time his conduct had been most forbearing. Even after he knew of Arius' defection, he was very patient with him, and tried persuasion before he cut them off from the Church. Sozomen goes so far as to assert that "some seized on the things said by Arius, and kept blaming Alexander on the ground that he ought not to endure his innovations against Christian dogma." There were, according to him, two examinations of Arius by Alexander (173). He adds that even during the debate in the second (the first ended without a final decision) he seemed to be somewhat passive, on one point praising one set of disputants, on another point the other set (174).

(166). Ibid. These virgins were females. Sometimes males are so called, as in Rev. xiv., 4.

(167). Ibid.

(168). Ibid. Epiphanius expressly here terms him *ἀρχιεπίσκοπος* and at the same time a suffragan of Alexander. From this we may infer the extent of the jurisdiction of Alexandria.

(169). Ibid. *Ἐγένετο δὲ ταῦτα ἐν τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἀγνοοῦντος τοῦ μακαρίου Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Ἐπισκόπου, ἕως ὅτε Μελέτιος, κ. τ. λ.*

(170). Ibid.

(171). See for all these facts, Epiphan. *Haeres.*, lxi., 3.

(172). Sozomen, *Ecl. Hist.*, i., 15.

(173). Ibid.

(174). Ibid.

All this shows, to say the least, extreme mildness on his part. Indeed, if any doctrinal leaning be understood by the last cited passage, he failed in his duties to that sacred traditioned deposit of vital doctrine which it was his duty to guard (175). And it is clear that the swiftness of action of the right minded about him would have been more rapid than his own had they been in his place. But however much like vacillation his mildness appeared while the case was under investigation, the righteous firmness of the man became apparent as soon as the ends of justice in the investigation were answered. Then he commanded Arius to receive the doctrine that *the Son is "consubstantial and co-eternal" with the Father*, and to reject what is opposed to that doctrine (176), and on his persisting in his heresy "*ejected him from the order of the presbytery, and excommunicated him*, (177). And with him were reft off the 700 Virgins aforesaid, and the clergy aforesaid, and a large multitude" (178). His co-workers who were cut off with him, of the diocese of Alexandria, were, according to Sozomen, the presbyters, Aeithalas, and Achillas, and Carpones and Sarmatas, and Arius; and the deacons, Euzoius and Macarius, Julius, and Menas, and Helladius (179). In the same chapter he states that no small part of the Alexandrian laity followed the excommunicated Arian clerics, some because they had embraced their heresy, and others because they pitied them, as often happens in such cases. They were not wise.

The beginning of the Arian controversy is told us by Socrates, who, judging from his writings, may have been a Novatian, and is

(175). A note in col. 905, tome 82, of Migne's *Patrologia Graeca* says that the testimony of all writers other than Sozomen proves that Alexander was not uncertain even at the first what opinion he should follow, but always followed that which is Orthodox.

(176). Sozomen, *Ecc. Hist.*, i., 15. His account savors of the shallowness of a lawyer, lacking due appreciation of the value of dogma, rather than of the erudite theologian.

(177). Epiphan. *Haeres.*, lxix., cap. 3.

(178). *Ibid.*

(179). Sozomen's *Ecclesiastical History*, Book I., cap. 15. But Alexander mentions Arius only as a presbyter. See Theodoret's *Ecclesiastical History*, Book I., chap. iv.

deemed by some to have been such (180). In chapter iv., book 1, of his *Ecclesiastical History*, he tells of the victory of the Emperor Constantine over Licinius and of the peace which ensued, which was so favorable for the Church. He then proceeds to state that Achillas succeeded Peter in the see of Alexandria, Peter having died a martyr for the faith in the reign of Diocletian, and that Achillas was succeeded by Alexander, who welded together or increased the church; and that once when he was treating of theological topics before his presbyters and the rest of his clerics he made the assertion that "*There is a Monad in the Trinity*" (181), that is a unity in the Trinity, that is that Three are One.

Socrates adds: "But a certain Arius, one of the presbyters subject to him, a man not without some share of dialectic speech, supposing that the Bishop was bringing in the dogma of Sabellius the Libyan, from his love of strife bent away into the opinion which is diametrically opposite to that of the Libyan, and as it seemed good to him to do, he fiercely opposed himself to the utterances of the Bishop, and saith:

"*If the Father generated the Son, he who was generated has a beginning of existence; and from that it is clear that there was once when the Son was not, and it necessarily follows that He has His Substance from things not existing*" (182).

Here we see four of the heresies condemned in the Nicene Creed, namely:

1. "*There was once when the Son of God was not,*" and
2. "*He has His substance from things not existing,*" that is, He did not come "*out of the Father's substance,*" as the Creed asserts, but

(180). Cardinal Baronius in his *Annals*, and Philip Labbaeus in his *De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis*, assert that Socrates was of the Novatian sect. Nicephorus also expresses the same opinion in the preface to his *Ecclesiastical History*, ("*Life of Socrates*" in Bohn's *Socrates' Ecclesiastical History*, preface, page 6). The writer of that preface in Bohn, and Prof. Bright in the preface to his *Socrates' Ecclesiastical History*, take the opposite view, but do not prove it clearly.

(181). Socrates' *Ecclesiastical History*, Bright's edition, Book I., Chapter v., Καί ποτε παρόντων τῶν ἐπ' αὐτῷ πρεσβυτέρων καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν κληρικῶν, φιλοτιμότερον περὶ τῆς ἁγίας Τριάδος ἐν Τριάδι μονάδα εἶναι φιλοσοφῶν, ἰκετοῦ ὀγεῖ.

(182). Socrates' *Ecclesiastical History*, Book I., Chapter v., Bright's edition, Oxford, 1878, page 5: Καὶ φησιν, εἰ ὁ πατήρ ἐγέννησε τὸν Υἱόν, ἀρχὴν ὑπάρξεως ἔχει ὁ γεννηθεὶς καὶ ἐκ τούτου δῆλον, ὅτι ἦν ὅτε οὐκ ἦν ὁ Υἱός ἀκολουθεῖ τε ἐξ ἀνάγκης, ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων ἔχειν αὐτὸν τὴν ὑπόστασιν.

was made "*out of things not [then] existing*," that is "*out of nothing*." Hence, of course, according to Arius,

3. The Son of God is a "*creature*," and hence, according to Arius,

4. "*Before He was generated He was not*." Hence,

5. Of course all worship of the Son of God, according to Arius, is the worship of a creature; that is, *creature-worship*, and as he worshipped Him, he was on his own theory a CREATURE-WORSHIPPER, contrary to Christ's own command in Matthew iv., 10, "*Thou shalt bow to the Lord thy God, and Him only shalt thou serve*."

6. Inasmuch as he made the Father to be an eternal God, and because an eternal, therefore a superior God, and the Son to be a mere creature, and yet a God, and because a creature and non-eternal, therefore an inferior God; therefore, on his own showing, he had two dissimilar Gods, not at all of the same substance; and because he had two Gods, he was therefore, of course, a *polytheist*; for all admit that he who has more than one God is no longer a Monotheist, but a Polytheist, that is, a believer in more Gods than one; for that is the very meaning of the word *polytheist*.

Arianism, therefore, was what Athanasius so often in effect terms it, *a return to paganism*, and so, in effect, *an apostasy from the Orthodox Christ and from Orthodox Christianity*. For he who holds to creature-worship and to polytheism has gone over to the two fundamental errors of heathenism. And so the Hebrew prophets always speak of an Israelite who professed to worship Jehovah still, though he had embraced those errors, as having forsaken Jehovah. So St. Athanasius and all Orthodox Christians regarded Arius, as Athanasius in his works shows again and again.

7. *Arius' own Account of his Heresies.*

Three productions of Arius' own brain have reached us.

1. A letter to Eusebius of Caesarea, his warm partisan. This is found in St. Epiphanius' work *On Heresies*, Heresy LXIX., Section 6; and in Chapter v., Book 1., of Theodoret's *Ecclesiastical History*.

2. A letter of Arius and his friends after their excommunication by Alexander, Bishop of Alexandria. It was written in A. D. 321, from Nicomedia to him. It is found in Section 16 of the same work

of Athanasius (pages 96, 97 and 98 of the Oxford translation), and in Section 7, Heresy LXIX., in St. Epiphanius' work *On Heresies*. It is given in the second edition of Hahn's *Bibliothek der Symbole*, Breslau, A. D. 1877, pages 188 and 189. It is quite a full statement of his heresy.

3. His assault on the divinity of God the Word, which is in poetic form, and is found in St. Athanasius' *Epistle Concerning the Synod held at Ariminum, in Italy, and at Seleucia, in Isauria*, Section 15, (pages 94, 95 and 96; of the Oxford translation of St. Athanasius' *Treatises Against Arianism*).

DOCUMENT I.

ARIUS' LETTER TO EUSEBIUS, BISHOP OF NICOMEDIA.

Arius, on being driven out of Alexandria, betook himself to the neighboring country of Palestine, where he found in some bishops, friends; in others, opponents. But Alexander, Bishop of Alexandria, on learning his whereabouts, and the fact that some had received a man deposed and excommunicated, wrote circular letters to the Bishops of Palestine, of Phoenice and Coele-Syria against him, and so gave them warning of his errors and of his character and heresy, and complained of them for receiving him. Epiphanius states that seventy of those letters were still preserved in his day (183). Some, Epiphanius states, wrote back dissemblingly, and others with truth, some of them saying that they had not received him, while others said that they had entertained him in ignorance, and still others said that they had received him only that they might gain him. Arius learned that epistles were circulated everywhere against him, and he and his Arian co-workers were driven out from every place, and no one would longer receive them. Yet Eusebius, Bishop of Nicomedia, who had formerly lived with Lucian, the martyr, at Nicomedia, and who held Arian sentiments, was wholly for Arius, as was Leontius, another Lucianist (184), who was afterwards made Bishop of Antioch by the Arian emperor, Constantius (185). Arius finding the path of the creature-

(183). Epiphanius *On Heresies*; Heresy LXIX., Section 4.

(184). Id., Section 5.

(185). See the article "*Leontius* (2)" in Smith and Wace's *Dictionary of Christian Biography*. It is, however, too favorable to that heretic.

serving opponent of God the Son's Divinity, a hard one, now betook himself to his partisan Eusebius, of Nicomedia.

Epiphanius tells us that he wrote a letter to him before he went to Nicomedia. I translate it below from Epiphanius' work *On Heresies*, Heresy LXIX., Section 6, pages 148, 149; of Part I., vol. iii., of Dindorf's Epiphanius, (Lipsiae, 1861).

As the Council of Alexandria which condemned Arius and his heresies was held about A. D. 320, and as Arius left Alexandria after that, and was some time in Palestine before his former Bishop, Pope, that is Father, Alexander of Alexandria heard of his reception there, and as he wrote after that to the prelates who had received him, and as Arius wrote the following letter to Eusebius, of Nicomedia, after that again, its date can not be much before 322 at the earliest. The article, "*Arianism*," in McClintock & Strong's *Cyclopædia*, makes this the first of the documents from Arius' pen which have reached us, the letter to his former Bishop Alexander, the second; and the Thalia, extracts from which are preserved by St. Athanasius, the last. The letter to Alexander was written from Nicomedia, perhaps in A. D. 322 or 323.

Arius at first held that the Son was liable to change. And, it is thought, in the Council of Alexandria in A. D. 320, which condemned him, he was asked whether the Word of God could change as the devil did. He was so shameless and blasphemous as to assert that He could, because He was subject to change (186). That was evidently too much for some; for in this letter to Eusebius of Nicomedia, he takes the back track and admits His unchangeableness.

"AN EPISTLE OF ARIUS" [TO EUSEBIUS, BISHOP OF NICOMEDIA,
THE NOTORIOUS ARIAN LEADER].

"To the most desired Master, the faithful man of God, the Orthodox Eusebius, Arius, who is unjustly persecuted by Father Alexander (187), on account of the truth which conquereth all things (188), which truth thou also shieldest, wisheth joy in the Lord.

(186). See in Migne's *Dictionnaire des Conciles*, Article "*Alexandrie*," A. D. 320, towards the end.

(187). Πάππa, the word rendered often, *Pope*. See a note on this term in the letter of Arius to Alexander below.

(188). Or, "*which conquereth every man*."

"As my Father Ammonius is about to go to Nicomedia, it seemed fair and due for me to address thee through him, and at the same time to make [grateful] mention of thy innate love and [good] disposition which thou hast towards the brethren for the sake of God and of His Christ (189). For the Bishop wastes and persecutes us exceedingly, and sets in motion every evil against us; so that he has driven us out of the city as godless men (190), because we do not agree with his assertion made in public that God always existed [and that], *the Son always existed*, [and] that *the Son has existed as long as the Father has*, that *the Son has* [always] *co-existed uncreatedly with God*, that *He was always born*, that *He was born without being created* (191), that *God did not precede the Son by a thought nor by a moment*, that God always existed and that *the Son always existed*, [and] that *the Son has come out of God Himself* (192). And because Eusebius,

(189). Greek, καὶ τὸν Χριστὸν αὐτοῦ, literally, "and of His Anointed One."

(190). Greek, ὡς ἀνθρώπους ἀθέους.

(191). Greek, ἀγεννητογενής. Sophocles in his Greek *Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, gives the reading ἀγεννητογενής, and defines it, "Created by the Unbegotten." But that is plainly wrong, for none of the Orthodox asserted that of the eternal Logos, but held that he was uncreated. I prefer the translation which I have given. For all of them did and do hold that He was born without being created. Bohn's translation of this document is fair, but in places not exact. Its rendering here, "that He is always being begotten, without having been begotten," does not accord with the Greek, ἀγεννής, ἀγεννητογενής as in Dindorf's text. With the reading ἀγεννητογενής the meaning would be practically about the same, namely, "that he was born without being generated." But Arius constantly used *generated* (γεννηθέντα) in the sense of *created* or *made*, when he speaks of the Word. The Arians would not understand *generated* except in the sense of *made*; in order to bring in a *created* God, and hence *creature-worship*. But the Nicene Creed has a clause which is aimed at that heresy. It is, γενθέντα, οὐ ποιηθέντα, that is, "born, not made," for from all eternity He had existed as "the Word within the Father," ὁ Λόγος ἐνδιάθετος, before He was born "out of" the Father just before the worlds were made, and by that birth out of the Father's "divine mouth," as Chapter VI. of the work *On the Orthodox Faith*, under the name of St. Phoebadius, words it, He became "The Word borne forth," (ὁ Λόγος προφορικός).

(192). This was another crucial question to the Arians, for they denied the plain affirmation of Christ Himself that He had come out of the Father. For the Redeemer asserts that in John xvi., 28, and John viii., 42, as explained elsewhere. To have admitted that the Word had come out of the Father would have practically admitted the truth that He is what He is expressly called in Hebrews i., 3, that is, "Character of His Substance." Hence they insisted so

thy brother in Caesarea, and Theodosius, and Paulinus, and Athanasius, and Gregory, and Aetius, and all those in the East (193), say that God existed unbeginningly *before the Son*, they have been made anathema, with the exception [however] of Philogonius, and Hellanicus, and Macarius, men who are heretics, and who are not instructed in the first elements of the Christian faith (194), some of whom say that the Son is *a Belch* (195), and others (196), that He is an *uncreated Issue* (197). And we can not endure even to hear those impious expressions, [even] if the heretics should threaten us with ten thousand deaths. But what do we say and think, and what have we taught and do teach? [Why], that *the Son is not uncreated, nor a Part of the Uncreated One in any manner*, and moreover that *He was not made out of any previously existing thing*, but that *He came into existence by the will and design of God before times and before the worlds*, that *He is full God, Sole-generated [God]* (198), *inconvertible into any thing else* (199), and that *before He was generated, that is before He was created, that is decreed, or founded* (200), *He was*

much on their heresies that He was "*made out of things not existing*," not at all out of the Father's substance, and hence must be a creature, and hence their worship of Him was the mere paganism of creature-worship on their showing.

(193). *The East* includes here, as in later times, Syria and Palestine. We will discuss the truth of Arius' statement further on.

(194). Greek, ἀνθρώπων αἰρετικῶν ἀκατηχῆτων. The last word means literally, "*not catechised*."

(195). This is a reference to the Septuagint Greek version of its Psalm xliv., 1, "*My heart hath belched forth a good word*."

(196). The expressions "*some*," and "*others*," hardly befit the three persons only who are specified above, and so lead us to suspect that something has fallen out of here.

(197). This was the doctrine of St. Theophilus, Bishop of Antioch, and of the whole Church before Arius, and is the doctrine of the Nicene Creed.

(198) Greek, πλήρης Θεὸς μονογενής. This might be rendered in different ways, according to how we punctuate it. In Dindorf's text of Epiphanius there is not even a comma between the words. Arius, as is clear from his other utterances, would understand "*Sole-generated*" to mean "*Sole-created*," whether we supply "*God*" or "*Son*" after it.

(199). Greek, ἀαλλοίωτος.

(200). The *generated*, Arius derives from the Septuagint of Proverbs viii., 25; the *created* and *founded* from the Septuagint of Proverbs viii., 22, 23. Those were favorite texts of the Arians, which they took in their own perverse sense. Athanasius refutes that sense.

not. For *He was not uncreated.* But we are persecuted because we have said that *the Son had a beginning*, but that God had no beginning. For that reason we are persecuted, and because we have said, that *He was made out of non-existing things.* And we have so said because *He is neither a Part of God, nor of any previously existing thing* (201). For that reason we are persecuted, as thou knowest. I pray that thou mayest be strong in the Lord, and that thou mayest be mindful of our tribulations, fellow Lucianist (202), thou who art truly Eusebius" (203).

Theodoret, a partisan of Nestorius in the fifth century, was nevertheless opposed to Arius, and tells us in his *Ecclesiastical History*, Book I., Chapter V., Bohn's translation, that "of those whose names are mentioned in this letter, Eusebius was Bishop of Caesarea, Theodotius, [spelled 'Theodosius' in Epiphanius here] Paulinus of Tyre, Athanasius of Anazarbus, Gregory of Berea, and Aetius of Lydda. Lydda is now called Diospolis. Arius boasted that these were all of one mind with himself. He names as his adversaries, Philogonius, Bishop of Antioch, Hellanicus, Bishop of Tripoli, and Macarius, Bishop of Jerusalem. He spread calumnies against them because they said that the Son is eternal, existing before all ages, equal with the Father, and of the same substance."

Here in this Letter to Eusebius, we find all but one of the heresies of Arius which are cursed by the Orthodox and God-inspired Anathema at the end of the Creed of the First Ecumenical Council, namely:

1. "*There was once when the Son of God was not.*"
2. "*Before He was generated He was not;*" the council, however, understanding "*generated*" (γεννηθῆναι) in the sense of "born"

(201.) Greek, οὐδὲ ἐξ ὑποκειμένου τινός.

(202.) Greek, συλλουκιανιστά. The reference is to Lucian, the martyr, who is said to have taught what was afterwards termed the Arian heresy. See the writers on him.

(203.) Greek, ἀληθῶς Εὐσέβιε. As Eusebius means "*Pious*," the expression "*truly Eusebius*" means "*truly pious*." One impious creature-server thus compliments another. The article "*Arianism*" in McClintock and Strong's Cyclopædia, tells us that "Voigt (in his *Lehre des Athanasius von Alexandrien*) gives" the above letter "with critical emendations, which elucidate the development of the opinions of Arius," and refers to a translation from Voigt by Dr. Schaeffer, in the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, xxi., 1-38.

out of the Father's eternal substance, whereas Arius took it as equivalent to "made" and "created." For the Synod says just before in the same Creed, that,

"*The Son of God was born Sole-Born, (γεννηθέντα) out of the Father, that is out of the substance of the Father, God out of God, Light out of Light, very God out of very God, BORN, not made, (γεννηθέντα, οὐ ποιηθέντα), of the same substance as the Father.*"

3. "*He was made out of things not existing.*"
4. "*He was made out of another subsistence or substance*" than the Father.
5. "*He was created.*"
6. "*He is alterable, or convertible*" [into something else].

The *substance* of all those heresies, without exception, are found in the Letter above, and in that of Arius and his fellow-heretic's Letter to Alexander, Bishop of Alexandria. The exception is the assertion that, "*the son of God is alterable or convertible*" into something else. Arius had made that assertion before he was cast out of the Church, and it was made one of the reasons for his just expulsion. So St. Athanasius testifies. See Sections 14 and 15 of his work *on the council held at Ariminum in Italy and on that held at Seleucia in Isauria*.

But, even with that emendation, the virus of the heresy remains; that is, Arius still makes God the Son a creature, and hence lands at last in the primary sins of paganism, that is *creature-worship* and *polytheism*; for he worshipped the Son *as a creature*; and that, of course, made him a *creature-worshipper*. And inasmuch as he calls the Son of God a *created* God, and therefore an *inferior* God, because created; and inasmuch as he makes the Father *another God* uncreated and eternal, and because *uncreated and eternal* a *superior* God; therefore Arius had two Gods, and so, of course, was a *polytheist*. Besides these two Gods, according to Arius, were of different substances, one, the Father's, being eternal, and the other, the Son's, being created before the world; and so he worshipped a created substance as well as an uncreated one.

Moreover, he fights bitterly against the belief that the Logos was born out of the Father's substance, and will have it that He was made out of things not previously existing. For his Exoukontian (that is, "*out of nothing*") notion is meant as a protest against the

Word's being of the same substance as the Father, and of the same eternity.

Arius, after he was turned out of the Church by St. Alexander of Alexandria, his Bishop, seems to have dropped the error that God the Son is liable to change. At least he confesses just the contrary tenet in his Epistle to Eusebius, as do he and his fellow-Arians in their Confession of Faith made to Pope Alexander of Alexandria.

DOCUMENT II.

ARIUS' PROFESSION OF FAITH,

Addressed to Alexander, the Bishop of Alexandria, who had excommunicated him.

On this, Hahn in his *Bibliothek der Symbole*, page 188, note 929, (Breslau, A. D. 1877), states (I translate the German):

"The same [Profession of Faith] is found in a Letter which Arius, in the name of a number of his friends and conjointly with them, sent some time in the year 321, from Nicomedia to Alexander, the Bishop of Alexandria, in order that he might come to an agreement again with him where it might be possible."

It looks much more like an artful, but uncompromising and open declaration of war against the Divinity of Christ, and, by consequence, against Christ's command to worship God alone, Matt. iv., 10. Epiphanius, as we see below, deemed it worse than the above letter.

It is found in the fullest form in St. Epiphanius *On Heresies*, Heresy LXIX., Sections 7 and 8. It is found also in Section 16 of St. Athanasius *On the Council held at Ariminum, in Italy, and that at Seleucia, in Isauria*, and is rendered, most of it, into English, in the Oxford translation. It is given in the second edition of Hahn's *Bibliothek der Symbole*, pages 188-189. I have followed mainly Hahn's text, but where he has not given all of it I have followed Epiphanius, as above. I have deemed Newman's translation mistaken in two or more places, and have preferred another rendering in them.

Epiphanius, after mentioning the letter above of Arius to Eusebius, brings in the following epistle, with these words:

"But we subjoin another letter, also written from Nicomedia to the most holy Pope, Alexander, by way of defence, forsooth, and

worse again, for it is filled full of the blasphemous words of his continual poison-darting, and it was sent off by him to Alexandria" (204).

Athanasius, in his work above mentioned, Section 16, introduces it as follows :

"And moreover what they wrote by letter to the blessed Alexander, the Bishop, is as follows :

" 'To our blessed Father and Bishop, Alexander, the presbyters and the deacons wish joy in the Lord.

" 'Our faith from our forefathers, which we have learned from thee also, blessed Father (205) is this :

" 'We acknowledge one God, alone Ungenerated, alone Eternal, alone without a beginning, alone real God, who alone has immortality, is alone wise, alone good, alone Sovereign, alone Judge [of all] (206). Controller, Manager, Immutable, and Inconvertible into anything else, just and good, and He is the God of the Law and of the Prophets and of the New Testament: who generated a Sole-Born Son before world-times (207), through whom He has made both the

(204). Epiphanius on *Heresy* LXIX., that of the *Ariomaniacs*, Section 7.

(205). Greek, *Μακαρίω Πάτρι*; that is "*Most Blessed Pope*." Father in old times was the title of all Bishops; but in later ages in the untranslated and altered form, *Pope* is unwisely, in Western lands, generally confined to the Bishop of Rome, though in the Anglican confirmation service the Bishop is called Father. Sophocles, in his Greek Lexicon, under the term *πάτρις*, defines it as follows: "*Papa, father*, a title given to bishops in general, and to those of Alexandria and Rome in particular." He gives a number of references there on it to old Christian writers. See also Bingham's *Antiquities*, Book II., Chapter ii., Section 7, to much the same effect. In the form *πατὴρ* it is used among the Greeks for presbyters, as Sophocles shows under that word; and among the Latins, in the form *Father*, it is used for them, and so among a few Anglicans.

(206). The words "*of all*" are in Epiphanius, not Athanasius.

(207). Newman here renders, "*before eternal times*," but that is manifestly wrong, because (1) Arius, in the very *Confession* above, shows that he did not believe in the doctrine of the *Eternal Generation* of the Son, and "*before eternal times*" seems to mean that. The Greek is *πρὸ χρόνων αἰώνιων*. It is true that *αἰώνιος* does often mean *eternal*, but as Liddell and Scott, in their *Greek Lexicon*, show under that word it sometimes means *what relates to the world*, as for example, in their quotation from Herodian, *αἰώνιοι θῖαι*,—*ludi seculares*, *games for the world*, or *worldly games*. So the Latin equivalent *saecularis* was sometimes used as is shown under *saecularis* in Harpers' *Latin Dictionary* for what is

worlds and all things; and generated Him not in [mere] seeming [so to do] but in reality; and made Him subordinate to His own will (208), [to be] an immutable, an inconvertible, and perfect creature of God, but not as one of the creatures; a thing generated, but not as one of the things generated; and that Generated Thing of the Father is not an Issue [out of the Father] though Valentinus asserted that as a dogma; nor do we hold Manichaeus' innovation that a Generated Thing is a same-substance Part of the Father; nor do we hold, like Sabellius, who separated the Monad of Divinity and asserted [the doctrine of] a Son-Father (209), nor, like Hieracas, do we hold [to the doctrine that] He is Lamp from Lamp, nor that one Torch-light has been divided into two: nor that He who existed before was generated or created into a Son besides; as thou thyself also, blessed Father, in the midst of the church and in [the] Session (210) hast often forbidden those who brought in those errors; but, as we assert, He was created by the will of the Father before times (211) and before the

worldly, secular, what pertains to this world. Moreover (2), *time* did not exist before the world was made. Furthermore (3), Arius, in the above *Confession*, uses *αἰών* for *world*; and (4) it is used in that sense plainly in the Creed of the Second Ecumenical Council. (5), As is shown in the fourth note below, the words, *χρόνους αἰωνίους*, are translated in King James' English Version, "*since the world began*," not "*since eternal times*." They evidently mean, "*in world times*," and their sense is well given by the rendering in our English Version. So, exactly the same expression of Arius' *Confession*, *πρὸ χρόνων αἰωνίων*, is found in II. Timothy i., 9, and its literal sense of "*before world-times*" is preserved, in effect, in the King James' Version, in the words, "*before the world began*."

(208). The Greek is, *ὑποστήσαντα δὲ ἰδίῳ θελήματι, ἀτρέπτον*, etc. Newman has, "*and made Him subsist at His own will unalterable*," etc., which may be correct, but as the expression may be translated either so or as above, it seems doubtful.

(209). That is, the Sabellians said that the Son is the same Person as the Father, and the Father the same Person as the Son.

(210). Probably the meeting of the Bishop with his presbyters, deacons, and perhaps clergy lower than deacon, in which he instructed them in their duties, gave them his orders, etc. The Greek is *ἐν συνεδρίῳ*.

(211). Greek, *πρὸ χρόνων καὶ πρὸ αἰώνων κτισθέντα*, that is, He was created before time began and before the worlds were made. As time began when the worlds were made, so it ends with the end of the world; Rev. x., 6. Compare the Greek of Romans xvi., 25, and of II. Timothy i., 9. In Romans xvi., 25, *χρόνους αἰωνίους* is rendered in the Common Version, and well, by "*since the world began*" (literally, it is, "*in world times*," that is *during the time of this*

worlds, and has received both life and being from the Father, and the Father put under Him as well as under Himself the dignities (212). For the Father in giving Him the inheritance of all things did not deprive Himself of those things which He has ingenerately in Himself (213): for He is the Fountain of all things, so that there are Three Subsistences (214). And God, being the Cause of all things, was without beginning and utterly Sole; but the Son was generated before time began by the Father and was created and founded before the worlds. He was not before He was generated, but having been generated before time and before all things, He alone existed under the Father. For He is not eternal, or co-eternal or co-unmade (215) with the Father: nor has He existed as long as

world; and in II. Timothy i., 9, πρὸ χρόνων αἰώνων (literally, "before world-times") is well translated by "before the world began." Compare the note fourth above.

(212). Greek, καὶ τὰς δόξας ἀνυποστάτους αὐτῷ τῷ Πατρὶ. Newman, in the Oxford translation of St. Athanasius' *Treatises Against Arianism*, page 98, renders it, "The Father who gave subsistence to His glories, together with Him." But I prefer to take τὰς δόξας in the sense of "dignities," as in Jude i., 8, in the passage, "and speak evil of dignities" (δόξας). The meaning is that the Father gave the Son dominion over angels and all created dignities. That is the teaching of Scripture, as in Hebrews i., 6, etc., and best agrees with what immediately follows the above in Arius' *Confession*.

(213). That is, those prerogatives of rule over created dignities and all other things, for these prerogatives, Arius means, inhere in the very Nature of the Father, and are not a production and grant to Him in time, or just before time.

(214). Greek as in Hahn's text, ὥστε τρεῖς εἰσι ὑπόστασις. The word ὑπόστασις, means *subsistence*, that is *being*, and also *substance*; and from the sense of *being* passed into the sense of *Person* in Christian writers. But no Christian writer would say "There are three substances," but "only one substance" of which each Hypostasis, that is Person, formed part. See Suicer under ὑπόστασις where we see how the ancient Latins who took that term in the sense of *substance* shunned the expression of Orthodox writers, "There are three Hypostases" (τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις), because they took it to mean, "There are three substances." Suicer shows however that the difficulty disappeared when the Orthodox Greek writers explained that they did not mean to deny that the whole Trinity are but *one Substance*, but that they took Hypostasis (ὑπόστασις) in the sense of *Person*. The Greeks and the Latins finally came to use both those terms in the same sense as they do still. Arius, on the contrary, held that there are *Three different Substances*: and that two of them, the Son and the Spirit are creatures. As to the Arian belief on the Spirit see Athanasius as quoted below.

(215). Epiphanius, on Heresy LXIX., Section 8, has here συναγένητος, "co-ungenerated," not co-unmade," συναγένητος, but as Arius takes the *generation*

the Father has, as some assert as to their relations, [thus] bringing in two ungenerated Origins (216), but as God was [at first] the Sole One and the Origin of all things, so He was before all things. And therefore He was before the Son, as we have also learned from thee when thou wast preaching in the midst of the Church. Inasmuch therefore as He has from God His being and His glories and His life, and inasmuch as all things have been delivered to Him, in that sense, God is his Origin (217). For He began Him (218) as being His God and as being before Him.

But if the expression '*out of Him*' (219), and the expression '*out of the belly*' (220), and the expression '*I came out of the Father and am come*' (221), be understood by any persons to mean that the Son is a same-substance Part of Him and that He is an Issue (222), [out of the Father] it will follow, according to their notion, that the Father is put together and separable and mutable and a body; and, so far as they can bring it to pass, the God who is without a body will suffer those things which belong to a body. I pray that thou mayest be strong in the Lord, blessed Father.

of the Word to mean His being *created*, both expressions according to his heresy mean the same thing.

(216). That is Two ungenerated First Principles of all things, that is Two Sources, Two Beginners, that is Two Originators of all things; and not one only.

(217). That is, His Originator, ἀρχὴ αὐτοῦ.

(218). Greek, Ἀρχεῖ γὰρ αὐτοῦ. Newman renders it, in the Oxford translation of S. Athanasius' *Treatises Against Arianism*, page 98, "*For He is above Him.*" But the translation which I have given seems to me to agree better with Arius' context, and what we know of his heretical ideas as to the Son being a creature of the Father.

(219). Greek, ἐξ αὐτοῦ. Arius seems to refer to John viii., 42, ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐξῆλθον καὶ ἤκω, literally, "*For I came out of God, and am come,*" and to John xvi., 28, ἐξῆλθον ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ ἐλήλυθα εἰς τὸν κόσμον, literally, "*I came out of the Father, and have come into the world.*"

(220). The Greek Septuagint Version of Psalm cix., 3, (Psalm cx., 3, in the English Version), ἐκ γαστρὸς πρὸ Ἑωσφόρου ἐγέννησά σε, literally, "*I brought thee forth out of the belly before the morning star*" [was made].

(221). Arius seems to quote here from memory only, and to mix up John viii., 42, and John xvi., 28. See them in the note last but one above.

(222). Greek, ὡς μέρος αὐτοῦ ὁμοουσίον καὶ ὡς προβολή.

Arius,
 Aeithales,
 Achillas,
 Carpones,
 Sarmatas,
 Arius, [who are] *presbyters*.

[The] *deacons*,
 Euzotus,
 Lucius,
 Julius,
 Menas,
 Helladius,
 Gaius.

[The] *Bishops*,
 Secundus, of Pentapolis,
 Theonas, a Libyan,
 Pistus, [whom the Arians ordained for Alexandria].

The last six words, which I have bracketed, must, I think, be an addition by way of explanation made by St. Epiphanius, or by some other, for according to Gammack's article "*Pistus*," in Smith and Wace's *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, Pistus was not made Bishop of Alexandria till A. D. 336, 337 or 338, and therefore not till long after this document.

REMARKS ON ARIUS' CONFESSION.

From the above it is clear,

1. That Arius made the Son to be a *Creature*, thought he admitted and thought that He was *generated*, which he evidently takes to mean, He was *created*, before the worlds were made, and so before world-time began. Indeed he expressly confesses in this document that the Father *made the worlds and all things through Him*.

The doctrine of the Ante-Nicene Fathers that the Word is an issue (*προβολή*) out of the Father just before the worlds he slanderously compares to a Valentinian myth, which is not Christian at all, and which has nothing in common with the Christian doctrine of the issue of the Logos, co-eternal and consubstantial with the Father, out of Him. Newman shows, in a note on page 97 of his English transla-

tion of S. Athanasius' *Treatises Against Arianism*, that the Arian Asterius thought that "issue" (προβολή) conveys the idea of a *bringing forth of a child* (τεκνογονία). But some, or most, of the ancients, as will be shown in a Dissertation elsewhere in this series *On Eternal Birth*, did believe that the eternal Logos was born out of the Father's mouth just before all the worlds, and so understood Ecclesiasticus xxiv., 3, to teach and followed it. I quote it:

"I [Wisdom] came out of the mouth of the Most High, and, like a mist, I covered the earth." *On Texts of Scripture*, in a special Dissertation elsewhere in this series, I have shown that St. Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage from A. D. 248 to 258, when he died a martyr for Christ; Lactantius, who wrote in the first half of the fourth century; and St. Phaebadius, Bishop of Agen in Gaul, who flourished in the last half of the same century; all take that text to mean that the Logos was born out of the Father's mouth just before the worlds were made.

In the same Dissertation I have shown that ancient writers take the words of Psalm xlv., 1, in the Septuagint Version, to mean that the Father "*belched*" the eternal Logos; and that naturally implies that the Logos was *belched* out of the Father's mouth. For that is the only opening that we know of in his body of Spirit. So Tertullian, of Century II. and III.; Novatian, the Schismatic of Century III., who was however Orthodox on the Trinity; St. Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage A. D. 248-258, (compare his testimony on Ecclesiasticus xxiv., 3, above referred to); St. Victorinus, Bishop of Petau, who is believed to have died a martyr for Christ in the Diocletian persecution A. D. 303-313; Lactantius, in the first half of the fourth century; Phaebadius, Bishop of Agen in Gaul, who flourished in the last half of the fourth century; all understood Psalm xlv., 1, in the Septuagint to teach that the Father *belched* the Logos, which implies that he *belched* Him out of His mouth. Indeed, St. Cyprian, Lactantius, and St. Phaebadius, as has been said above, expressly teach that the Father belched the Logos out of His mouth. See their remarks on Ecclesiasticus xxiv., 3, quoted in the *Dissertation* above specified.

And that seems to have been the belief of all the ancient writers whom I have quoted in that *Dissertation* on the Septuagint of Psalm xxxiii., 6, and on Psalm cix., 3, except mainly or wholly the writers

of Alexandria and its jurisdiction, in Africa, who did not believe that God has any body; nor, consequently any mouth at all. For quite a number of the ancient Christian writers believed that God the Father has a body, according to the common and uniform representations of Him in Scripture, but of course a body, as Tertullian writes, of Spirit, not a body of flesh with its digestive and procreative organs. And that view can not, I think, be said to have been condemned in any of the Six Ecumenical Councils. But I treat of that topic elsewhere on Nicaea in a special *Dissertation* which I hope soon to publish.

Having said thus much on the Arian Asterius' objection to the Orthodox doctrine that the Logos was born out of the Father, as stated by Newman in the note above mentioned, let me add on the other hand, that Newman shows in the same note that Tertullian used the term *Issue*, of the Logos, with a protest against the Valentinian sense, and that Justin, the martyr, also used the word "*Issue*," of the Logos; and that Gregory of Nazianzus made a similar use of it by calling the Father *πρωτογενὴς*, of the Holy Spirit, that is, the One who caused the Holy Spirit to *issue*. He well adds, "Arius introduces the word [*Issue*] here as an *argumentum ad invidiam*," and refers on that point to Hilary *On the Trinity* VI., 9. See the references to those writers in that note of Newman's.

So Arius, in the same malignant and crafty and deceptive spirit of wickedness, compares, just below, the Christian doctrine of the birth of the Consubstantial Logos out of the Father to a Manichaean myth, which is Anti-Scriptural and Anti-Christian, and which has nothing in common with the Christian doctrine of the birth of the Consubstantial and Co-eternal Word out of the Father; and so, like the Valentinian comparison above, and that of the Manichaean Hieracas below, it is not at all pertinent to the case.

Next he brings in the Sabellian doctrine, that the Son is the same Person as the Father, which is not pertinent to the discussion between himself and the Orthodox Alexander, because no Orthodox man entertains that heresy.

Then, in the same Spirit of malignity, Arius brings in the doctrine of the Manichaean Hieracas of a light from a light, or the dividing of a torch light, a blazing fagot, for instance, into two. But neither Alexander nor any other Orthodox man held that Manichaean

error. Manichaeism, with its two Eternal Principles, Good and Evil, was polytheistic, and sternly rejected the Orthodox doctrine of the Eternal Divinity of the Logos as much as Arianism did, and was firmly Anti-Trinitarian and Anti-Christian.

Then at last, after so many invidious and not pertinent comparisons, Arius comes to one that is. Now he leaves Heresies which were held by none of the Orthodox, and comes to a doctrine which the majority of the Ante-Nicene writers did hold; all, according to Newman himself, except the Alexandrian School, namely, that the co-eternal and consubstantial Logos, who was within the Father from all eternity, was born out of Him just before the worlds were made, and to make them, though Arius, after his malignant fashion of misrepresenting, speaks of it as the doctrine that "*He who existed before, was afterwards generated or created up into a Son besides,*" from which we may infer that he was acquainted with the doctrine of St. Justin the Martyr and of St. Theophilus of Antioch, that the co-eternal Logos of the Father, *Endiathetic*, that is, *inside* the Father, became *Prophoric*, that is, *Borne Forth* by birth out of Him just before the worlds were made. His way of describing that birth as a *creating up into a Son besides*, might lead us to suppose that some of the Orthodox, with whose views he had become acquainted, understood the *Κτίσις ἐκτίσέ με*, "*The Lord Created (or 'built') me*" of Prov. viii., 22, in the Septuagint, to mean that just before the worlds were made, the Father made His co-eternal Logos a Son when He brought Him forth out of Himself. Tertullian, as elsewhere quoted, in the Dissertation *On Eternal Birth*, held that view.

Arius then goes on to state that Alexander, the Bishop of Alexandria, had often in the midst of the Church, and in the Session, of his lower clergy, seemingly denounced not only the view of Valentinus which he has just mentioned, and that of Manichaeus, and that of Sabellius and that of Hieracas, but also, seemingly at first sight, that of all the Orthodox out of Alexandria and its jurisdiction, namely, that the co-eternal and consubstantial Logos was not born out of the Father just before the worlds were made and to make them, and so became a Son by that birth; but that He was eternally born out of the Father and so was eternally the Son. If this inference be correct, we may conclude that Alexander had gotten his opinion of Eternal Generation from a noted man of the Alexandrian School,

Origen, or at least that he adopted Origen's view, and that he maintained it, and that Athanasius and Cyril, his successors, in that see, in doing the same, simply followed the traditions of that School.

Yet there is a very important clause farther on in this *Confession* which seems to throw doubt on those inferences, for Arius asserts that he had learned from Alexander's preaching in the midst of the church that *the Father was before the Son*, which seems irreconcilable with the notion that Alexander believed in the doctrine of the Son's Eternal Birth. Yet Arius may only mean to charge on Alexander that he had contradicted himself: for in a document written after his expulsion from Alexandria, but before this, that is his Epistle to Eusebius, Bishop of Nicomedia, he expressly accuses Alexander of Alexandria, his former Bishop, of holding to the co-eternity of the Son *as Son* with the Father. Or he may mean to accuse him of having formerly held Arian views on those themes, though a heretic excommunicated is not always a reliable witness against the man who excommunicated him. Besides if Alexander did at any time hold heretical views against God the Son's Divinity, he certainly got rid of them and made a firm champion for them at the outset of the Arian controversy and excommunicated their chief propagator, the arch-heretic Arius himself.

We see, 2, from the above Confession, that *all the Arian worship of the Son was the worship of a creature*, and consequently that on their own showing they were *creature-worshippers*: and that is contrary to Christ's own fundamental law in Matthew iv., 10, "*Thou shalt bow to the Lord thy God and Him only shalt thou serve.*"

And, 3, that inasmuch as they had two Gods, one the Father uncreated and eternal, and because uncreated and eternal, therefore a *superior* God; and another, the Son, created and non-eternal, and because created and non-eternal, therefore an *inferior* God; they were, therefore, POLYTHEISTS, for polytheist means any and every one who has more gods than one.

Hence they held to the two fundamental errors of paganism, and, as Athanasius taught, were to be regarded as heathens, and not as Christians.

4. In passing, though it is anticipating events in the century next following, I would say that the principle contained in St. Cyril of

alexandria's Anathema VIII., which, in God's name, and in strict accordance with the use of the Anathema in Galatians i., 8, 9, against perversions of the Gospel and against new-fangled Gospels, curses, that is, anathematizes the Nestorians for giving the name God to a creature, that is, to a man, would apply to the Arians, for they regarded the Son as a *creature*, and yet called him God.

5. From the latter part of the Confession of Arius we see that the Orthodox had met Arius with texts which teach as in the Septuagint, and in the New Testament, the doctrine that the Logos was *born out of* the Father.

They evidently understood in that sense the words, "*out of*" in the Septuagint of Psalm cix., 3, "*I brought thee forth out of the belly*" (ἐξ ἑσπερός); the "*out of God*" in the expression in John viii., 42, "*I came out of God*" (ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐξηλθόν); and the same words, "*out of*" in John xvi., 28, in the passage, "*I came out of the Father*," (ἐξηλθὼν ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς).

The Greek word ἐκ does primarily mean *out of*, and is so defined in Liddell and Scott's Greek-English Lexicon of A. D. 1850, (Harrington, New York), and in the "*Sixth Edition, Revised and Augmented, Oxford*," A. D. 1869; whereas ἀπὸ, another Greek preposition, means "*from*," that is, from *the outside* of any thing. And so those expressions of Holy Writ which speak of the Son as having come *out of* (ἐκ) the Father, were understood by the Orthodox to refer to His birth *out of* the Father.

Arius, following the notion of Origen, then prevalent in the Alexandrian School among the leaders of both parties, the Orthodox and the Arians, that God the Father has no body for the Logos to come out of, advances that notion as a reply.

But it is no reply, for a large part of the Church held, as the masses in all communions do still, that God the Father has a body. That was the teaching of some of the Ante-Nicene writers. I show that in a *Dissertation* on that topic in another part of this series, and have referred to some of them above also. Indeed, the indignation of the Egyptian monks, who seem to have been the great bulk of their order there, against even Theophilus, their Patriarch, when they supposed he meant to favor Origen's view, and his submission to them, proves the strength in the early part of the fourth century, even in Egypt, of the view that the Father has a body, and the

weakness of the view that He has not. This is clear from the account of the event as given by Socrates and Sozomen, both of whom, as their statements on it show, were Incorporealists and Origenists on that matter, and were so prejudiced as Constantinopolitans against Theophilus, Bishop of Alexandria, for his course against John, Bishop of Constantinople, that they do not seem capable of doing him justice; so that they accuse him of deceiving the monks, who were angered against him for denying that God has a body.

Thus, for instance, in his account in Chapter 7, Book VI., of his *Ecclesiastical History*, of the disobedience of the four *Long Monks*, as they were termed, Discorus (or "Dioscorus"), and his three brothers, Ammonius (or "Ammon"), Eusebius and Euthymius, to their patriarch Theophilus, who had been so kind as to make Discorus Bishop of Hermopolis, in Egypt, and two others of them clergymen, and gave them the management of Ecclesiastical affairs; Socrates asperses, after his unwise wont when speaking of Theophilus, his motives, and faults him for simply doing his duty. For, contrary to the Canons, they withdrew themselves from Church-work, where their services were needed, to live the lazy and useless life of the desert, contrary to the Spirit of Christ's prayer to His Father *not to take his disciples out of the world, but to keep them from the evil* (John xvii., 15). They left Christ's sin-beset sheep to be torn by the wolf, and fled away in their utter selfishness. Their Archbishop, Theophilus, like a true shepherd, warned them to come back to their bounden duty, but they were rebellious, and refused. Their evil example might become infectious, and others might be led to shirk their duties as well, and to desert their posts. The only reason given by the four *Tall Brothers*, according to Socrates in the same chapter, was childish enough, namely, that Theophilus was devoted to gain and to the acquisition of wealth, and that they feared that his example would be injurious to their souls, and that they greatly preferred solitude to living in the city. But were such a set of lazy fanatics fit judges of their patriarch? And, if any rational cause for accusation existed, could they not have called him to account by an appeal to the whole Church? And what right had they to leave the active work of Christ in the city and to flee to the lazy solitude of the desert? One of them, according to the notice of him by Smith, in Smith and Wace's *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, must have been a decidedly poor stick to judge anybody; for in order to escape being

made a bishop he had cut off one of his ears!!! (223). In other words, he had marred his body, a sin akin to that of marring another part of the body, which the First Ecumenical Synod, in its Canon I., had condemned, for both are different forms of the same sin; that is, of mutilating the image of God in man, which is really a part-suicide. Besides their rebellion, they had fallen into what St. Epiphanius and Theophilus and the monks deemed the error of denying that God has a body. Up to that, even according to the bilious account of Socrates, their Patriarch had been very patient with them. According to Bohn's translation here,

"He earnestly begged them not to leave him," (Socrates' *Ecclesiastical History*, Book VI., Chapter 7).

He could, as their superior officer, have deposed and excommunicated, but he forbore. Finally when they left him, and like cowards and fanatics, forsook their proper work and their duty, and betook themselves as rebels to the desert to raise a row for him, and to disturb the Church, he proceeds to check them. He had at last to fault and to correct them, as their Archbishop, on dogma. For the Origenist Socrates, in the same chapter as in Bohn's translation here, states of him:

"He well knew that Discorus and his brothers, in their theological discussions with him, had often maintained that the Deity was incorporeal, and by no means had a human form; because, they argued, such a constitution would involve the necessary accompaniment of human passions, as Origen and other ancient writers have demonstrated."

Aye, there is the root of it all. They were followers of the heretic Origen, and had drawn from him their idea that God has no body. Blunt, under *Anthropomorphites*, in his *Dictionary of Sects*, etc., shows that Origen had opposed an older and opposite view that God has a body, which was the teaching of Melito and of Tertullian.

Besides the *Four Tall Brothers* were poor in their knowledge of facts. It is true that human passions do belong to our fallen human bodies of flesh and bone. But no wise man holds to the blasphemy that the Father's body is of flesh or bone, but is of Spirit as Tertullian

(223). Socrates' *Ecc. Hist.*, Book IV., Chapter 23. See the article "Ammonius (I.)" in Smith and Wace's *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, and the authorities there mentioned.

puts it (224), that is, of Divinity, and is therefore free from all human passions.

After all this, Theophilus does what he might have done before with such a rebellious Suffragan and with such rebellious clerics who had deserted their posts, and, judging even from Socrates and Sozomen's accounts, were stirring up trouble for him and the church and were spreading what he deemed fanaticism and error. He uses force when persuasion and entreaty avail not, and drives these deserters out of his jurisdiction. A considerable time after, they were to submit to him, after making him much trouble at Constantinople. They had committed the grievous crime of appealing to secular judges, and even to a woman, the erring Empress Eudoxia, against their own Bishop (225).

The superstition and folly of that age sometimes made heroes out of such disgraces to the monastic profession, such deserters as three of them were from their posts of clerical duty. But Theophilus was not a monk of their stripe, but a common-sense, God-fearing one who has been much misunderstood and maligned as to the merits of the quarrel between himself and John, who was afterwards called Chrysostom. Of that I will speak elsewhere in this series, if God will. Now, after long patience, he acts.

Socrates, in chapter 7, Book VI., of his *Ecclesiastical History*, as in Bohn's translation, says of Theophilus, that

"Sending letters to the monasteries in the desert, he advises them not to give heed either to Discorus or his brothers, inasmuch as they affirmed that God had not a body.

" 'Whereas,' says he, '*the Sacred Scripture testifies that God has eyes, ears, hands and feet, as men have; the partisans of Discorus, being followers of Origen, introduce the blasphemous dogma that God has neither eyes, ears, feet, nor hands.*' "

Socrates goes on to state that some of the monks still adhered to Discorus and Origen, and praises them for so doing; but he admits that those who held the view that God has a body *greatly exceeded*

(224). See Tertullian as quoted in my *Dissertation on Manformism*, that is *Anthropomorphism*, to be published, if God will, in this series.

(225). Socrates' *Ecl. Hist.*, vi., 9. Sozomen's *Ecl. Hist.* viii., 13, 14 and 15.

Dioscorus and the Anti-Body party *in number*, but this Origenist and perhaps Novatian abuses them for that opinion.

He goes on to state that the monks who held that God the Father has a body, raised an outcry against the Anti-Corporealists, branded them as "*impious*," and termed them "*Origenists*;" and that they, on the contrary, termed them *Anthropomorphites*, that is *Manformiles*, and that *altercation* and *inextinguishable war* arose between the two parties; but that Theophilus, on learning how matters stood, went with a multitude of persons to Nitra, where the monasteries were, and armed the monks against Discorus and his brethren, which would imply that the latter would not leave peaceably, though disowned as "*impious*" heretics by the great majority of their fellow-monks, but insisted on inflicting their presence on them. Socrates adds that Discorus and his Anti-Body adherents were then in danger of their lives, and made their escape with difficulty, which shows how the opinion that God has no body was viewed by the great majority of the monks of his own country about A. D. 401. Sozomen gives a similar account.

I should prefer to believe that Theophilus, whatever he may have thought at first, did then really believe as he himself asserts, that "*The Sacred Scripture testifies that God has eyes, ears, hands, and feet, as men have.*" A note on-page 389 of Bohn's translation of Sozomen's *Ecclesiastical History*, referring to Socrates' account of the expulsion of this Discorus or Dioscorus and the Anti-body party, states,

"Socrates gives the same account; but, like Sozomen, he suppresses the reason: viz., that Theophilus had convened an Episcopal Synod at Alexandria, and had condemned Ammonius and his brethren as followers of Origen."

Jerome, as we are informed in Smith's article, "*Ammonius*," in Smith and Wace's *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, deemed the condemnation of Dioscorus and his brothers to be merited.

Smith refers to Jerome's *Ep. ad Alex.*, in proof.

The events which followed, notwithstanding the glaringly unfair and slanderous perversion of Theophilus' motives, by Socrates and Sozomen, prove that he maintained his vigor against the view that God has no body. For, whereas before, he had blamed St. Epiphanius for asserting that *God has a human form* (226), he now, "As if repentant," (to quote the translation of Bohn, in Chapter XIV. of

(226.) Sozomen's *Ecclesiastical History*, Book VIII., Chapter 14.

Book VIII., of Sozomen's *Ecclesiastical History*), "of having ever entertained any other sentiment" [than that God has a body] "wrote to Epiphanius to acquaint him, that he now held the same opinions as himself, and to condemn the works of Origen, whence he had drawn his former hypothesis."

Then the difference between the believer that God has a body, St. Epiphanius, and Theophilus, is removed, for Theophilus openly espouses the belief of St. Epiphanius. Now all is clear, and Sozomen at once proceeds, as in Bohn,

"Epiphanius had long regarded the writings of Origen with peculiar aversion, and was therefore easily led to attach credit to the epistle of Theophilus. He soon after assembled the Bishops of Cyprus together, and prohibited the perusal of the books of Origen. He also wrote to the other Bishops, and, among others, to the Bishop of Constantinople" [John], "exhorting them to issue similar prohibitions. Theophilus, perceiving that there could be no danger in following the example of Epiphanius, whose exalted virtues were universally appreciated and revered, assembled the Bishops of his province, and enacted a similar decree. John, on the other hand, paid little attention to the letters of Epiphanius and Theophilus."

John, as his course showed, was himself an Incorporealist; and had gone so far as to do the uncanonical act of receiving men who had been expelled by a brother Bishop not of his jurisdiction. Socrates, in his *Ecclesiastical History*, Book VI., Chapter X., witnesses to the fact that Theophilus had "*accused*" Epiphanius, as Bohn's translation words it, "*of entertaining low thoughts of God, by supposing him to have a human form,*" and that as a result they had been at variance, but that now he wrote to him, and professsd to agree with him on that matter, though Socrates with his bitter Origenist feelings gives Theophilus no credit for sincerity, and then testifies to the fact that Epiphanius gathered the Bishops of Cyprus, his jurisdiction, and that he and they passed a decree prohibiting the reading of Origen's works: and that Theophilus assembled a great number of Bishops of his jurisdiction in Synods, which pronounced a like sentence on the writings of Origen; but that John, Bishop of Constantinople, refused to coöperate with them.

Socrates in Book VI., Chapter XII., of his *History*, praises Theotimus Bishop of Scythia, for refusing to join with some other Bishops then

at Constantinople, and with St. Epiphanius in condemning Origen's works; and in Chapter XIII., of the same Book VI., Socrates makes a labored defence of Origen. Theotimus is represented in Bohn's translation of Chapter XII. of that book as making the radical assertion, "I know of no evil doctrine contained in Origen's Books."

Yet, in the sequel, Epiphanius' and Theophilus' judgment of that heretic was vindicated by the Catholic Church.

For Origen, after all the disputes regarding him, was condemned in Anathema XI. of the Fifth Ecumenical Council, and some of his writings are there branded as "*impious*."

To return to the question whether God has a body.

Those who opposed the view that He has, may be divided into two classes,

1. Those who while opposing the blasphemy that God has digestive and genital organs, nevertheless have admitted some shape or form in God. St. Cyril of Alexandria is deemed by Blunt in his article *Anthropomorphites*, to belong to that class, and his uncle, St. Theophilus, Bishop of that see, seems to have been of it also. On Ephesus we shall treat as to how far this view was approved by it.

2. The out and out and thoroughly radical Incorporealists like Augustine of Hippo, who seem to abolish all shape and form in God, and to leave us what comes too near to no God at all, though he would deny that. Yet his misty utterances would seem to reduce God to a cloud or vapor or the air.

Both those classes are often confounded. The first class, if they accept the language of Theophilus above quoted, do really hold to a body.

Blunt is of no authority, however, so far as his mere *opinions* are concerned, for he was a Mariolater, as his article on *Mariolatry* in his *Dictionary of Doctrinal and Historical Theology* shows. His remarks in the article on "*Iconoclasm*" in the same work show a too partial leaning to the side of the idolatrous party, and his article "*Iconoclasts*," shows an utter lack of appreciation of the doctrine of the *Homily Against Peril of Idolatry* that Image-worship brought God's ire on the Church.

His works should be expurgated. They are dangerous. The great Alexandrians, St. Athanasius and St. Cyril, and notably

Augustine of Hippo in the West, have made some kinds of the No-Body view the more common, but contrary (A), to the plainest passages of Holy Writ; (B), of early Christian writers, and (C), the plain sense of the two Ecumenical Creeds. For the Nicene teaches that the Son was "*born out of the Father, that is out of the substance of the Father;*" and the Constantinopolitan says that the Son was "*born out of the Father before all the worlds.*" And the Logos is of the same substance with the Father because He was *born out of Him*.

Besides the No-Body view leaves us no definite thing to pray to in the way of Divinity, not the Father for instance as sitting on a throne in heaven, as we are taught in Revelations IV., 2, and in Daniel VII., 9, where His "*head*" and his "*hair*" are specified, but a mist, a vapor, a cloud, a nothing: and what is that but to attempt to abolish the Father and His worship altogether? Whatever a few so-called *philosophic* theologians may have said, the masses of Christians ever have prayed to the Father as in a body as He is represented in Scripture, and ever will. For to make a mere cloud or mist God is repugnant to common sense and to God's Word.

Blunt, under *Anthropomorphites*, states that even Cyril of Alexandria held to some sort of a shape in God, and that the *form of God* in Philippians II., 6, implies that. And he shows that Augustine, misty and utterly unsatisfactory as he is on that theme, nevertheless held that Tertullian's assertion that God the Father has a body of Spirit is not heretical; and even Augustine admits a something, though he seems not to talk anything but nonsense as to what it is; he is so utterly vague and unpractical, as is his wont on that topic.

DOCUMENT III.

THE THALIA OF ARIUS.

This, according to Sozomen (227), and Socrates (228), was con-

(227). Sozomen's *Ecclesiastical History*, Book I., chapter xxi.

(228). Socrates' *Ecclesiastical History*, Book I., chapter ix. A strange blunder is found in a note on page 29 of Bohn's Socrates, English translation, where Sotades is called a *Maronite*, and the reference is to a place in Gibbon, where the sect of the *Maronites*, which did not rise till a considerable time after Athanasius, are referred to. Bohn's translations of Socrates, Theodoret and Sozomen should be revised and corrected, text and notes, by a competent theologian well versed in later Greek, and they would be much more exact and useful. Newman in his translation of S. Athanasius' *Treatises Against Arianism*,

demned at the First Ecumenical Council. Doubtless it, and the letter of Arius and his fellow creature-servers and deniers of the Divinity of God the Word, to Alexander, Bishop of Alexandria, were read by the assembled prelates, for that would be only just and right before they pronounced sentence; but, as the Minutes of the Synod are lost, we can say little more as to the details, only that neither of those emissions of Arius, nor his letter to Eusebius of Nicomedia are mentioned in the genuine remains of the Council which have reached us. But the Creed specifies his chief heresies in its Anathema, and the Synodal Epistle mentions him and his errors.

Date of these Blasphemies of Arius.

This is indicated in the words of Athanasius below. It was after he had been cast out, and when he was incited by the Eusebians that he composed this document. That would, I think, place it after his arrival at Nicomedia, the see of that Eusebius from whom the Arian party derived their name of Eusebians, consequently somewhere in the period about A. D. 321-325. But I am not aware that there are any facts that tell us whether these "*Blasphemies*" were put forth before the letter of Arius and his friends to Alexander, Bishop of Alexandria, or not. It was, however, probably after Arius' Letter to Eusebius of Nicomedia which is given above. Newman gives these Blasphemies in poetic form. I have preferred the prose form, because I have thought that I could make the meaning clearer, here and there.

St. Athanasius in sections 14 and 15 of his work *On the Synods held at Ariminum in Italy, and at Seleucia in Isauria*, denounces those "*who had, like drunkards, given thoughtlessly away, the honor of their Fathers and their own salvation for the heresy of the Arians,*" and introduces extracts from Arius, as follows:

"They therefore, out of zeal for that heresy, are of such a quar-

page 94, note, tells us that the Sotades referred to was a native of Maronea, in Crete, and refers to Suidas in proof. He states further that he lived under the successors of Alexander, and refers to Athen. xiv., 4, in proof. Consequently he was long before the rise of the heretical sect of the *Maronites*. Such a queer blunder does not speak well for the learning of the writer of the note in Bohn's *Socratea*. Note "y," columns 83 and 84, tome 67, of Migne's *Patrologia Græca*, speaks of Arius' Thaleia as "*ad morem Sotadis, turpissimi Cretensis iambographi Cretensis conscriptus,*" that is as "*written in the style of Solades, a most disgraceful Cretan writer of iambics.*"

relsome mind also: but do not ye be troubled on that account nor deem their audacity [to be] truth. For they are opposed even to their own selves, and having apostatized from their fathers, they do not have one mind but float about in various and different changes. And striving against the Council of Nicaea, they have held many Councils themselves, and have set forth a faith in each of them, and have stuck to none [of them]. And moreover they will never cease to act that way, for seeking in wickedness they will not find that wisdom which they have hated.

"As a matter of necessity I have therefore subjoined portions of Arius' writings and whatsoever else I have been able to collect of those things which they have set forth in different Synods, in order that ye may know, and wonder why they do not cease to quarrel with an Ecumenical Synod and with their own Fathers.

"Because Arius and his partisans thought and said [as follows]:

"*'God made the Son out of things that had no existence and called Him His own Son;'*

"*'The Word of God is one of the creatures;'* and

"*'There was once when He was not;'* and

"*'He is alterable, being able when he wishes to be altered;'*"

They were therefore cast out of the Church by the blessed Alexander.

Section 15. But Arius having been cast out, and having been incited by the partisans of Eusèbius, put together his own heresy on paper, and as if in festivity, emulating no sensible writer, but the Egyptian Sotades (229) in the style and looseness of his song he writes many things (230), a part of which are as follows:

"BLASPHEMIES OF ARIUS.

"God Himself therefore, as regards His own Nature is untellable to any man. He alone has no equal, nor any one like Himself nor equal in glory to Himself. And we say that He is ungenerated, because of Him who is generate (231) by nature.

(229). Bright's Greek text of St. Athanasius' *Historical Writings*, page 259, has here *Σωάτην*, that is, *Sosates*. Newman's translation gives *Sotades*.

(230). Greek, *πολλά*.

(231). Arius uses "*generate*" (*γεννητὸν*), in the sense of "*created*," and "*un-generated*" (*Ἀγέννητον*), in the sense of "*uncreated*."

We hymn Him as without beginning because of Him who had a beginning: and we worship Him who is eternal, because of Him who came into being in time. He who is without beginning made the Son a beginning of things created, and advanced him into sonship to Himself, having made him [His] child (232). He has nothing proper to God, as regards the property of substance (233), for He is not equal [to Him], no, nor of the same substance as He is (234). And God is wise, for He Himself is the teacher of Wisdom. There is full proof that God is invisible to all beings. He is invisible both to things [made] through the Son, and to the Son Himself. And I will tell plainly in what sense the Invisible One is seen by the Son; by that power by which God is able to see, and in His own measure the Son endures to see the Father, as is lawful. Therefore there is a Trinity who are of unlike glories (235); their substances are not mixed up with each other. One [of those Three Substances] is infinitely more glorious than either of the other two (236). As regards substance, the Father is foreign to the Son (237), because the

(232). Or "having adopted Him," τεκνοποίησας, or "having generated Him," or "having created Him."

(233). Here before Nicaea we find, (1), *ὑπόστασις* used in the sense of *substance*, as in Hebrews i, 3, in the expression, *character of his substance* (χαρακτήρ τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτοῦ). It is so used several times further on in this document. (2). We find here a denial of the consubstantiality, and, just below, we find the *ὁμοούσιος αὐτῷ*, that is, "of one substance with him," that is "of one substance with the Father," denied by Arius.

(234). See the note last above.

(235). Two of Arius' Trinity are the Father and the Son. Is the Third the Holy Ghost? Below he speaks of "each of the [other] two," ἑκατέρων, as contrasted with the Son. Below he speaks of Wisdom as conceived of as *Spirit*, (He does not say there *the Holy Spirit*), and so the word *Spirit* was sometimes applied in ancient Christian writings to the Son in the sense of *Divinity*, as, for instance, in the *Forthset* of Antioch, which will, God willing, appear in another part of this series.

But it must be noted that while Arius here admits a Trinity, on the other hand he contrasts it with the Orthodox doctrine of the Trinity, for he defines, in effect, his Trinity as (1), not of one substance, but of three different substances; and (2), as not of like glory, but as of unlike glories. He uses the words, "There are Three Substances" in his letter to Alexander, Bishop of Alexandria. See it above.

(236) See the note last above.

(237). Here again crops out the Arian hatred of the expression "of one substance with the Father" (ὁμοούσιον τῷ Πατρὶ).

Father had no beginning. Understand that the Monad (238) was, but the Duad was not before it came into existence (239). We see at once, therefore, that when there was no Son, the Father was God. Therefore the Son who did not [at first] exist, (for He came to exist at the Father's will) is a Sole-Born God and He is foreign to each of the other two (240), [members of the Trinity]. Wisdom came into existence as Wisdom by the will of the wise God. Hence He [Wisdom] is conceived of in such an infinite number of conceptions, *Spirit, Power, Wisdom, God's Glory, Truth and Image, and Word*. Understand that He is conceived of as *Radiance and Light*. The Superior One (241) is able, indeed, to generate (242) an equal to the Son, but not one more excellent, nor superior [to Him], nor greater. Howsoever great the Son is, and whatsoever He is, He is by God's will, and from when He was and since He was, from then He has existed from God (243). He [The Son] being a strong God, on His part (244) hymns the Superior [God] (245). To speak in brief, God is untell-

(238). The Father.

(239). Greek, *Σίνες, ὅτι ἡ Μονὰς ἦν. ἡ Δυὰς δὲ οὐκ ἦν πρὶν ὑπάρχειν*. Arius means that at first the Father was alone, contrary to those early writers like St. Justin, the Martyr, St. Theophilus of Antioch, Tertullian and others, who held that the Logos was eternally co-existent with the Father, but inside Him till just before the worlds were made, when He was born out of Him to make them. In other words, Arius denied the doctrine of a Logos eternally *Endiathetic*, that is within the Father, and of one substance with Him, who became *prophoric*, that is *Borne Forth* out of the Father by Birth out of Him just before the worlds were made, and to make them. His Subsistence-Word was a mere creature, and so he was a *creature-server*.

According to Arius, the Monad became a Duad, when the eternal Father, the Monad, created Arius' non-eternal Son.

(240). That is, seemingly foreign to the Father and the Holy Ghost. The Greek is, *μονογενὴς θεὸς ἐστὶ, καὶ ἑκατέρων ἀλλότριος οὗτος*.

(241). The Father, evidently.

(242). According to Arius' common use of *generate* (*γεννᾶν*), it means here to create.

(243). Greek, *ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ ὑπέστη*. But Arius differs fundamentally from the Orthodox sense of *ἐκ Θεοῦ*; for they meant by it, as in the Creed of the First Ecumenical Council, that the Logos had come out of the very Substance of God the Father, and was co-eternal with Him; whereas, Arius understood the expression not "out of God" at all, but "of God" or "from God" in the sense of being a creature made by God.

(244) Greek, *ἐκ μέρους*. Newman renders that expression, "in His degree."

(245). The Father, according to Arius.

able to the Son: for He is to Himself what He is, that is, unspeakable, so that the Son understands not to explain any one of the things mentioned, so far as relates to comprehending it (246). For it is impossible for Him to search out the Father who is above Him. For the Son does not know His own substance. For though He is a Son, He really came into existence by the will of the Father. What reason then permits [us to think that] He who is from the Father should know by comprehension Him who generated Him (247). For it is plain, that it is impossible for Him, who had a beginning, to comprehend by the mind, or to grasp how He who is without a beginning, exists" (248).

From these documents we see,

1. That Arius made the Son of God a *creature*:
2. That he made all worship of Him, mere *creature-worship* also:
3. That he called Him *God*, and, hence,
4. He had two Gods, the Father, an uncreated and eternal God; and because an uncreated and eternal God, therefore a superior God; and the Son a created and so non-eternal God, and because a created and non-eternal God, therefore an inferior God; and so he landed in *polytheism*.

In other words he apostatized from the two fundamental principles of Christianity,

1. That there is only one God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; and,
2. That He alone is to be worshipped: and so he was what Athanasius brands him, an apostate to polytheism and creature-service.

We will quote Athanasius further on.

Besides Arius' own utterances above, there is another important document on his side by his friend and partisan, Eusebius, of Nicome-

(246). Newman in a note on this place, page 96 of his *St. Athanasius' Treatises Against Arianism*, shows that the heretic Eunomius differed from Arius on the point of God's being comprehensible.

(247). According to Arius, *created* Him.

(248). I have translated the above from the Greek in Bright's *St. Athanasius' Historical Writings*, pages 259, 260.

dia. It is found in Chapter VI., Book I., of Theodoret's *Ecclesiastical History*. It is wholly Arian.

The above-named were not all the heresies of Arius. St. Athanasius, in his *Treatises Against Arianism*, expressly says that he was a Theopaschite. And the same charge we find in a work *Against Apollinaris*, which is published under the name of St. Athanasius.

Besides, this last named work shows that Arius did not believe that Christ's humanity is perfect, but that it lacks a human mind, which he supplies by putting in its place his *created* God the Word.

I quote two passages in proof:

Passage I.—In Note 6, page 119, of his translation of *S. Athanasius' Treatises Against Arianism*, Newman shows that "Arianism involved the doctrine that our Lord's divine Nature suffered.

"Athanasius brings this accusation against them distinctly in his work *Against Apollinaris*.

"*'Idle then is the fiction of the Arians, who suppose that the Saviour took flesh only, irreligiously imputing the notion of suffering to the impassible Godhead. Contr. Apollin. i., 15; vid. also Ambros. de Fide, iii., 31.'*"

Passage II.—St. Athanasius, in Section 3 of his Second Book *Against Apollinaris*, addressing him, points out as follows another error. I quote the place as in the Oxford translation:

"And Arius acknowledges flesh alone, in order to a concealment of the Godhead, and says that instead of that inward man which is in us, that is, the soul, the Word came to exist in the flesh;—for he dares to ascribe to the Godhead the idea of suffering and the resurrection from Hades."

As Arius made his God the Word a mere creature he could therefore logically enough, from that false position, make him liable to suffering; and denying that Christ's humanity was perfect in that, according to his heresy, it lacked a rational soul, that is, a mind, he could also put his mere created Word in place of the human mind in Christ's humanity. He was hence a Monophysite of a certain peculiar sort, in that he ascribed but one Nature to Christ, and that a merely created one. He was also a certain peculiar sort of a Monothelite, in that he ascribed to his created Christ but one will, and

that will not a human one, but the will of his created God the Word which stood in place of it, according to his heresy.

St. Athanasius, in his *First Oration Against the Arians*, shows that Arius granted, however, that his created God the Word was *before all other created things*, and that *God the Father made them through Him*. Hence, he differed radically from the view of St. Theophilus, of Antioch, and the Christian writers before Origen, that God the Word was co-eternally in God the Father, as a part of the Divinity, but was not born out of him till just before the worlds were made and to make them. Arius denied that whole teaching by denying that the Word is a part of God, or ever came out of Him, or ever was any part of the uncreated Jehovah at all, and by making Him a mere creature, created just before the worlds were made, and to make them. I quote Athanasius on that and on some other heresies of Arius. According to St. Athanasius (who knew Arius and his writings well, for they were all then extant, not partly lost as now), Arius held as follows:

"God the Father was not always; the Son was not always; but forasmuch as all things were made (249) out of nothing, the Son of God was also made out of nothing (250), and forasmuch as all things are creatures, *He also is a creature and a work*; and forasmuch as nothing existed at first, but all things were made afterwards, *there was once when the Son of God also was not* (251) and *He was not before He was generated* (252), but had a beginning of existence, for *He was made when God willed to create*. For the Son Himself also is one work among all [created] works (253). And though by nature He is mutable, yet of His own power over Himself he willed to remain

(249). Greek, ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων. Here we have one of the heretical expressions condemned in the Anathema at the end of the Creed.

(250). Greek, ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων.

(251). Greek, ἦν ποτε ὅτε οὐκ ἦν. Here we have another of the expressions which are condemned in the Anathema at the end of the Creed of the 318.

(252) Greek, οὐκ ἦν πρὶν γεννηθῆναι. Here we have another expression condemned in the Nicene Anathema. It is diametrically opposed to St. Theophilus' doctrine that the co-eternal and consubstantial Logos was in the Father till just before the worlds were made, and that then He was born out of the Father's substance to make them.

(253). This sets forth an error which is anathematized in the Creed of Nicæa.

good (254). When, however, he wishes, He Himself can make Himself changeable, just as all things can. * * * Christ is not real God, but He is called God by communion [with Divinity] (255) just as all other men may be. He is not the Reason (*ὁ Λόγος*) who is by nature in the Father, and belongs to His Substance, and is His own Wisdom, by which [Wisdom] He made this world, but the Reason (*ὁ Λόγος*) who belongs in the Father is another Reason (*ἄλλος * * * Λόγος*), and the Wisdom who is in the Father and is eternal with Him is another Wisdom, by which Wisdom He made this Reason also (*τοῦτον τὸν Λόγον*). And that [created] Lord Himself is called Reason with reference to things possessed of reason (*λέγεται Λόγος διὰ τὰ λογικά*), and He is called Wisdom with reference to things possessed of Wisdom. * * * God did not create us for Him, but Him for us. For God was alone, and the Reason (*ὁ Λόγος*) was not with Him; *thereafter God wishing to create us then made Him* (256), and from when (257) He was made, He named Him *Reason* (*Λόγον*) and *Son* and *Wisdom*, in order that he might create us through Him. * * * The Christ is not the natural and real power of God, but just as the caterpillar and the wingless locust are each of them called a *power*, so He also is called a Power of the Father (258). * * * The Father is invisible to the Son and can neither see nor know the Father perfectly and exactly: for inasmuch as the Son had a beginning to His existence, He can not know the One who never had a beginning (259), but even what he knows and sees, he knows and sees according as God's own power grants him power so to do (260),

(254). See a note above where mention is made of what this heresy leads to, that is the horrible blasphemy that Christ's Divinity could have fallen as the angels fell!

(255). Greek, *μετοχή*.

(256). Here again we see that Arius admits that his created Logos was made before time began, that is before the world was made.

(257) Greek, *ἀφ' οὗ γέγονεν*. Arius tries to express his heresy in exact terms by "*from when*" or "*from what*" point in duration. He does not here say, "*from the time*," because that might be taken to imply that he was born *in time*, that is after the world was made: for he admitted that He was made before the worlds were made. So in the phrase quoted above, he does not say that "*There was a time when the Son of God was not*," but that "*There was when*," etc.

(258). He seems to refer to I. Cor. i, 24.

(259). That is, the Father.

(260). Literally, "according to God's own power."

just as we also know and see [by it]. * * * Not only does he not know the Father exactly, but he does not know His own Substance either" (261).

I would here add the following:

PROOF FROM AN ARIAN SOURCE.

1. *That the Arians held the Holy Ghost to be a creature inferior to the Son:*

2. *That they did not worship the Holy Ghost:*

3. *That they made God the Son as a creature worship the Father; and the Holy Ghost, a creature (according to them), and all other creatures worship the Son, a creature;*

And, 4, that the Arian Service to the Son was RELATIVE CREATURE-SERVICE, like that of the apostate Israelites in the wilderness.

In some "*Old Monuments*," of the Fourth or Fifth Century perhaps, "*pertaining to the Doctrine of the Arians*," and which are given as Fragments in Migne's *Latin Patrology* we find Arian statements as to the Holy Ghost's being a creature and as to worshipping Him.

Thus in Fragment XIV., he is termed, "*The third in nature and in order after the Father and the Son. * * * He is the first and greater WORK of the Father through the Son, CREATED through the Son. * * * This Holy Ghost is NOT GOD NOR LORD, NOT CREATOR NOR MAKER. It is NOT TO BE WORSHIPPED NOR TO BE BOWED TO. * * * By that Spirit the angels also bow to the Son; and the archangels and all the natures of invisible and heavenly beings by it bow to the Son, and THROUGH THE SON, TO THE FATHER. * * * And the Holy Ghost Himself before all things, and for all things, and above all things and with all things, bows to the Son (and it so does, Itself alone being without a Mediator), through Whom IT WAS MADE before all things, as the Son also before all things, and for all things, and with all things, and above all things, bows to the Father and gives thanks without a Mediator*" (262).

(261). Athanasius' *Oration I., Against the Arian*, as quoted in Contogonis' *Literary and Critical History of the Holy Fathers of the Church who flourished from the First Century to the Eighth; and of their writings*, (in Greek), tome 2, Athens, A. D. 1853, pages 149 and 150.

(262). Migne's *Patrologia Latina*, tom. 13, col. 618. *Hunc Spiritum oportet nos necessarie confiteri * * * tertium post Patrem et Filium natura*

The Arian author of the Sixteenth of those Fragments, perhaps of the Fourth or Fifth Century (263), published by Migne under the heading "*Old Monuments pertaining to the Doctrine of the Arians*," quotes as favoring his side a certain Bishop Bithenus," of whom an annotator in Migne remarks, "*This Bishop Bithenus is unknown to me. An Arian Bishop Bitinicus occurs in the subscriptions of the Council of Sardica, in Hilary Op. Hist. Frag. iii. Bithynicus, a heretic, occurs in the time of the Emperor Constantius in Athanasius, (Opp. t. i., p. 377,')*" (264). If, as I presume, he was an Arian, and worshipped the Son as a creature, relatively to the Father, we have here an instance of professed relative creature-service in the following passage:

"But we do homage to the Son, because, in our opinion, it is certain that that glory of his ASCENDS TO THE FATHER" (265).

Here the following facts are evident. The Arians believed

1. That the Holy Ghost is a creature.

This is evident from the expressions:

"He is the [or "a"] first and greater work of the Father through the Son, created through the Son."

This, of course, makes His creation posterior to the Son's.

* * * Hic est primum et majus Patris per Filium opus, creatum per Filium.
 * * * Hic Spiritus sanctus non Deus neque Dominus, non Creator neque Factor, non colendus neque adorandus. * * * In isto Spiritu et angeli adorant Filium, et arcangeli et omnes invisibilium et coelestium naturae in isto adorant Filium, et per Filium, Patrem; * * * et ipse Spiritus sanctus ante omnia et pro omnibus et super omnia et cum omnibus Filium adorat ipse solus sine mediatore, per quem factus est ante omnia: sicuti et Filius ante omnia et pro omnibus, et cum omnibus, et super omnia Patrem adorat, et gratias agit sine mediatore.

(263). A note on the Sixth of those Arian Fragments puts its date about A. D. 381. See note "h," col. 610, tome 13, of Migne's *Patrologia Latina*. This, Fragment xvi., is perhaps of about the same age, though it contains no clear record as to its exact date.

(264). Id., col. 622, Note "h."

(265). Migne's *Patrologia Latina*, tom. 13, col. 621. Similiter etiam Bithenus episcopus et cognitus ad Papam. * * * "*Veneramur antem Filium, quia apud nos certum est hanc ejus gloriam ad Patrem ascendere.*" On the words ad Papam, the author of note "i," col. 622, id., states: "*Perhaps Pope Julius is to be understood, to whom the Epistle of Sardica was written.* Hilary, Op. Hist. Frag. ii."

2. The Arians seem also to have held that the Holy Spirit is of a different *nature* from the Father and from the Son also.

For this Arian writer says that the Holy Spirit is, "*The Third in Nature and in order after the Father and the Son;*" the third in order, that is, as being a creation of the Father by the Son, ("through whom," as it adds below, "*It was MADE before all things;*") and so as having the Third place after them, and *the third in nature after them*, because, as the Arians denied that the Son is of *the same substance* with the Father, so they made the Holy Spirit to be of a *different* substance from either.

That, indeed, was the teaching of Arius himself, for in the Confession written by him and several others of his party to St. Alexander, Bishop of Alexandria, they expressly say, "*There are Three Subsistences.*" And in the *Thalia* Arius writes:

"*There is a Trinity who are of unlike glories; their substances are not mixed up with each other.*"

3. Yet it is added, singularly enough, that this creature worships another, whom the Arians held to be also a creature; that is, according to those creature-servers, a creature worships a creature! For the writer adds,

"*The HOLY GHOST HIMSELF (He Himself alone [being] without a Mediator), before all things, and for all things, and above all things, and with all things BOWS TO the Son.*"

4. Next follows the important statement which is closely connected in ideas with what just precedes:

"*This Holy Ghost IS NOT GOD, NOR LORD, NOR MAKER; It is NOT TO BE WORSHIPPED NOR TO BE BOWED TO.*"

5. The Arians worshipped God the Son *as a creature, relatively, however, to the uncreated Father*. This, of course, was a return to the sinful, heathenish principle of *relative service*; that is, serving a *created thing*, or a *created person*, for the sake of the true God, as the Israelites served the true God through the golden calf in the wilderness, and through the calves at Bethel and at Dan, and so were accursed and scourged by God.

And what is more, in one of the following passages, that *Arian relative service of a creature, by a creature*, is charged to the influence

of the *Holy Ghost* ! I quote Passage I. : "*But we do homage to the Son, because, in our opinion, it is certain that that glory of His ASCENDS TO THE FATHER.*"

PASSAGE II.

"*By that Spirit [the Holy Ghost] the angels also bow to the Son ; and the archangels and all the natures of invisible and heavenly beings, by It bow to the Son, and THROUGH THE SON TO THE FATHER;*" that is, relatively to a creature for the sake of the Father.

And, in what at once follows, the Arian blasphemer makes the Holy Spirit not only a mover to that creature-service, but also a participant and chief in that Arian *relative*-service. For he immediately adds :

"*And THE HOLY GHOST HIMSELF before all things, and for all things, and above all things, and with all things, bows to the Son;*" that is, in the way It is represented above, "*THROUGH the Son to the Father;*" as I understood him to mean.

But according to the Arian view, the Spirit, though a creature, was in one respect at least like the Son Himself ; that is, It did not need a mediator.

From the foregoing passages it will be seen that Arianism, which worshipped a created God the Son, and which made that *created* and therefore *inferior* God to be worshipped by a *created* Holy Ghost and by all other creatures, and which fell into the sin of relative-service, was a plain and evident apostasy back to the heathen sins of relative-service and creature-service.

I will add that by its making two Gods, the Father an *eternal*, and because eternal, therefore a *superior* God, and the Son a non-eternal, but created, and because non-eternal and created, an inferior God; it was a plain apostasy to Polytheism.

And by its denial of the real divinity of Him whom the scriptures again and again call really "*God*," as for instance in I. John, v., 20; John I., 1, 14; John xx., 28; and by its denial of the *eternity* of that divine Spirit Whom the Holy Ghost by Paul in Hebrews ix., 14, expressly terms "*eternal*," it was evidently both illogical and infidel, for while professing to receive the Scriptures which teach those truths, it rejected the Scriptures in effect, by denying those truths, for they necessarily stand or fall together.

8. *St. Athanasius brands 'Arius' heresy as resulting in Polytheism and Creature-Service. St. Epiphanius, and other Fathers, to the same effect.*

St. Athanasius has so much on those themes, that we can give only a small part of it here. The reader can readily find more in the Oxford translations into English of some of his works, and in the originals of all of them. Again and again he insists on the truth that the Logos has come out of the Father's substance, and that He is consubstantial and co-eternal with Him; and that the Arian denial of those truths necessarily ends in Polytheism and in the creature-service of bowing, as an act of religious worship, to a creature, and of praying to a creature: whereas, he shows, the Orthodox refused to invoke any creature whomsoever and to bow to any creature as acts of religious worship. And this he could say with truth, for as yet we never read of any saint-worship in the Christian Church. On the contrary, as that very able Anglican, Rev. J. Endell Tyler in his *Primitive Christian Worship* has shown, the Primitive Christian writers express themselves strongly against that Sin. No son of the English Church of our day has deserved so well of it, as that too little appreciated and scholarly man. Arianism was the door by which the soul-destroying sin of serving creatures first entered the fortress of the Universal Church, only however to be cast out of it at once by the First Ecumenical Synod. Yet contrary to Nicaea, it spread for some years, by the aid of the Arian Emperors over most of the church, for Orthodox prelates were thrust out of their sees, and creature-worshipping Arians were put into their places, and for a long period, the poor people were taught that creature-service is right, that creatures may be invoked, bowed to, etc.; and some of those so trained seem to have retained something of that error, for we find it afterwards among some, though forbidden by Nicaea and by all the Five Ecumenical Synods after it. For we must remember that even in the latter part of Constantine's reign, Orthodoxy was more or less harassed, and that from the beginning of his Son Constantine's reign to its end, A. D. 337-361, it was persecuted; that during Julian the Apostate's sway, A. D. 361-363, it could look for no special favor, for as a creature-server he was naturally nearer Arianism than Orthodoxy; it breathed freely during the short reign of the Orthodox Jovian, A. D. 363-364, that is from June 27, A. D. 363 to February 16, 364, that is less than eight months: and that during the reign of Valens over the Eastern

Empire A. D. 364-378, it was persecuted there. From A. D. 364, when Valentinian I. became Western Emperor, the Western Orthodox had peace. But from the accession of Constantius in A. D. 350 to the rule of the whole Roman Empire, West and East, till his death A. D. 361, the Western Church was under the harrow. Wordsworth in his article in Smith and Wace's *Dictionary of Christian Biography* on the *Sons of Constantine*, Volume I., page 652, tells us from ancient authors how bitterly the Western Orthodox were persecuted during those ten years. He writes:

"It would take too long to recount the disgraceful proceedings at the Council of Arles in 353, where the legates of the new Pope, Liberius, were taken in, or at Milan in 355, when Constantius declared that his own will should serve the Westerns for a canon as it had served the Syrian Bishops, and proceeded to banish and imprison, no less than 147 of the more prominently Orthodox clergy and laity (*Hist. Ar. ad Mon.* 33, etc.: see De Broglie, III., p. 263). The most important of the sufferers were Eusebius of Vercelli, Lucifer of Cagliari, and Dionysius of Milan. Soon after followed the exile of Liberius, and in 355, that of Hosius. All this was intended to lead up to the final overthrow of Athanasius.

"Early in 356 Syrianus, the Duke of Egypt, began the open persecution of the Catholics at Alexandria, and Constantius, when appealed to confirmed his actions, and sent Heraclius to hand over all the Churches to the Arians, which was done with great violence and cruelty, (*Hist. Ar.* 54). George of Cappadocia" [an Arian] "was intruded into the church, and Athanasius was forced to hide in the desert. In the same year Hilary of Poitiers was banished to Phrygia."

During Constantius' time as Jerome writes, "*The whole world groaned and wondered that it was Arian.*" Edgar, who is not always sound, nevertheless says well, what I here quote to show how thoroughly Arianism had befouled the Church by violence and tyranny. He writes on pages 307 to 309 as follows:

"The Arians, supported by the emperor, continued the persecution of the Nicene faith, till the world, in general, became Arian. The contagion of heresy, like a desolating pestilence, spread through the wide extent of eastern and western Christendom. The melancholy tale has, among others, been attested by Sozomen, Jerome, Basil, Augustine, Vincentius, Prosper, Beda, Baronius, and Labbeus.

“‘The east and west,’ says Sozomen, ‘seemed, through fear of Constantius, to agree in faith.’ Arianism, all know, was the faith produced by dread of the emperor. ‘The whole world,’ says the sainted Jerome, ‘groaned and wondered to find itself become Arian.’ Gregory’s relation is still more circumstantial and melancholy. ‘All,’ says this celebrated author, ‘except a very few whom obscurity protected, or whose resolution, through divine strength, was proof against temptation and danger, temporised, yielded to the emperor, and betrayed the faith. Some,’ he adds, ‘were chiefs of the impiety, and some were circumvented by threats, gain, ignorance, or flattery. The rightful guardians of the faith, actuated by hope or fear, became its persecutors. Few were found, who did not sign with their hands what they condemned in their hearts; while many, who had been accounted invincible, were overcome. The faithful, without distinction, were degraded and banished.’ The subscription of the Byzantine confession was an indispensable qualification for obtaining and retaining the episcopal dignity.

“Basil on the occasion, uses still stronger language than Gregory. He represents the church as reduced to that ‘complete desperation, which he calls its dissolution.’ According to Augustine, ‘the church, as it were, perished from the earth. Nearly all the world fell from the apostolic faith. Among six hundred and fifty bishops, were found scarcely seven, who obeyed God rather than the emperor, and who would neither condemn Athanasius nor deny the Trinity.’ The Latins, according to Vincentius, ‘yielded almost all to force or fraud, and the poison of Arianism contaminated, not merely a few, but nearly the whole world.’

“‘Nearly all the churches in the whole world,’ says Prosper, ‘were, in the name of peace and the emperor, polluted with the communion of the Arians.’ The councils of Ariminum and Seleucia, which embraced the eastern and western prelacy, all, through treachery, condemned the ancient faith. The Ariminian confession, the saint denominated ‘the Ariminian perfidy.’ ‘The Arian madness,’ says the English historian Bede, ‘corrupted the whole continent, opened a way for the pestilence beyond the ocean, and shed its poison on the British and other western islands’” (266).

(266). Ἐδόκει τότε διὰ τὸν τοῦ βασιλέως φόβον, ἀνατολὴ καὶ δύσις ὁμοφρονεῖν περὶ τὸ δόγμα, (Sozomen, IV., 16.). Ingemuit totus orbis, et Arianum se esse miratus est,

Few systems of error have been more violent and brutal than Arianism. In the days of its power it was ruthless. Witness its outrages, murders, and tyrannies at Alexandria and elsewhere, its oppression of the majority of Christians, who still remained true to the Nicene Creed, its removals of sound Bishops from their sees, its filling their places with creature-serving Arians, its persecution of the Trinitarian clergy and laity in the whole Roman Empire; and in Spain after the Gothic conquest. And its terrible slaughters of the Trinitarians in Africa in the Vandal invasion, its confiscations and exilings of the people, and its punishing and exiling of Trinitarian Bishops there, and its wholesale confiscation of their Churches and its use of them for their polytheistic, Christ's-Divinity-denying worship, and its outrageous treatment of females for professing the Nicene Faith are all told even by the skeptic Gibbon in the thirty-third and the thirty-seventh Chapters of his *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. Its policy in Africa was one of general spoilation and confiscation, and cruelty (267). Even Gibbon in the index to his *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, under "Arians," witnesses to *their cruelty in the East*, that they "*abused their victory over the Council of Nice*," and that they "*displayed less firmness in adversity than their opponents*." The fact is that they had but little strength in the Church at the start; and that their chief reliance, as Athanasius shows,

(Jerom. adv. Lucif. 4, 300). Πλὴν ὀλίγων ἄγαν, (Nazian. Or. 21). Εἰς ἀπόγνωσιν ἐαυτῶν ἐρχόμεθα. παντελῆ λήλυσται παρὰ ἐκκλησίᾳ, (Basil, ep. 82. ad Athan. 3, 173). Tanquam perierit ecclesia de orbe terrarum, (August. Ep. 93). L'église étoit perie, (Apol. 1, 100). Dilapso a fide Apostolorum omni pene mundo. De sexcentis et quinquaginta, ut fertur, episcopis vix septem inventi sunt, quibus cariora essent Dei praecepta quam regis, videlicet ut nec in Athanasii damnationem convenirent, nec Trinitatis confessionem negarent, (Augustin, Contra Jul. 10, 919). Arianorum venenum non jam portiunculam quandam, sed pene orbem totum contaminaverat, adeo ut prope cunctis Latini sermonis episcopis, partim vi, partim fraude, caligo quaedam mentibus offunderetur, (Vincent. Com. 644). Omnes pene ecclesiae, toto orbe sub nomine pacis et regis, Arianorum consortio polluuntur, (Prosper, Chron. 1, 423). Ariana vesania, corrupto orbe toto, hanc etiam insulam veneno sui infecit erroris. Non solum orbis totius, sed et insularum ecclesiis aspersit, (Beda, 1, 8). Fere omnes episcopi in fraudem sunt inducti, ut Occidentales Ariminensi illi formulæ, ita Orientales subscriberent, (Baron. in Bisciola, 230). Omnes pene totius orbis antistites metu exilii et tormentorum per vim, induxerunt, (Labbeus, 2, 912).

(267). Gibbon's *Rome*, Chapter XXXIII., Vol. III., page 543, and Vol. IV., p. 138, of Bohn's seven volume edition. See the original sources there cited.

was on the secular power, and that when it failed to support them they naturally fell, but not however till they had indoctrinated, during long years, many with the belief that creature-worship is right.

If in the following pages St. Athanasius uses strong language of the Arian heresy, we must remember its long and bitter struggle to force on the Church its fundamental heresies of denying God, the Word's Divinity, and its necessary corollaries of Creature-Service and of Polytheism, and its persecuting and wasting spirit. Even after the desolating and destroying Arian deluge passed, it left in Arian minds, which outwardly conformed to Orthodoxy, the seeds of creature-serving error, which were to appear here and there later on. For that heresy tyrannized over the West for ten years, and over the East during most of the long period, A. D. 337 to 378, that is, during the reigns of the persecuting Arian Emperors, Constantius and Valens, a period of about thirty-eight years.

I quote certain passages of Athanasius against *its novelty, its denial of God the Word's Divinity, its Polytheism and its Creature-Worship*.

PASSAGE I,

OF ATHANASIUS, FROM SECTION I. OF HIS ORATION I. AGAINST THE
ARIANS:

St. Athanasius, in his righteous abhorrence of the great heresy of Arius, which denied the Divinity of God the Word, and brought in Polytheism and creature-worship, speaks of it as from its "*father, the devil*," as making a pretence to be Christian, as perverting Scripture, as without reason, but using sophistry in its place, and at the end says that,

"Those who call these men [the Arians] Christians, are in great and grievous error, as neither having studied Scripture, nor understanding Christianity at all, and the faith which it contains." See the whole passage on pages 178 and 179 of the Oxford translation.

St. Athanasius did not believe in that false charity which deceives the erring denier of Christ's Divinity, and of the truth that God alone is to be worshipped; but, as his bounden duty was, warned him, that he might be saved. His course was noble, and deserves to be imitated by every true bishop, presbyter, and deacon, and by every Christian.

PASSAGE II.

ATHANASIUS BRANDS SERVICE TO CHRIST AS A CREATURE AS NOVEL,
AS A HERESY, AND AS FROM THE DEVIL, AND THOSE
GUILTY OF IT AS NOT CHRISTIAN.

Athanasius, in Sections 8, 9 and 10 of his *Discourse I. Against the Arians*, in denouncing the novelty and heresy of their assertion that the Word of God is *a creature*, and *is to be worshipped as such*, says :

" *For who at any time yet heard of such doctrines ? Or whence or from whom did the flatterers and bribe-takers of the heresy hear such things ? When they were being instructed as catechumens, who talked such things to them ? Who has said to them, Cease to worship the creation, and again come and worship a creature and a work ? But if even they themselves confess that they have heard such things now for the first time, let them not deny that that heresy is a thing alien, and not from the Fathers (268). But what is not from the Fathers, but has been now invented, what is it but that of which the blessed Paul has prophesied in the words, 'In the latter times some shall depart from the sound faith, giving heed to spirits of error, and to doctrines of demons, in the hypocrisy of liars, having their own consciences seared (269), and turning away from the truth' (270).*

9. For, behold, we speak boldly from the Scriptures of God concerning the pious Faith, and set them up as a lamp on its lamp-stand and say, that He is by Nature Real and Genuine Son of the Father, of His own Substance, Sole-Born Wisdom, and Real and Sole Word of God. He is not a creature nor a work, but is an offspring of the Father's own Substance. For that reason He is Real God, being of one and the same Substance with the Father. For He is '*Character of His Substance*' (271). But all those other things to which He said,

(268). St. Athanasius' *Oration I. Against the Arians*, Section 8, (page 8, Bright's edition). Τις αὐτοῖς εἶρηκεν ὅτι, "τὴν εἰς τὴν κτίσιν λατρείαν ἀφέντες, κτίσματι καὶ ποιήματι πάλιν προσέτρεχθε λατρεύειν;" Εἰ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ πρῶτον νῦν ὁμολογῶσιν ἀπηκοῖναι τὰ τοιαῦτα, μὴ ἀρνεῖσθωσαν ἄλλοτρίαν καὶ μὴ ἐκ πατέρων εἶναι τὴν αἵρεσιν ταύτην.

(269). I. Tim. iv., 1, 2.

(270). Titus i., 14.

(271). Heb. i., 3. Χαρακτὴρ τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτοῦ. Newman's translation, most of it, is good, but it is very faulty in such passages as John viii., 42; John xvi., 28, and Hebrews i., 3, and in some other passages, including some in the

'*I have said ye are gods*' (272) have that grace from the Father by communion only with the Word, through the Spirit (273). For He is '*Character of the Father's substance*' (274), and *Light out of Light* (275), and a real *Likeness* (276) of the Father's substance (277). For in another place the Lord said, '*He that hath seen Me hath seen the Father*' (278). And He always was and is, and never was He not. For inasmuch as the Father is eternal, His Logos [that is "*His Reason*"] and His Wisdom must also be eternal.

Septuagint, because he gives the readings of our Common English Version of those places, instead of a literal rendering of the Greek, and so blurs the sense. Some of Newman's Notes are good, others metaphysical rather than theological, and others of them in favor of Roman creature-worship and against the truth that God alone is to be worshipped, (Matt. iv., 10).

(272). Psalm lxxxi., 6, Septuagint, Psalm lxxxii., 6, English Version.

(273). That is, the Logos is really God; but no creature is really such, though, as Rosenmüller, on Psalm lxxxii., 6, explains, the term is applied there to creatures as bearing authority or mission or function from God. The term there used for *gods* is not, however, the incommunicable name, *Jehovah*, which is never given to any creature, but *Elohim*, which is sometimes given in Holy Writ to mere creatures, sometimes to the sole true God.

This is a noteworthy explanation which serves to illustrate other places in Athanasius where men are spoken of as *gods*. Compare Rosenmüller's *Scholia in Vetus Testamentum* on Psalm lxxxii., 6. Athanasius shows that he means that any Christian can be called a *god* by virtue of his communion with Christ by his Spirit that dwelleth in us, though as the Scripture rarely applies the term *god* to men we should use it very rarely, because it is very likely to be misunderstood. The Greek is, Διὸ Θεὸς ἐστὶν ἀληθινός, ἀληθινοῦ Πατρὸς ὁμοούσιος ὑπάρχων. Τὰ δ' ἄλλα, οἷς εἶπεν, "Ἐγὼ εἶπα, Θεοὶ ἐστέ," μόνον μετοχῇ τοῦ Λόγου διὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος ταύτην ἔχουσι τὴν χάριν παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς.

(274). Heb. i., 3.

(275). The Logos is called a *Light* in John i., 9, 10; and in Luke ii., 32. Compare John viii., 12. The Father is spoken of in James i., 17, as *the Father of Lights*, and He is called *Light* in I. John i., 5, etc.

(276). I. Cor. i., 24; II. Cor. iv., 4; Col. i., 15.

(277.) We often say of a child, for instance, that *he is the very image of his father*; that is, he is of the same substance, and is like him; though we must not carry this comparison beyond what is right, for the Father, the Logos, and the Holy Ghost are three Parts of but one God; whereas a man and his two sons are not only three persons, but also three different and entire men.

(278). John xiv., 9.

But on the other hand what do they bring forward to us out of their all-blamed Thalia? (279). Or, first of all, let them study it themselves, imitating the style of the one who wrote it, in order that even if they are made sport of by others, they may [then] learn how low they have fallen and how prostrate they lie, and so let them then recite it. But what could they recite out of it but that,

'God was not always a Father, but became so afterwards. The Son was not always, for He was not before He was generated. He did not come out of the Father, but He was made out of nothing. He is not of the Father's own substance, for He is a creature and a work. And Christ is not real God, but made God by communion only (280). The Son does not know the Father accurately, nor does the Word see the Father perfectly, nor does the Word understand or know the Father accurately, but He is called Word and Wisdom in name only, and is called Son and Power by favor (281). He is not unchangeable, as the Father is, but is changeable by nature, as creatures are, and He lacks the power to comprehend and know the Father.'

Then St. Athanasius goes on to state that the whole difference between the Orthodox and the Arians turned on the question as to whether the Word is very God or not: that, if He be real God, then it will at once follow that He is eternal, and of the Father's own substance, not a creature, and that He is in fact as in name the very Word and Wisdom of God, and not as the Arians asserted a mere partaker of heavenly Wisdom and a second Word and Wisdom. Next, in Chapter X., He goes on to imply again, as he writes more

(279). See a translation of parts of that infamous and Christ-dishonoring work below.

(280). Greek, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἀληθινὸς Θεὸς ὁ Χριστὸς, ἀλλὰ μετοχῇ καὶ αὐτὸς ἱεροποιῆθαι. Μετοχῇ is rendered also "*by participation*," that is, being made to partake of the influences of the Holy Spirit. Here we see that the Arians, like modern Anti-Trinitarians, are prone to apply the words *I have said, ye are gods*, to prove that he may be a creature and yet be called God. An Anti-Trinitarian Hoffmannite, in arguing with me a few days ago, used, I think, this very expression of Psalm lxxxii., 6. Athanasius, in effect, takes the term *god* here, as applied to men, to mean merely *godly*. For all men who wish can become *gods*, in the sense above explained by him, *by communion* with God's Spirit, the Father's great Sanctifying Agent, who is sent through the Son. For we who are Christians aim to be made *godly* by the sanctifying influences of the Spirit.

(281). Greek, καὶ χάριτι λέγεται Υἱὸς καὶ δυνάμει. That is, Arius means, Christ is a Son by grace only, and is not at all of the substance of the Father.

openly elsewhere, that the Arian assertions that the Word is a creature and a made God end in creature-service and in polytheism. For speaking of the utterances of the Orthodox as to the eternity, the consubstantiality, and the real Divinity of God the Word, and the heretical Arian utterances quoted above which are opposed to them, he asks the Arians,

"Which of those two sets of utterances asserts the Divinity of the Son of the Father, our Lord Jesus Christ, and shows Him to be God? Those which ye vomit forth, or those which we have uttered from the Scriptures and do assert now? If therefore the Saviour is not God, nor Word, nor Son, ye and the pagans and the present Jews are at liberty to say what ye wish (282). But if He is the Word of the Father and the Real Son, and is God come out of God, and is *over all blessed forever* (283), why is it not a worthy thing to obliterate and to efface those other [Arian] expressions, and the Arian Thalia, as but a pattern of wickednesses and full of all impiety? He who falls into that impiety *knoweth not that giants perish by it, and that he falleth into a snare of Hades* (284). And even they themselves also know that, and yet as unscrupulous men they conceal it, not having the courage to speak out those things, but uttering other things than those. For if they speak they will be condemned; and if they are suspected they will be smitten by all with refutations taken out of the Scriptures. Wherefore, in their unscrupulousness as *Sons of this world* (285), after feeding their so-called lamp from the wild olive, and fearing least it may soon be quenched (for Scripture saith, '*The light of impious men is quenched*') (286), *they hide it under the bushel* (287) of their

(282). That is, if the Saviour be not God, and Word, and Son, the deniers of his Divinity and Wordship and real Sonship by Nature, whether, pagans, present unbelieving Jews, or Arians, are right in their disbelieving utterances regarding him and in their belief that He is a mere creature.

(283). Romans ix., 5, "Christ, * * * who is over all, God, blessed forever."

(284). This is the translation of the Septuagint of Proverbs ix., 18; Newman in his translation gives the English Version instead, which is not the same in sense.

(285). Luke xvi., 8.

(286). Job xviii., 5. The Septuagint has the future *σβεσθήσεται*, instead of the present *σβέννυται* which Athanasius uses here. Van Ess' edition, Bagster's, and Field's edition all give *σβεσθήσεται*.

(287). Matt. v., 15; Mark iv., 21; Luke xi., 33.

hypocrisy, and utter other things, and tell of the patronage of their friends and of the fear inspired by Constantius, in order that those who have once gone over to them under the influence of their hypocrisy and of their promises may not see the foulness of their heresy. Is it not deserving of hatred for the additional reason also that it dares not speak out but is kept hid and is kept warm by its own friends, as a serpent? For whence did they bring together those short [Arian] expressions [of the Thalia] to themselves. Or from whom forsooth, have they taken such expressions, and dared to utter them. They can not name any man who has supplied them with those [Arian] expressions. For what man is there, be he Greek or barbarian, WHO DARES TO ASSERT THAT HE WHOM HE CONFESSES TO BE GOD IS A CREATURE, and that *He was not before He was made* (288)? Or who is there who has believed in God, and yet refuses to believe Him when He says, *This is my beloved Son* (289), and asserts that He is not a Son but a *work*. On the contrary all will be the more angry with them for making such mad assertions. But they have no pretext for their heresies in the Scriptures either. For it has often been shown and will be shown now also, that those [pet] phrases [of theirs] are alien to the Oracles of God. Therefore since all that remains is to say that **THEY RECEIVED THEM FROM THE DEVIL** and have become mad, (for **HE ALONE IS THE SOWER OF THOSE [Arian] EXPRESSIONS**), come let us make a stand against him, for we wrestle against him acting in them, in order that the Lord helping us, and that the devil, as is usually the case, being overcome by arguments, they may be put to shame when they see him without resources who sowed the heresy among them, and may learn even though at a late time, that **BEING ARIANS, THEY ARE NOT CHRISTIANS**" (290), (291).

PASSAGE 2.

St. Athanasius, in Sections 10, 11, 12, 13 and 14 of his *Third Oration Against the Arians*, argues that because the Word has come

(288). Greek, in Bright's edition, page 11, *Τίς γάρ ἐστιν ἀνθρώπων ἢ Ἑλλήν ἢ Βάρβαρος, ὅστις ὄν ὁμολογεῖ Θεόν, τοῦτον τολμᾷ λέγειν ἕνα εἶναι τῶν κτισμάτων, καὶ, "Ὅτε ἦν πρὶν ποιηθῆναι."*

(289). Matt. iii., 17.

(290). *'Αρειανοὶ ὄντες, οὐκ εἰσὶ Χριστιανοί.*

(291). St. Athanasius' *Oration I. Against the Arians*, Sections 8, 9, 10, pages 8-11, of Bright's edition.

out of the Father and because in I. Thessalonians iii., 11, St. Paul asks the Father and the Son for blessing, therefore the Son must be God and of the same substance with the Father, because no one would join a creature to God in prayer for help. I. Thessalonians iii., 11, reads in Athanasius' Greek here as follows, literally translated:

"And may our God and Father Himself and our Lord Jesus Anointed direct our way to you." The place is on pages 416 to 421 in the Oxford translation. I have room here to quote but a little of it. In Section 12, Athanasius contends that whatever the Father gives he gives through God the Son, that no creature can share His prerogative of giving, and adds:

"No one therefore would pray to receive from God and the angels, or from any of the other creatures, nor would any one say, May God and the angel give to thee; but [he would pray to receive] from the Father and the Son because of their oneness and of their uniform [way of] giving. For those things which are given are given through the Son: and there is nothing which the Father does not inwork through the Son. For in that way he who receives has grace secure."

Here St. Athanasius teaches what elsewhere he urges again and again, that it is prerogative to Christ as Mediator to be the Intermediary between the Father and His creatures, and to be the sole channel of grace from him to them.

He proceeds to show therefore that in several places of the Old Testament God the Word was the Angel, that is Messenger of the Father to men, and that *if the patriarch Jacob had invoked a created angel with God it would have been a rejeſtiny of God*. I quote:

"And if the patriarch Jacob, in blessing his grandchildren Ephraim and Manasseh, said, the God who fed me from my youth up unto this day, the God who delivered me from all evils, bless these lads, yet none of created beings and of those who are [mere] angels by nature was he joining with the God who created them, nor rejeſting the God who fed him, did he ask the blessing on his grandsons from an angel: but when he said He who delivered me from all evils, he showed that it was no created angel, but the Word of God whom He was joining with the Father and invoking in prayer: through whom God doth deliver whomsoever he will."

St. Athanasius anticipatively condemns in the foregoing the later custom of the Romish Communion in joining the names of the crea-

tures, Mary and Joseph, with that of the uncreated Son in prayer. I find it in the Romish work entitled, "*The Raccolta; or Collection of Indulged Prayers*," by Ambrose St. John of the Oratory of St. Philip Neri, Birmingham;" [J. H. Newman's Oratory, I presume]; Authorized translation, with an Appendix containing Devotions for Morning and Evening, for the Mass, the Penitential Psalms, the Holy Way of the Cross, Rosary of the Blessed Virgin Mary; the Vespers, etc. New York, D. & J. Sadlier & Co., 1859." On pages 5 and 6, we find that the said Raccolta was authorized by Pope Pius IX., by Cardinal Wiseman, and by Archbishop Hughes, of New York. It is, therefore, as being authorized by the Pope, *authoritative in the highest sense* to every Romanist.

On pages 87 and 88, I find the following plain contravention of what St. Athanasius says above against joining the names of creatures with God's in prayer. It is headed "19," that is it is the nineteenth set of indulged prayers. I quote it all:

"THREE EJACULATIONS:—JESU, ETC.

"In order to increase the devotion of the faithful to Jesus and Mary by invoking their most holy Names together with the name of St. Joseph, for the purpose of recommending to them the last moments of this life, on which our eternity depends, Pius VII., by a decree of the S. Congr. of Indulgences, dated April 28, 1807, granted—

THE INDULGENCE OF 300 DAYS to any one, as often as he says devoutly, and with a contrite heart, the three following ejaculations:

"Jesus, Mary, Joseph, I give you my heart and my soul.

"Jesus, Mary, Joseph, assist me in my last agony.

"Jesus, Mary, Joseph, let my soul send forth her last sigh in peace with you to aid me."

Or Otherwise,

"My Jesus, Mary, Joseph, earthly Trinity,
Wholly to you I give my soul right heartily.

My Jesus, Mary, Joseph, earthly Trinity,
Aid ye my spirit's flight in her last agony.

My Jesus, Mary, Joseph, earthly Trinity,
I die in peace with all, if in your company."

If only one of the above is recited, then the same Pius VII. granted to the reciter 100 DAYS' INDULGENCE."

Of course, if any such creature-invoking practice as the Romish one above had existed in the Church in St. Athanasius' day the Arians could at once have retorted it on him and so have broken the force of his argument. But no such soul-destroying trash then existed. All invocation of creatures is an *insult* to the *all-sufficiency* of Christ's intercession; and, blessed be God, Paul tells us that it is sufficient; for in Hebrews vii., 25, he writes of our great High Priest who has gone within the vail, and stands in the presence of the Father to pray for us; "*Wherefore He is able also to save them to the uttermost that come unto God by Him, seeing He ever liveth to make intercession for them.*" Hence, St. John writes, "*If any man sin, we have an Advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous: and He is the propitiation for our sins, and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world*" (I. John ii., 1, 2). And Christ tells us, in effect, that we can not go to the Father by any created intercessor and he prohibits all thought of our going to him by the Virgin Mary, by any departed Saint, or by any angel, or by any other creature when He proclaims: "*I am the way, the truth, and the life; no man cometh unto the Father but by me*" (John xiv., 6). Indeed, so strong are the Six Ecumenical Councils in enforcing Christ's prohibition of service to creatures (whether by bowing, prayer, or in any other way), in John iv., 10, that Anathema X., of St. Cyril of Alexandria's XII., which were approved in the Third Ecumenical Synod, insists that God the Word Himself, and not a mere man, is our High Priest above, and Anathema VIII., curses those who fall into the Nestorian way of worshipping Christ's humanity: and so does Anathema IX., of the Fifth Ecumenical Council.

PASSAGE 4,

OF ST. ATHANASIUS: ATHANASIUS ACCUSES THE ARIANS OF BEING POLYTHEISTS, AND RANKS THEM WITH THE HEATHEN.

The passage which I am about to quote is in St. Athanasius' *Oration III. Against the Arians*, Sections 15, 16. Just before St. Athanasius has been adducing examples from Scripture to show that the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit are only one consubstantial and co-eternal God. In Sections 15 and 16, he goes on to charge the Arians with *polytheism* as follows:

“For the Scriptures of God, wishing us to thus understand [that matter] have given such examples as we have mentioned in the remarks foregoing, from which we can shame the traitorous Jews, and refute the accusation of the pagans when they assert and suppose that because we assert the [doctrine of the] Trinity we also say that there are many gods. For as the [foregoing] illustration shows, we do not bring in three Originators (292) [of all things] or three Fathers, as the followers of Marcion and those of Manichaeus do: since we have not adduced the figure of three suns, but of sun and radiance; and the light which comes out of the sun is one with the radiance. So we acknowledge but one Originator (293) [of all things:] and we assert that the Creator-Word has no other kind of Divinity than that of the only God, because He was born out of Him. But on the other hand therefore, THE ARIOMANIACS ARE JUSTLY BOUND TO ADMIT THE ACCUSATION OF POLYTHEISM, *or even of Atheism* [as to Christ], *because they idly talk of the Son as external* [to the Father's substance], *and a creature, and moreover of the Spirit as made out of nothing*. For either they will say that the Word is not God; or *if they say that He is God because it is* [so] *written* [in Scripture], *but that He is not of the Father's own substance*, THEY WILL BRING IN MANY Gods *because of their difference of kind* (294): unless forsooth they shall dare to say that by participation [of the Spirit] only He Himself (295) is called *God* just as all things also are. But even if they hold that view, they are likewise impious, because they say that the Word is one among all things (296). But let that never even come into our minds! For there is but one kind of Divinity, which is also in the Word (297), and but one God the Father, who is by

(292.) Greek, *τρεις ἀρχάς*.

(293.) Greek, *μὴν ἀρχήν*.

(294.) That is, because, on Arius' theory, the Father is an *uncreated* God, and the Son a *created* God.

(295.) That is, Arius' *created* God the Word.

(296.) That is, on Arius' theory, the Word being a mere creature is classed with other mere created things.

(297.) St. Athanasius' *Oration III., Against the Arians*, section 15, (page 169 of Bright's Greek); *Μᾶλλον μὲν οὖν οἱ Ἀρειομανῖται δικαίως ἂν σχοίεν τὸ ἐγκλημα τῆς πολυθεότητος ἢ καὶ ἀθεότητος, ὅτι ἐξώθεν τὸν Υἱὸν κτίσμα, καὶ πάλιν τὸ Πνεῦμα ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος βαπτολογοῦσιν. ἼΙ γὰρ οὐκ εἶναι Θεὸν τὸν Λόγον φήσουσιν· ἢ λέγοντες Θεὸν μὲν διὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον, μὴ ἰδίῳ δὲ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Πατρὸς, πολλοὺς ἂν εἰσάγουεν διὰ τὸ ἑτεροειδές*

Himself as respects His being over all, and He appears in the Son, inasmuch as He pervades all things, and moreover in the Spirit, inasmuch as He operates in Him (298) in all [men] through the Word. For thus we confess God to be but one through the Trinity: and we say it is a much more pious thing than the Divinity of the heretics which is of many kinds and of many parts; for we hold that the One Divinity exists in a Tri-unity.

16. But if it be not so, but the Word is a *creature and a work made out of nothing* (299), either He is not real God, because He is Himself one of the creatures, or if, put to shame by the Scriptures, they give Him the name *God* (300), THEY MUST OF NECESSITY SAY THAT THERE ARE TWO GODS, one a creator, and the other A CREATURE; and THEY MUST SERVE TWO LORDS, one *Unmade*, and the other *made and a CREATURE*; and they must have two faiths, one in the real God, and another in the one who was made and fashioned by themselves and called *God* [by them] (301). And it follows of necessity when they are so blind [as that] that when they bow (302), to the Unmade God

αὐτῶν· εἰ μὴ ἄρα κατὰ μετοχὴν, ὥσπερ καὶ τὰ πάντα, "Θεὸν" λέγεσθαι καὶ αὐτὸν λέγειν τολμήσουσιν Ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο νομίζοντες ὁμοίως ἀσεβοῦσιν, ἕνα τῶν πάντων λέγοντες εἶναι τὸν Λόγον. Ἡμῶν δὲ τοῦτο μηδὲ εἰς τὸν νοῦν ποτε εἰσελθοῖ! Ἐν γὰρ εἶδος Θεότητος, ὅπερ ἐστὶ καὶ ἐν τῷ Λόγῳ, etc.

(298). That is, in the Spirit.

(299). Here we see again two of the heretical Arian expressions which are condemned in the Nicene Creed.

(300). Anathema VIII., of St. Cyril of Alexandria's XII., forbids us, under pain of Anathema, to apply the name *God* to the Son's *created* humanity. According to that utterance of Cyril, which was approved by the Third Ecumenical Synod, we must apply that term to nothing but God Himself. Compare Cyril's Letter to Nestorius which has the XII. Anathemas at its end, and especially the part of it which is on page 64 of P. E. Pusey's *Three Epistles of S. Cyril, Archbishop of Alexandria*, where the same condemnation is found.

(301). That is, the Arian *created* God the Word.

(302). Greek, *προσκυνῶσι*, literally, "*bow*"; but as *bowing* is one of the acts of worship in God's Word, and the most common of them all, (for we bow when we pray, when we prostrate ourselves, etc.), therefore it is very commonly put for them all in Scripture and in the early Christian writers. *Bowing* is of three kinds, as is every other act of worship; for it is used (1), to express a *mere act of human respect*, which we give to all men high and low. In this case it is not an act of worship at all, and is proper and right.

2. It may be given to images painted or graven, to altars, relics, or to created or imaginary beings like the gods of the heathen, for instance, as an act of

they must turn their backs on the made God; and that when they go to the creature they must turn away from the Creator (303). For

religious service relative or absolute. That sort of bowing is branded in the Scriptures as soul-damning.

3. *Bowing* may be given to God alone, and then it is *an act of acceptable and soul-saving religious service* (Matt. iv., 10). I have treated more fully of this topic on Ephesus, the Third Ecumenical Council, in this series.

Newman here renders the word, and well in substance, "*worship*." Later paganized writers have tried to make such a distinction between the Greek words λατρεύω, *I serve*, and προσκυνέω, *I bow*, as to imply that λατρεύω means a higher kind of worship than προσκυνέω does, and must be limited to God alone; and that it is right to give the worship expressed by προσκυνέω to creatures, such as saints, angels, etc., and to images, relics, and to other mere things. But the fact is that they are both used in the New Testament, for the highest worship, that is for that to God alone. Indeed προσκυνέω is much oftener used in it for worship to God than λατρεύω is. The forbidden worship of the beast and his image and the forbidden act of St. John to the angel are expressed by προσκυνέω (Rev. xiv., 9, 11, and xvi., 2; Rev. xix., 10, and xxii, 8, 9).

On the other hand it is used for the worship of God Himself in John iv., 21, 22, 24, in Heb. i, 6, and often both in the New Testament and in Ante-Nicene Christian writers. The attempted evasion of the just accusation of creature-worship and image-worship by making such a distinction between those two Greek words as is made to-day by the creature-worshipping Latins, and by those Greeks, who hold to such soul-damning sins is without ground in Holy Writ, or in the Ante-Nicene Christian writers. In the very passage of St. Athanasius above he uses them both for the worship of God; for above he says of the Arians "*and they serve two Lords*" (καὶ δύο Κυρίους λατρεύουσιν). All the passages where λατρεύω and προσκυνέω occur in the New Testament may be found in the *Englishman's Greek Concordance of the New Testament*, under those two words. On the other hand, λατρεύω, "*I serve*," is used both of the service of the true God, as, for instance, in Matthew iv., 10; Hebrews xii., 28; etc.; and for the forbidden worship of the Host of Heaven in Acts vii., 42, and for the service of creatures in Romans i, 25. The fact is, that there is only one kind of worship tolerated by God, and that is the Worship of Himself. All other kinds are forbidden by Him in Holy Writ and damn the soul to the endless flame, (Luke iv., 8; I Cor. vi., 9, 10; Galat. v., 19 to 22; Rev. xxi., 8).

(303.) This accords with the common portraiture of things in the Scriptures where the prophets speak of the Israelites who worshipped animate creatures by bowing, invocation, etc., and mere things such as the golden calf in the wilderness, at the same time as they worshipped Jehovah, as having forsaken Jehovah; for they violated His fundamental law to worship Him alone, and so in that fundamental sense forsook Him to their own eternal loss. For He proclaims Himself again and again as the Jealous God, who will not give His glory to another, nor His praise to graven images (Exod. xx., 1-7; Isaiah xlii., 8; Matt. iv., 10, etc).

they can not see the latter in the former because their natures and operations are foreign to each other and different from each other. And so thinking, they will certainly add more Gods still [to them]. For that is what those who have fallen away from God have taken in hand to do. *Why then, when the Arians so infer and hold, do they not reckon themselves to be of the number of THE PAGANS?* For those pagans also, like them, *serve the creature contrary to the God who created all things* (304). But yet they flee from the name *pagan*, in order that they may deceive those who are without mind, though they secretly hold an opinion similar to theirs (305). For their wise saying, as they are wont to call it, [that is] 'We do not assert two Unmade' [Beings], they plainly say to deceive the simple; for when they make the assertion, *We say not two Unmade Beings* THEY [nevertheless] ASSERT TWO GODS, and that they have different natures, for one God is a made God and the other is Unmade. And though the pagans serve one Unmade and many made gods, whereas those [Arians] serve one Unmade God and one made God, they do not even then differ from the pagans. For He who is called by them [the Arians] a made God is one of many Gods: and, on the other hand, the many gods of the pagans have the same [created] nature as that one [created] God [of the Arians]: for both He and they are *creatures*. Wretched are they, and so much the more misled, in that their minds are against Christ: for they have fallen away from the truth, and have gone beyond the treason of the Jews by denying the Christ, and God-hated as they are, THEY WALLOW ALONG WITH THE PAGANS BY SERVING A CREATURE AND DIFFERENT GODS. For there is one God, and not many, and His Word is one, and not many" (306).

(304). Romans i., 25.

(305). That is, like the pagans, they hold to more than one God, and like them hold that it is right to worship a creature, that is their created God the Word.

(306). St. Athanasius' *Oration III., Against the Arians*, Section 16, (pages 169 and 170, in Bright's Greek edition).

Εἰ δὲ οἱ μὲν Ἕλληνες ἐνὶ ἀγενήτῳ καὶ πολλοῖς γενητοῖς λατρεύουσιν, οὗτοι δὲ ἐνὶ ἀγενήτῳ καὶ ἐνὶ γενητῷ οὐδ' οὕτω διαφέρουσιν Ἕλληνας. Ὁ τε γὰρ παρ' αὐτῶν λεγόμενος 'γενητὸς' εἰς ἐκ πολλῶν ἐστι· καὶ οἱ πολλοὶ δὲ πάλιν τῶν Ἕλληνων τὴν αὐτὴν τῷ ἐνὶ ταύτῃ φύσει ἔχουσι· καὶ οὗτος γὰρ κακῆνοι κτίσματά εἰσιν. Ἀθλοῖοι, καὶ πλεῖον ὕσον ἐβλάβησαν κατὰ Χριστοῦ. φρονήσαντες. Ἐξέπεσαν γὰρ τῆς ἀληθείας, καὶ τὴν μὲν Ἰουδαίων προδοσίαν ὑπερέβησαν ἀρνούμενοι τὸν Χριστὸν, τοῖς δὲ Ἕλλησι συγκυλίουται, κτίσματι καὶ διαφόροις θεοῖς λατρεύοντες οἱ θεοστυγεῖς. Εἰς γὰρ Θεὸς ἐστι, καὶ οὐ πολλοὶ, καὶ εἰς ὁ τούτου Λόγος καὶ οὐ πολλοί.

PASSAGE 5,

OF ST. ATHANASIUS, IN WHICH HE BRANDS THE ARIAN ASSERTION,
THAT THE SON IS A CREATED GOD AS RESULTING IN
POLYTHEISM. IT IS FROM SECTION 64, OF
HIS THIRD ORATION AGAINST
THE ARIANS.

In the context just before the following passage, St. Athanasius is engaged in refuting an attempted evasion of the Arians, which consisted in saying that,

"*The Son was made by the purpose and will of the Father,*" and replies that that expression really amounts to the same thing as the other Arian statements, which, I would add, were condemned in the Nicene Creed, namely,

"*There was once when the Son of God was not;*" and

"*The Son was made out of nothing;*" and

"*He is a creature.*"

Athanasius compares the Arian doctrine to the Valentinian. At the end he concludes that their making the Son a creature ends in *Polytheism*. I quote that part:

"The many headed heresy of the godless men falls into POLYTHEISM AND UNMEASURED MADNESS, in which they wish the Son to be '*a creature*' and to have been made '*out of nothing*,' and express in another way the same errors [as the Valentinians] by bringing forward their phrase [the Son was made by the] '*purpose and will*' [of the Father], which certainly in all fairness should be asserted only of things made and of things created (307).

PASSAGE 6,

Athanasius in Section 13, of his *Second Discourse* of the *Four Against the Arians*, argues that *because the Word was bowed to by Abraham as Lord, He must have been God*. I quote it, mainly as in the Oxford translation:

"If then they [the Arians] suppose that the Saviour was not

(307). St. Athanasius' *Oration III. Against the Arians*, Section 64, page 217 of Bright's edition: Εἰρίσκειται τῶν ἀθέων ἡ πολυκέφαλος αἵρεσις εἰς πολυθεότητα πίπτουσαι καὶ ἄμετρον μανίαν, ἐν ᾗ "κτίσμα" καὶ "ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων" θέλοντες εἶναι τὸν Υἱὸν, ἐτέρως τὰ αὐτὰ σημαίνουσι.

Lord and King, even before He became man and endured the cross, but then began to be Lord, let them know that they are openly uttering again the errors of the Samosatani (308). But since as we have quoted and declared above, *He is Lord and King, everlasting*, SEEING THAT ABRAHAM BOWS TO HIM AS LORD (309), and Moses says, *And the LORD rained upon Sodom and upon Gomorrah brimstone and fire from the Lord out of Heaven* (310), and David sings, *The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou on my right hand* (311); and *Thy throne, O God, is forever and ever, a sceptre of righteousness is the sceptre of Thy Kingdom* (312); and, *Thy Kingdom is an everlasting Kingdom* (313). it is plain that even before He became man, He was King and Lord everlasting, being Image (314) and Word (315) of the Father. And the Word being everlasting Lord and King, it is very plain again that Peter did not say that the Substance of the Son was made, but spake of His Lordship over us, which came to pass when He became man, and redeeming all men by the cross, became Lord of all and King of all" (316), (317).

(308). Paul of Samosata, who made the Son to be a mere creature, and was condemned and deposed for that heresy in the Council of Antioch, A. D. 269.

(309). Genesis xvii., 1-4, and after. Athanasius and the ancient Fathers generally believed that the angel here mentioned as *bowed to*, that is as *worship-ped*, and in Genesis xlviii., 16 as *invoked*, (and both bowing and invocation are acts of religious service in Holy Writ), and who is called *God* by Jacob in Genesis xxxii., 30, was God the Word before His Incarnation. They so judged because of His receiving those two acts of *religious service*, and because He was called *God*. And that view is borne out by such passages as Genesis xii., 1: Genesis xv., 7, and after, where that Angel, that is Messenger of the Father, asks for worship from Abraham, who gives it in the form of sacrifice: Nehemiah ix., 7: Acts vii., 1-4, and I. Cor. x., 4, 9. Their view is undoubtedly correct, for the notion that a mere creature was bowed to as God, and invoked, and called God would land us in creature-worship and polytheism.

(310). Genesis xix., 24.

(311). Psalm cx., 1.

(312). Psalm xlv., 6.

(313). Psalm cxlv., 13.

(314). II. Cor. iv., 4: Col. i., 15.

(315). John i., 1.

(316). The reference is to Peter's language in Acts ii., 36, "Therefore let all the house of Israel know assuredly that God hath made that same Jesus, whom ye have crucified, both Lord and Christ." The Arians perverted the text to favor their own base and unworthy ideas of the Eternal Logos.

(317). The Greek is found in Bright's edition of St. Athanasius' *Orations Against the Arians*, page 81.

PASSAGE 7,

OF ATHANASIUS, MEN-SERVICE AND CREATURE-SERVICE.

The learned Suicer in his *Thesaurus* thus defines the expression *creature-service*, and shows how the Orthodox Athanasius applies it to the Arians; which, in effect, even the Nestorian Theodoret also does :

I quote:

“CREATURE-WORSHIP.

(κτισματολατρεία).

“The Lexicons do not have this expression. It means *the worship of creatures*. Theophylact has used this expression in his remarks on verse 6, Chapter II., of the Epistle to the Romans, page 21, as follows :

“ ‘He said above that the reward for their error and for their creature-service was rendered to the wicked in those things in which they were guilty of [spiritual and other] whoredom.’ [compare Romans i., 23 to Romans ii., 5, inclusive].

“ *Creature-service* (κτισματολατρεία) can be imputed to the Arians, and they themselves can be deservedly called *creature-servers* (κτισματολάτραι), because they said that the Son of God is a creature, but nevertheless worshipped that same Son.

“The following passage of an *Oration* of Athanasius *Against the Arians*, tome 2, page 22, refers to that point:

“ ‘The apostle charges it as a crime on the pagans that they worship creatures, when he says, that, they served the creature contrary to God the Creator. But those men [the Arians] who say that the Lord is a creature, and serve Him as a creature, in what do they differ from the pagans?’

“And what Theodoret writes in that same place of the apostle, on Romans i., 25, page 19, refers to the same error: It is as follows:

PASSAGE 8,

“ ‘Those also who call the Sole-Born Son of God a creature, and nevertheless worship Him as God are subject to those accusations,’” [that is he means to the accusations made by the Apostle Paul in Romans i., 25, against the heathen that they “*changed the truth of God into the lie and worshipped and served the creature contrary to the Creator*”]. For the same reason the Arians are accused of *Man-*

Worship (ἄνθρωπολατρεία); they are called *Man-worshippers* (ἄνθρωπολάτραι), and are said to *worship a man* (ἄνθρωπολατρεῖν). See under the words 'Ἀνθρωπολατρεία [that is, "*Man-Worship*"], 'Ἀνθρωπολατρεῖω [that is "*I worship a man*"], and 'Ἀνθρωπολάτρης" [that is, "*Man-worshipper*"]: that is, he means, those expressions in Suicer's *Thesaurus*.

PASSAGE 9.

The following passage from St. Athanasius' *Four Orations Against the Arians*, Oration Second, Sections 23 and 24, makes against any religious bowing or other worship to any creature, and impliedly against the Nestorian worship of the Man also whom God the Word put on: (Newman has given his own translation of the passage on pages 313, 314 of the Oxford translation of St. Athanasius' *Treatises Against Arianism*): I translate, premising first that Athanasius has just replied to the sophism and attempted evasion of the Arians who said that the Son is a creature and a work, but "*not as one of the creatures.*" To this Athanasius replies that nevertheless, this leaves Him a creature still, and then by way of showing its falsity shows that if He be worshipped because He is a superior creature, by the creatures inferior to Him, then "*each of lower creatures ought to worship what excels itself.*" And then he lays down the alone *Orthodox principle* that "*To God alone appertains bowing, and this the very angels know, though they excel other beings in glory, yet they are all creatures and not to be bowed to,*" and this he shows at length. I quote all this part of the passage:

"Moreover if, as the [Arian] heretics hold, the Son were '*a creature or a work, but not, as one of the creatures,*' because of His excelling them in glory, it were needful that Scripture should describe and display Him by a comparison in His favor with the other works; for instance that it should say that He is greater than Archangels, and more honourable than the Thrones, and brighter than sun and moon, and greater than the heavens. But it does not in fact so describe Him: but the Father shows Him to be His Own and Sole Son, saying, *Thou art My Son* (318), and *This is My beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased* (319). And therefore the angels ministered

(318). Psalm ii, 7; Acts xiii, 33; Heb. i., 5; Heb. v., 5.

(319). Matt. iii, 17; Matt. xvii, 5; Mark i, 11; Mark ix, 7; Luke iii, 22; Luke ix, 35; II. Peter i, 17.

unto Him (320) as being one beyond themselves, and He is bowed to by them (321), not merely as being greater in glory, but as being a separate [Person] beyond and aside from all the creatures, and as beyond and aside from themselves, and as being the Father's Sole [and] Own Son, as it relates to His Substance. For if He was bowed to as excelling them in glory, each of the lower creatures ought to bow to every other one who is above himself. But this is not the case, *for creature does not bow to creature, but servant to Master, and creature to God* (322). Therefore Peter the apostle hinders Cornelius who wished to bow [to him], [by] saying, *I also am a man* (323); and an angel in the Revelations hinders, John when he wishes to bow [to him by] saying, *See thou do it not; I am thy fellow-slave, and of thy brethren the prophets, and of those who keep the sayings of this book: bow to God* (324). *Therefore it belongs to GOD ALONE to be bowed to*; and this the angels themselves know, for though they excel [or "are above"] others in their glories, nevertheless they are all creatures and are not of those who are bound to, but of those who bow to the Master. Therefore when Manoah the father of Samson wished to offer sacrifice to the angel, the angel forbade him [or "prevented him"] saying, *offer not to me, but to God* (325)."

But [on the other hand] THE LORD IS BOWED TO even by the angels: for it is written, *And let all the angels of God bow to Him* (326), and [He is bowed to] by all the nations (327), as Isaiah says, *Egypt*

(320). Matt. iv., 11; Mark i., 13.

(321). Heb. i., 6, "And let all the angels of God bow to him." So the Greek, literally translated, is.

(322). Κτίσμα γὰρ κτίσματι οὐ προσκυνεῖ, ἀλλὰ δοῦλος Δεσπότην καὶ κτίσμα Θεόν.

(323). Acts x., 26. The "*worshipped*" of our Common English Version in Acts x., 25; is in Greek προσεκύνησαν; so that the whole of that place is, "And as Peter was coming in, Cornelius met him, and fell down at his feet, and bowed to him," that is he prostrated himself to him, for there was in this particular case a falling down at Peter's feet before the bowing to him was done. προσεκύνησαν expresses the *bowing* only.

(324). Rev. xxii., 8, 9; and Rev. xix., 10. The "*worship*" of our common Version is "bow" in all those places. The latter is the exact and only right rendering.

(325). Judges xiii., 16.

(326). Heb. i., 6.

(327). Or, "by all the Gentiles," better perhaps.

hath discovered thee (328), *and the merchandise of the Ethiopians, and the Sabaeans, tall men, shall come through to thee and they shall be thy slaves* (329). Then thereafter it reads, *And they shall bow to thee, and by [or in] thee* (330), *shall they pray, for God is in thee, and there is no God besides thee* (331). And He accepts His disciples' worship, and certifies them who He is, saying, *Do ye not call Me, The Lord and the Teacher? And ye say well, for so I am* (332). And when Thomas says to Him, *My Lord and My God* (333), He allows him so to speak; aye more, He accepts him [by] not hindering him. For He Himself is, as the other Prophets say and as David sings, *The Lord of Powers*, the Lord of Sabaoth which is interpreted, *The Lord of Armies* and very and Almighty God, even though the Arians burst themselves at this. But HE HAD NOT BEEN BOWED TO, NOR HAD THOSE THINGS BEEN SAID OF HIM, IF HE HAD BEEN A CREATURE AT ALL.

"But now, *because He is not a creature, but the own Offspring of the Substance of the God who is bowed to* (334), *and Son by [His Divine] Nature, THEREFORE He is bowed to and is believed to be God and Lord of Armies and Ruler* (335) *and Almighty as the Father is*: for He Himself has said, *All things that the Father hath are Mine* (336). For it belongs to the Son to have the things of the Father and to be such that the Father is seen in Him (337), and that through Him all things were made (338), and that in Him the Salvation of all both comes to pass and stands fast" (339), (340).

(328). Or, "hath watched [for thee]."

(329). Or, "*servants*," δούλοι. It is the Septuagint of Isaiah xlv., 14.

(330). Ibid. The ἐν σοὶ προσεύχονται, refers as understood by Athanasius here to praying to the Father in Christ's name (compare John xv., 16.: John xvi., 23, 24, 26,) and the Greek ἵνα ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ, of Philip. ii., 10, which may be rendered, "that in the name of Jesus every knee should * * * bow," that is to the Father, or "at the name" etc., to the Son.

(331). Isaiah xlv., 14.

(332). John xiii., 13.

(333). John xx., 28.

(334). τοῦ προσκυνουμένου Θεοῦ.

(335). Ἐξουσιαστῆς. "Lord of Hosts" may be used instead of "Lord of Armies."

(336). John xvi., 15,

(337). John xiv., 9.

(338). John i., 3. Heb. i., 2.

(339). Acts iv., 12. I. Thess. v., 9. Heb. v., 9, etc.

(340). The Greek of the above place is found in Bright's Greek edition of St. Athanasius' *Oration Against the Arians*, pages 91, 92 and 93.

PASSAGE 10,
OF ATHANASIUS:

Athanasius, in Section 3, of his *Epistle to Adelphius* as quoted on page 210, of vol. iv., of Smith and Wace's *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, writes:

"We do not worship a creature. God forbid! That is the error of the heathen and the Arians."

PASSAGE 11,
OF ATHANASIUS:

Athanasius, at the end of Section 6 of his *Epistle to Adelphius*, writes:

"Let them [the Arians] know, that when we worship the Lord in flesh, we are not worshipping a creature, but the Creator who has put on the created body, as we have said before" (341).

See that section quoted in full elsewhere in this work.

The word rendered "worship," in both the last passages above means literally "*to bow*," that act of worship being the most common, and so being used for every other, as is common in the New Testament and in the ancient Christian writers.

PASSAGE 12.

Athanasius, in a noteworthy passage, insists that God the Word took flesh and became Man, and redeemed Man lest we should name another Lord besides the Word, that is the Man put on by Him, and fall into the Arian and Greek [that is "heathen"] folly of serving the creature besides the all-creating God. The passage is found in his *Treatises Against Arianism*, *Oxford English translation*, Discourse 2, pages 300, 301. Athanasius is dealing with the words of the Apostle Peter in Acts 2, 36, and other passages which the Arians perverted to bolster up their service to the Word as a creature. And he has been contending that *God the Word* is our Apostle and High

(341). Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*, tome 26, col. 1080, *St. Athanasius' Epistle to Adelphius, a Bishop*: Καὶ γνωσκέτωσαν, ὅτι, τὸν Κύριον ἐν σαρκὶ προσκυνῶντες, οὐ κτισματι προσκυνούμεν, ἀλλὰ τὸν Κτίστην ἐνδυσάμενον τὸ κτιστὸν σῶμα, καθὰ προείπομεν.

Priest with the Father, (see id., pages 290, 291), and then further on states as follows, why He, that is God the Word, and not a Man, should redeem:

"For it was not fitting that the redemption should be accomplished by another, but by Him who is Lord by Nature, lest though we were created through the Son (342), we should nevertheless name another, Lord, and fall into the Arian and pagan folly of serving a creature, contrary to the God who created all things" (343).

This doctrine was afterwards enshrined in St. Cyril of Alexandria's Anathemas X., XI. and XII., which were approved with the whole XII. Chapters by the Third Ecumenical Council, A. D. 431.

PASSAGE 13,

A PASSAGE OF ST. ATHANASIUS SHOWING THAT HE ECONOMICALLY ATTRIBUTED TO GOD THE WORD THE SUFFERINGS OF THE MAN PUT ON BY HIM, TO AVOID INVOKING A CREATURE AND OTHER ACTS OF CREATURE-SERVICE. CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA APPROVES IT AND TEACHES THE SAME DOCTRINE.

In a noteworthy passage, in Section 32 of his *Third Discourse Against the Arians*, Athanasius, the great archbishop of Alexandria, tells us that the reason for ascribing Economically to the Word the sufferings of the Man put on by the Word is to avoid serving a creature by prayer or in any other way (344). After showing in a long passage that the Arians failed to see, as, I may add, the Nestorians

(342). John i., 3, where the Greek means *through Him*," δι' αὐτοῦ, and I. Cor. viii., 6, where the same Greek words are found in the clause, "*And we through Him*."

(343). St Athanasius *Oration II. Against the Arians*, Section 15, at the end: (page 83 of Bright's Greek edition of *St. Athanasius Orations Against the Arians*):

Οὐ γὰρ ἐπεπε δι' ἑτέρου τὴν λύτρωσιν γενέσθαι, ἀλλὰ διὰ τοῦ φύσει Κυρίου, ἵνα μὴ διὰ Τισὺ μὲν κτιστέμεθα, ἄλλων δὲ Κόριον ὀνομάζωμεν, καὶ πέσωμεν εἰς τὴν Ἀρειανὴν καὶ τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν ἀφροσύνην, κτίσει δουλεύοντες παρὰ τὸν κτίσαντα τὰ πάντα Θεόν.

(344). This is St. Athanasius' and St. Cyril of Alexandria's doctrine of *Economic Appropriation* which was approved by the Third Ecumenical Council. I will treat of it, God willing, when I come to that Synod. It is, alas! too much forgotten in our day.

afterwards failed to see, that in the Son we are always to keep in mind not two equal Natures; but one infinitely Supreme Nature, God the Word; and one infinitely lower nature, the human, which is the Word's clothing, that is the Man whom He put on and in whom He performed the human things, he adds:

"It became the Lord in putting on human flesh, to put it on whole with its own sufferings, that as we say that the body was his own, so also it may be said that the sufferings of the body belonged to Him [God the Word] alone, even though they did not touch Him so far as His divinity is concerned. If the body had been another's, the sufferings too would have been said to belong to that other. But since the flesh is the Word's, (for *the Word became flesh*) (345), of necessity then the sufferings also of the flesh are to be ascribed to Him Whose the flesh is. And to Whom [the Word] the sufferings are ascribed, such especially as are the being condemned, the being scourged, the thirsting, and the cross, and the death, and the other infirmities (346) of the body, to Him too belong the setting of things right and the grace (347). For this cause therefore, consistently and fittingly such sufferings are ascribed not to another but to the Lord; that the grace (348) may be from Him, and that we may not become servers of another (349) but TRULY WORSHIPPERS OF GOD, BECAUSE WE INVOKE NO CREATURE *nor any common man, but Him who has come out of God by Nature and is the very Son, even that very one become man, but yet nothing less the Lord Himself and God and Saviour*' (350).

(345). John i., 14.

(346). Or "*weak things*," ὀσθενεῖαι.

(347). Or "*favor*," χάρις.

(348). That is, "*favor*," χάρις.

(349). The Greek as in Coleti Conc., tom. 3, col. 1413, has here instead of "*and that we may not become servers of another*," καὶ μὴ εἰδωλολάτραι γινόμεθα. The margin gives γινώμεθα for γινόμεθα. I would therefor translate "*and that we may not become idolaters*," or "*and that we may not become servers of an image*," the image in this case being a man made like all other men in the image of God, as Genesis i., 26, 27, teaches.

(350). Coleti Conc., tom. 3, col. 1413. I quote the whole of this part of the Greek, as there: Διὰ τοῦτο τοίνυν ἀκολούθως καὶ πρεπόντως οὐκ ἄλλον, ἀλλὰ τοῦ Κυρίου λέγεται τὰ τοιαῦτα πάθη, ἵνα καὶ ἡ χάρις παρ' αὐτοῦ εἴη καὶ μὴ εἰδωλολάτραι γινόμεθα [αὐτὸ γινώμεθα], ἀλλὰ ἀληθῶς Θεοσεβείς, ὅτι μηδένα τῶν γεννητῶν, μὴ δὲ κοινόν τινα ἀνθρώπου,

Here the worship is evidently given not after the Nestorian fashion to the man put on, but to God the Word, in accordance with Anathema VIII. of Cyril's XII., which were approved by the Third Ecumenical Council, and with the Ninth Anathema of the Fifth Ecumenical Council.

A noteworthy fact in connection with this very passage is that St. Cyril of Alexandria quotes it approvingly in his Defence of the Twelve Chapters Against the Oriental Bishops under Anathema XII. (351). It is certainly appropriate to the Defence of that Anathema, which reads as in the same Apology as follows:

"ANATHEMATISM XII.

"If any one does not confess that the Word of God suffered in flesh, and was crucified in flesh, and tasted death in flesh and became the *First Brought Forth from among the dead* (352) on the ground that He is Life and Life-Producing as God, let him be Anathema." (353).

The carefulness and even particularity of the Six Ecumenical Councils in guarding and explaining the prerogatives of God the Word as our Sole Mediator, Intercessor, and Atoner, are simply beautiful and wonderful. So when we bow or pray to Him we are to

ἀλλὰ τὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ φύσει καὶ ἀληθινὸν Υἱὸν, τοῦτον γενόμενον ἄνθρωπον, οὐδὲν ἦν τὸν Κύριον αὐτὸν καὶ Θεὸν καὶ Σωτῆρα επικαλοῦμεθα. * * * This is found without any important difference on page 187 of Prof. Bright's reprint of the Benedictine text of the *Oration of St. Athanasius Against the Arians*, (Oxford, 1873), except that the latter has καὶ μὴ ἄλλον λάτραι γινώμεθα, where Coleti, as above quoted, has καὶ μὴ εἰδωλόλατραι γινώμεθα. There are a few other differences between the two editions on this passage, but they are of little importance, for they are merely verbal and do not perceptibly affect the sense. The passage is in Section 32, of St. Athanasius' *Third Oration Against the Arians*. As in Cyril's Defence of the XII. Chapters against the Orientals, in Coleti Conc., tom. 3, col. 1413, the passage above translated is preceded by the words: "And it was shown that He had a body not in [mere] appearance [only] but in [very] truth." Then, without any break, follow almost word for word the words above, "It became the Lord in putting on," etc.

(351). See it in Coleti Conc., tom. 3, col. 1413, and on page 187 of Bright's *Four Orations of St. Athanasius Against the Arians according to the Benedictine text*, (Oxford, 1873).

(352.) Col. i., 18.

(353). Coleti Conc., tom. 3, col. 1408.

address His omnipresent and omniscient Divinity, never his mere separate humanity, for it is a creature and does not possess God's attributes to hear us everywhere, and so it may not be separately worshipped. That is the teaching of those two remarkable Anathemas, and he who obeys them will not be a *creature-server* (κτιστολάτρης), but a *server of God alone*, as we are all commanded by Christ Himself to be in Matthew iv., 10, in the Words, "*Thou shalt bow to the Lord thy God, and Him only shalt thou serve.*" For surely any man of logical mind should see at once that if in those Anathemas we are forbidden to give any act of worship separately, after the Nestorian fashion, to the human nature of Christ, which is the most perfect and the highest of all created things, much more are we anathematized if we give any act of religious service, be it bowing, prayer or any other, to the blessed Virgin Mary, who brought forth God the Word in flesh, to any archangel or angel or Saint departed, or to any other creature whomsoever, or to any created or made thing.

PASSAGE 14.

St. Epiphanius, in Section 50 of his *Ancoratus*, shows that bowing as an act of religious service is prerogative to Divinity, and that as it is given to the Son of God in Scripture, therefore He must be God. I quote. He is opposing creature-servers of his day:

"And let them not vainly heap up blasphemies to themselves. For if the Son is a creature He is not to be bowed to, according to the doctrine of those [texts of Scripture]. For it is foolish to bow to a creature, and to do away the first commandment which saith, *Hear O Israel, the Lord our God is [but] one Lord* (354). *Therefore the Holy Word is not a creature because He is to be bowed to.* The disciples bowed to Him (355). The angels in heaven bow to Him, [for Scripture saith], *And, let all the angels of God bow to Him,*" (356) (357).

(354). Mark xii., 29, Deut. vi., 4.

(355). Matt. xxviii., 17; John ix., 38, etc.

(356). St. Epiphanius' *Ancoratus*, Section 50, (page 144, vol. i., of Dindorf's edition), Εἰ γὰρ κτιστὸς ἐστὶν ὁ Υἱὸς, οὐ προσκυνητὸς, κατὰ τὸν ἐκείνων λόγον. Μωρὸν γάρ ἐστι κτίσιν προσκυνεῖν καὶ ἀθετεῖν τὴν πρώτην ἐντολὴν τὴν λέγουσαν, "Ἄκουε Ἰσραὴλ, Κύριος εἰς ἐστίν." Οὐ κτιστὸς τοίνυν ὁ ἅγιος Λόγος, ὅτι προσκυνητὸς. Προσεκίνησαν αὐτῷ οἱ μαθηταί. Προσκυνοῦσιν αὐτῷ ἄγγελοι ἐν οὐρανῷ, "καὶ, Προσκυνήσάτωσαν αὐτῷ πάντες ἄγγελοι Θεοῦ."

(357). Heb. i., 6.

PASSAGE 15.

St. Epiphanius, writing on Heresy LXIX., that of the *Ariomaniacs*, in Section 31, charges the Arians with giving Christ the position of the execrable and detestable image, that is idol, set up by Nebuchadnezzar to be worshipped, in that they made Him a creature and then worshipped Him as such. In other words, they made Him a false God, because they made Him a *created* God. For there is no other God than the uncreated Jehovah. Epiphanius is here insisting especially on the point, that the whole question of His being worshipped depends wholly on His being uncreated God. He is dealing with the passage in John xvii., 3, "*This is * * * life, that they may know Thee the only true God,*" and he shows that they took it in such a sense as to make it mean that God the Word is not true, that is, not real God. He goes on to show that in denying that He is of one substance with the Father, and in making Him a created God, they must necessarily end in Polytheism and in Creature-Worship. I quote:

"Thereupon Arius and his followers leap up on account of the expression as though they had found something against the truth, because Christ said '*the only true God.*' *Thou seest therefore* [they say] *that the Father is 'the only true [God].'* But we ourselves also ask you, What then do ye say? Is the Father the only true [God]? What then will the Son be? Is not the Son true [God]? If the Son is not true God our faith is vain; the preaching among us is vain. Ye will be found to utter blasphemies to your own hurt by likening, the Son to nameless and nefarious idols, to which the prophets have spoken in the person of the deceived; when speaking, remembered that expression, and the expression, *your fathers made false gods for themselves, and the hills became false* (358).

Is then even the Sole-Born so judged among you, and do ye think so disgracefully in regard to Him who redeemed you, since indeed (359) He did redeem you? But ye are no longer of His fold, for ye deny your Saviour and Redeemer. For if He is not real God, then He is not to be bowed to: and if He is a creature, He is not God. And if He is not to be bowed to why then is He called God? Cease

(358). Jerem. iii., 23, Sept.

(359). Or, "if indeed," *ei γε ἐξήγῳσα*.

ye to work out the Babylonian nature again (360), for ye have set up the likeness and the image of Nebuchadnezzar (361), (362), and have sounded that much talked of trumpet to gather the warriors, and with music and cymbals and stringed instrument ye have made the peoples to fall by means of your deceptive words, for ye have got them to serve an image rather than God and truth. And what other is real [God] as the Son of God is? For saith the Scripture, *Who among the Sons of God shall be counted equal to the Lord* (363)? And, *No other shall be compared to Him*" (364), (365).

Just below, Epiphanius says that the Son is the *truth*, and quotes His words in John xiv., 6, "*I am the Truth.*"

PASSAGE 16.

St. Epiphanius on Heresy LXIX., Section 36, after arguing that a creature could not save us, and that we need a divine Redeemer, comes to notice the Arian absurdity that the Father had created a God and given Him to us to be worshipped: which he shows to be contrary to the Christian doctrine that *no creature can be worshipped*; but that *all religious bowing is prerogative to God*. For he writes:

"Moreover how could God have *created a God and given Him to us to bow to*, when He saith, '*Thou shalt not make to thyself any likeness of any thing on earth or in heaven, and Thou shalt not bow to it*

(360). Dindorf, on page 835 of Part I., of volume iii., of his edition of Epiphanius, approves the reading *φύσιν*, *mixture*, instead of *φύσιν*, *nature*, above. With *φύσιν*, the translation would be, "*Cease ye to work up the Babylonian mixture again.*"

(361). Daniel iii., 1-30.

(362). Epiphanius on Heresy LXIX., Section 31, (pages 176 and 177 of Part I., vol. iii., of Dindorf's edition, Lipsiae, A. D. 1861), *Εἰ οὐκ ἐστὶν ἀληθινὸς ὁ Υἱός, ματαία ἡ πίστις ἡμῶν μάταιον τὸ ἐν ἡμῖν κήρυγμα· εἰρεθίσσεσθε ἀπεικάζοντες τὸν Υἱὸν βλασφημοῦντες καθ' ἑαυτῶν, τοῖς ἀνάνιμοις καὶ ἀθεμίτοις εἰδώλοις. * * * Εἰ γὰρ οὐκ ἐστὶν ἀληθινὸς [ὁ] Θεὸς, οὔτε προσκυνητὸς ἐστὶ, καὶ εἰ ἐστὶ κτιστὸς, οὐ Θεός. Καὶ εἰ οὐκ ἐστὶ προσκυνητὸς, πῶς ἄρα θεολογεῖται; παίσεσθε οἱ πάλιν τὴν φύσιν ἐργαζόμενοι τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν, οἱ τὴν εἰκόνα καὶ τὸν τύπον ἐχειραντες τοῦ Ναβοχοδονόσορ, etc.*

The *ὁ* which I have bracketed, Dindorf would omit. See page 177 of Part I., vol. iii., of his edition of Epiphanius.

(363). Psalm lxxxviii., 6, Sept.

(364). Baruch iii., 35.

(365). Epiphanius' *Panarion*, Heresy lxix., Section 31, (pages 176, 177 of Part I., vol. iii., of Dindorf's edition).

(366)? How therefore could God have *created* to Himself a Son and commanded that He should be bowed to, especially as an Apostle saith, '*And they served the creature contrary to the Creator, and became fools*' (367). For it is a foolish thing to call a creature God, and to violate the first commandment which saith, *Thou shalt bow to the Lord thy God, and Him only shalt thou serve* (368). THEREFORE THE HOLY CHURCH OF GOD BOWS TO NO CREATURE, *but does to the Son who has been born* [out of the Father] *to the Father in the Son, and to the Son in the Father, together with the Holy Ghost* (369).

PASSAGE 17.

St. Epiphanius, writing on Heresy LXIV., that of the *Origenists*, in Section 8, where he is reasoning against Origen, accuses him of denying the Word and the Holy Ghost to be really God, and argues that if they be creatures they can not be bowed to, that is they can not be worshipped, and towards the end says, "*No created thing is to be bowed to.*"

For speaking of Origen he writes:

"We have found him in many places wickedly asserting that the Sole-Born God, and the Holy Ghost also are foreign to the Divinity and to the Substance of the Father; for example, by his calling Him a *made* God, it is clear that he [Origen] deems Him a creature.

"For though some wish to quibble against us and to assert that the expression *made* (γενητὸν) means the same as the term *born* (τῷ γεννητῷ), we can not admit that *made*, may be asserted of God, but only of creatures. For *made* is one thing and *born* is another. And so with reference to his assertion, that is, that *God was made*, let us first ask in what sort of ways that God was created who is honored by thee with that expression [*made*]. And how is He to be bowed to if He was *made*? For take away the censure in the Holy Apostle

(366). Exodus xx., 4, 5.

(367). Rom. i., 22, 25.

(368). Matt. iv., 10; Luke iv., 8.

(369). Epiphanius, on Heresy LXIX., that of the *Ariomaniacs*, Section 36, (page 182 of Part I., Vol. III., of Dindorf's edition): Μωρὸν γὰρ τὸ κτίσιν θεολογεῖν, ἀθετεῖν δὲ πρῶτην ἐντολὴν τὴν λέγουσαν, "Κύριον τὸν Θεὸν σου προσκυνήσεις, καὶ αὐτῷ μόνῳ λατρεύσεις." Διὸ ἡ ἀγία τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησία οὐ κτίσμα προσκυνεῖ, ἀλλὰ Υἱὸν γεννητὸν Πατρὶ ἐν Υἱῷ, Υἱὸν ἐν Πατρὶ, σὺν Ἀγίῳ Πνεύματι.

on those who apply the term *God* to the creature (370), and give me besides a created and bowed—to God, and prove that to be in accordance with that pious faith which bows to no creature, but to the Creator, and the course of thy reason which hath strayed away from the piety of the Fathers will be fair and reasonable. But thou canst not show that. And if thou hadst dared to plunder and to use violence there, thou wouldst not have been able, by so doing, to pervert the fair reasoning power of pious men to favor such great baseness, O thou God-driven man. For understanding and reason fight against thee, for as I have said, *no creature can be bowed to* (371). And if a creature could be bowed to at all, forasmuch as there are many other creatures, there would then be no difference [as to their right to be worshipped] and we should be under obligation to bow to all things along with the One Creator, on the ground that all are fellow-servants [to God] and are of the same class and name” [that is all are creatures.]” (372).

PASSAGE 18.

The Anomoeans, that is the *Unlikeists*, as their name means, were the most radical of the Arian party. Some of the Arians were willing to grant that the Son is *of like substance* with the Father: but the Anomoeans denied that, and asserted that He is of *unlike substance*. And yet, with the rest of the Arians, they worshipped their created Christ, though they held that He is Unlike the Father as to Substance. And so even they were creature-servers on their own confession.

For St. Epiphanius, in Section 8, of his remarks on the Anomoean, that is the Eunomian Heresy, (Heresy LXXVI.,) shows that the Eunomians worshipped the Son of God as a *made* God. The passage is on page 374, volume 3, of Dindorf's edition. I quote a part of it:

“Dost thou bow then to the Son of God, or dost thou not bow?

“Yes, saith he, I do bow to Him.

“Dost thou bow to God or not?

(370). Hosea xiv., 3, etc.

(371). St. Epiphanius on Heresy LXIV., Section 8, (page 596 of Vol. I. of Dindorf's edition). Πάν γὰρ τὸ κτιστὸν οὐ προσκυνεῖται, ὡς ἔφη.

(372). Id.

" Yes, saith he, I do bow to God (373).

" What sort of a God then will that created God be who is called God by thee and bowed to by thee (374)? For if the God who is to be bowed to created that One, and was well pleased that He should be bowed to, and nevertheless that very God who created [Him] is not willing that any other creature should be bowed to, but blames those who bow to a creature, and teaches in the Law [of Moses], *Thou shalt not make to thyself any likeness and bow to it, be it of any thing in Heaven, or on the earth, or in the waters* (375); and the apostle saith, *They served the creature besides the Creator and became fools* (376); how comes it then that he commands that no creation at all shall be bowed to? Is there then respect for persons with God (377)? God forbid! For in showing that the One God is to be bowed to, he has certainly shown that the one bowed to is other than the creation, and that the creation bowed to is other than the Lord who is to be bowed to, [that is] the Son of God who was born out of the Father. For because He was born out of Him, He is a Son like Him, and of His Substance (378): and for that reason He is to be bowed to by all. *Through Him* [the Son] *He* [the Father] *made all things, and without Him was nothing made* [that was made] (379). For by Him and by His Holy Spirit, *who hath come out of Him* (380), and receiveth from the Son (381), He [the Father] made and settled all things. *For by the Word of the Lord the Heavens were settled and all their* (382) *power*

(373). Epiphanius' Panarion, Heresy LXXVII., Section 8. Προσκυνεῖς τοῖνυν τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἢ οὐ προσκυνεῖς; ναὶ, φησὶ, προσκυνῶ αὐτόν. Θεὸν προσκυνεῖς, ἢ οὐχί; ναὶ φησὶ, Θεὸν προσκυνῶ.

(374). Greek, προσκυνούμενος, that is, of course *worshipped, for bowing* is the most common act of religious worship and stands for all of them often as here.

(375). Exod. xx., 4, 5.

(376). Rom. i., 25.

(377). II. Sam. xiv., 14: Acts x., 34.

(378). Greek, ὁμοιον αὐτῷ καὶ κατ' αὐτὸν Υἱόν. Literally, "*like Him and according to Him.*"

(379). John i., 3.

(380). John xv., 26.

(381). John xvi., 14, 15.

(382). Dindorf's text has "*his*," αὐτοῦ; but on page 864, Volume III. of his edition of Epiphanius he restores "*there*." I follow his restoration.

by the Spirit (383) *of His mouth* (384). For when the Sole-Born, (as has been said by me above), said *That they may know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent* (385), He separated Himself from the creation, as the apostle also saith, *One God of whom are all things, and we through Him, and one Lord Jesus Christ, through whom are all things, and we through Him* (386). And thou seest how he hath showed that there is but one God the Father, and one Lord who was born out of Him (387): and he did not say, *There is one God, and one Lord in such a sense that all things else were born out of the Father, as the Son was* (388), but *One Lord through whom* (389) *are all things*. And since He is [but] *One Lord through whom are all things*, He is not one of all [created] things, but is Maker of all things, for He is the Creator of all created things."

Further on, on the same Heresy LXXVI., St Epiphanius contrasts as follows the entire freedom of the Universal Church from the fundamental error of *creature-worship*. For he writes:

"AND WE OURSELVES DO NOT WORSHIP ANYTHING INFERIOR TO THE SUBSTANCE OF GOD HIMSELF, BECAUSE WORSHIP IS TO BE GIVEN TO HIM ALONE WHO IS SUBJECT TO NO ONE, THAT IS TO THE UNBORN FATHER, AND TO THE SON WHO WAS BORN OUT OF HIM, AND TO THE HOLY GHOST, who has come from Him also through the Sole Born. FOR THERE IS NOTHING CREATED IN THE TRINITY. * * * BECAUSE the Trinity is uncaused by any * * * cause, It has unerringly taught that Itself alone is to be worshipped: for Itself alone is uncaused: whereas all things [else] have been caused. For they have been made and created, but the Father is uncreated, and has a Son who has been born out of Him, but is no creature, and a Holy Spirit who goes out of Him, and was not made. Since these things are so, the Son who is worshipped is not liable to the suffering of a creature" (390).

(383). Or "*breath*," τὸ πνεῦματι.

(384). Psalm xxxiii., 6.

(385). John xvii., 3.

(386). I. Cor. viii., 6.

(387). Greek, ἐξ αὐτοῦ.

(388). Or, "*and one Lord together with all the things made by Him.*"

(389). Greek, δι' οὗ.

(390). Col. 609-612, tome 42 of Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*.

Just before, on the same Heresy, Epiphanius censures the Eunomians, that is the Aetians, for worshipping that which is not divine in its substance (391). Epiphanius is gloriously Orthodox against all creature-service. But to quote all the passages from him against that sin would occupy more space than the limits of this work permit. On the Anomoeans, that is the Eunomians, for instance, he witnesses against it in Sections 8, 9. So he testifies further on, on the same Heresy, on pages 430, 431, 435, 436, 445, 447, and 448, in Volume III. of Dindorf's edition.

So he is especially valuable also as a witness, in his remarks on the Collyridian Heresy (Heresy LXXIX.) against the worship of the Virgin Mary, of which he had just heard: so late is it.

PASSAGE 19.

Lucifer, Bishop of Cagliari in Sardinia, was a valiant and noble champion for Christ against the creature-service of Arianism, which, in the passage below quoted, he calls "*Arian Idolatry*;" and justly, because it made one whom it called a *creature*, *God*, and worshipped that *creature*. Because of his stand for the consubstantiality and co-eternity of God the Word with the Father, the Arian Emperor Constantius banished him during the period A. D. 355 to A. D. 361. He spent part of the time in Palestine, at Eleutheropolis, where he is thought to have written his *Two Books for Saint Athanasius to the Emperor Constantius*. They are praised by Athanasius. He wrote other works also for Orthodoxy (392).

This *Lucifer* of *Cagliari* in his work, "For *Saint Athanasius*, addressed to the Arian Emperor *Constantius*," tells him:

"And thou oughtest not to doubt that thy works are malign, but Athanasius' just. For thou art a murderer, a destroyer of God's religion, a denier of the only Son of God, an overthrower of the Apostolic faith, an establisher, of ARIAN IDOLATRY" (393).

(391). Col. 608, id.

(392). On *Lucifer* see Davies' article "*Luciferus I.*" in Smith and Wace's *Dictionary of Christian Biography*.

(393). Migne's *Patrologia Latina*, tom. 13, col. 905. *Luciferi* Episcopi Calaritani, *Pro Sancto Athanasio*, lib. ii., Nec debes dubitare opera tua esse maligna, Athanasii vero justa. Tu etenim es homicida, religionis Dei destructor, unici Filii Dei negator, apostolicae fidei expugnator, idololatriae Arianæ fundator.

In the same work before, Lucifer with reference to the fact that Arianism brought in a *created* God in its Word, and so a new God besides the increate Jehovah, quotes against the Emperor, Deut. v., 7-11, which forbids to worship any such new God, and calls such creature-worship "*idolatry*." For he asks him, "*Is it good to forsake God and to go after idolatry, or is it evil?*" (394). To show further the grievousness of Constantius' sin in spreading such creature-service, he quotes as apposite Deut. xvii., 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, which inflicts the punishment of stoning to death on every man and woman who brings in a new God, such as the Arians made their Word to be by proclaiming that he was a *creature*, and hence not Jehovah.

One thing about Lucifer however is censured by the ancient Orthodox, not his doctrine against Constantius and Arianism, for St. Athanasius himself uses similarly strong and deserved language of both the Emperor and his heresy, but his too severe spirit against the penitent Arian when he reformed and returned to the Church and laid aside his denial of the Word's consubstantiality and co-eternity with the Father, and renounced his creature-worship and his Polytheism. We should imitate God's mercy in the Old Testament and in the New toward creature-servers when they repent and sincerely reform: but, like Him, and in loyal obedience to His Holy Word and to the Six Ecumenical Councils of His whole Church East and West, through which He has spoken against all creature-service, by His Spirit promised to the Universal Apostolate, we should denounce them and all other errorists till they repent and reform, warn them of the threats in His Word against all creature-servers, and of the instances of his righteous wrath visited on them in ancient times by the Assyrian and the Babylonian, and in later times by the Persian, the Saracen, the Tartar, and the Turk. For unless we witness for Him in such things God will require their blood at our hands (Ezek. iii., 18, 20; Ezek. xxxiii., 6). As to every impenitent and irreformable creature-server and infidel, the Apostle Paul warns and commands, "*But now I have written unto you not to keep company, if any man that is called a brother be * * * an idolater, with such a one no not to eat,*" (I. Cor. v., 11).

We should maintain that *historic tradition* of Scriptural truth, for

(394). Migne's *Patrologia Latina*, tome 13, col. 825 and the context; Luciferi Episcopi Calaritani, *Pro Sancto Athanasio*, lib. i. Bonum est derelinquere Deum, et ire post idololatram, an malum?

it includes the Scriptures, not all then written, but penned since, a part of which is loyalty to the truth that *God alone is to be invoked, and bowed to* as acts of religious service (Matt. iv., 10); as to which Tradition the Holy Ghost by Paul saith in solemn language, "*Now we command you, brethren, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye withdraw yourselves from every brother that walketh disorderly, and not after the tradition which he received of us,*" (II. Thess. iii., 6). The tradition which he means is not the legendary tradition which contradicts Scripture, but the historically attested Transmission in doctrine, discipline, rite and custom of the Ante-Nicene Church which comes down from Christ and His Apostles. The ignorant often confound them. But alas! in our day, how many disobey St. Paul's injunction and dote on such perverters of souls into creature-service as John Henry Newman, and praise him after his death in that idolatry against which Holy Writ utters the warning of Galatians v., 19-22 and Revelations xxi., 8.

PASSAGE 20.

Faustin, a Presbyter of Rome, who flourished in A. D. 369, and after, was a decided friend of St. Athanasius and the Nicene Creed against the Arians, but was later a Luciferian, and so too uncharitable against the reforming and penitent Arian, who came back to the Church. He wrote a work *on the Trinity*, which he addressed to Flaccilla, the wife of the Emperor Theodosius the Great. He composed it at her request. It repays perusal. Among other things he shows that the Arians charged the Orthodox with having two Gods because they believed in the Father and the Son, but he denied that inference; and, following Athanasius and the rest of the Orthodox, retorts the charge on themselves, because they had two separate Gods of unlike substance. I would add that Faustin shows that the Orthodox Trinity are of but one substance, and, I will add, that according to the teaching of Tertullian and the earlier Orthodox, the Father, His co-eternal Word and His co-eternal Spirit are three Parts of *one whole Divinity*, and that therefore the charge of having two or three entire Gods is a self-evident slander. Whereas according to Arius, the Father is the entire God without the Son or the Holy Ghost, each of whom is an entire being, separate from the other Two, so that the charge of Polytheism can not be denied by any Arian.

Faustin, the Presbyter, brings out in Section X., of Chapter I.,

of his work *on the Trinity*, the Arian weakness in making the Father and the Son to be of two different substances; one uncreated and the other a creature, as militating in effect, against any claim on their part to be Monotheists (395).

In Section 9., referring to the statement of Christ in John x., 30, *I and the Father are one*, he comes to accuse the Arians of Polytheism, as follows:

"Arius having reference to the term '*are*' [in the plural], and understanding it to teach a plurality, introduced an impious plurality of Gods, and came to believe in one eternal God, and another who began to be God; one Almighty, and another who is not Almighty. But O the blindness," etc. (396).

PASSAGE 21.

Further on, in Section 9., Chapter II., of the same work *On the Trinity*, Faustin again refers to the Arian heresy, as resulting in Polytheism and Creature-Worship, and brands it as destructive of the soul therefore. I quote:

"For when he [Christ] said, *For God so loved the world that He gave His Sole-Born Son*, He goes on and says, *That whosoever believeth in Him should not perish, but have everlasting life*" (397).

"Again, I will say, He is the Sole-Born Son. [But] how can it be that *whosoever believeth in Him does not perish, but shall have everlasting life*, when to believe in a creature is an offence to the Divinity. Look at the Apostle Paul: consider what disgraceful things, what obscenities he reports of those, who, as he himself asserts, *changed the truth of God into a lie, and worshipped and served a creature rather than the Creator* (398). If thou so believest, and so worshippest, and [so] servest the Sole-Born Son of God, though thou sayest that He is a creature, there await thee, O wretched man, those evils by which

(395). Migne's *Patrologia Latina*, tome 13, col. 44, 45. Faustini presbyteri *De Trinitate*, cap. x., Section 1.

(396). Id., cap. xi., Section 1, Arius respiciens ad hoc quod ait, *sumus*, in hoc sermone, pluralitatem intelligens, introduxit, impiam pluralitatem deorum, credens unum sempiternum Deum, et alium qui esse coeperit Deus; unum omnipotentem, et alium qui non sit omnipotens. Sed O caecacitas, etc.

(397). John iii., 16.

(398). Romans i., 25 and after.

those are punished, who have *changed the truth of God into a lie, and worshipped and served a creature rather than the Creator*" (399).

Then he takes up and refutes another Arian assertion, namely that "*Christ is an adopted Son of God, and not the real Son*" (400).

PASSAGE 22.

Still farther on, in the same work *On the Trinity*, Chapter III., Section 2, Faustin, like Athanasius, makes bowing (religious bowing of course) prerogative to God, and the fact that it is given in Scripture to Christ, to be a proof of His Divinity. He first quotes Isaiah xlv., 14, 15 and 16, which in his Latin reads (I translate),

"Egypt is wearied; and the business of the Ethiopians, and the Sabeans, tall men, shall go over to Thee, and they shall be thy servants, and bound with fetters they shall follow after Thee, and shall bow to Thee, and by Thee shall they pray: for God is in Thee, and there is no God beside Thee. For thou art God, and we knew it not, O God of Israel the Saviour. All who oppose Thee shall be ashamed and confounded, and shall go to confusion."

Without any break he goes on to apply the passage to prove the perfect Divinity of the Eternal Word. For he says,

"Notice, that to the Son are uttered the words, '*And they shall be thy servants, and bound with fetters, they shall follow after Thee, and shall bow to Thee, and by Thee shall they pray*' (401). And THE SON IS PROVEN TO BE VERY GOD BY THE FACT THAT HE IS BOWED TO. FOR IT BELONGS TO GOD TO BE BOWED TO: since indeed in another place, also an apostle teaches that concerning the Son of God it

(399). Migne's *Patrologia Latina*, tome 13, column 57: Faustini presbyteri *De Trinitate*, cap. ii., sect. ix., Iterum dicam, est unigenitus Filius: quomodo qui credit in eum, non perit, sed vitam habebit aeternam, cum credere in creaturam sit Divinitatis offensio? Respice ad apostolum Paulum; considera, quae opprobria, quas obsceuitates de his reterat, qui, ut ipse ait, *commutarerunt veritatem Dei in mendacio, et coluerunt et servierunt creaturae potius quam Creatori* (Rom. i., 25). Tu si sic credis, et sic colis, et servis unigenito Filio Dei, ut eum dicas esse creaturam, illa te mala miser exspectant quibus illi puniuntur, *qui commulaverunt veritatem Dei in mendacio, et coluerunt et servierunt creaturae potius quam Creatori*.

(400). Ibid.

(401). Isaiah xlv., 14. Faustin's Latin of that verse differs a little from Jerome's Vulgate, which was not made till later.

is written, *And let all the angels of God bow to Him* (402); that is because He is really God and Lord" (403).

Then Faustin takes up the words "*God is in Thee, and there is no God beside Thee. For thou art God and we knew it not, Oh God of Israel the Saviour;*" and says:

"Therefore since *God is in God*, and *there is no God besides Him* in whom *God is*, and He Himself is *God, the Saviour of Israel*; there is shown [thereby] the oneness of the Divinity in the Father and in the Son, as also the oneness of their almightiness, and in general terms of whatsoever belongs to the divine Substance" (404).

But we will quote no more of Faustin, but limit ourselves mainly to those passages which speak of Arianism as *Polytheism and Creature-Service*, for that is the topic of this section.

The Arians opposed the doctrine of the primitive Christian Writers, St. Justin the Martyr, St. Theophilus of Antioch and others that God the Word had been from all eternity in the Father, as a consubstantial Part of Jehovah, but was born out of His mouth just before the worlds were made and to make them and they were vulgar and low enough and blasphemous enough to pervert it and to lug in mere human analogies which it rejects. A very ancient Fragment of an Arian Writing, which is found on columns 593 and after of tome 13, of Migne's *Patrologia Latina*, perverts and blasphemes the Orthodox doctrine as follows: the heretic is replying evidently to the reproach that the Arians are Ditheists, that is *Two-Gods-ites*; and is stung and angered by it: for he says:

"If God has a Son, He must have a wife also, or surely He is feminine, and has conceived and brought forth a Son by another Person. See! you say therefore that there is more than one God. Why [then] do ye insult us, because we assert that there are gods?" (405).

(402). Heb. i., 6.

(403). Migne's *Patrologia Latina*, tome 13, col. 64, Faustini Presbyteri *De Trinitate*, cap. iii., sect. ii.: Intende quia ad Filium dicitur *Et tui erunt servi, et post te sequentur alligati vinculis, et adorabunt te, et in te deprecabuntur* (9). Ergo et hinc Deus verus ostenditur Filius, cum adoratur. Dei enim est adorari: Siquidem et alibi docet Apostolus de Filio Dei esse scriptum; *Et adorent cum omnes angeli Dei* (Heb. i., 6); scilicet quia vere Deum et Dominum.

(404). Ibid.

(405). Sermonum Arianorum Fragmenta Antiquissima, * * * Fragmentum Primum, col. 594, 595 of tome 13 of Migne's *Patrologia Latina*: *Necesse*.

There must have been much of such Arian stuff. For Hilary's *Book Against Constantius*, page 7, states that "*All the writings of the Churches, and all the books are filled with the most impious blasphemies of the Arians*," (406). Some of them are still found, at least in palimpsests (407).

St. Chromatius, the friend of Jerome, and Bishop of Aquileia in Italy in the last years of the fourth century and the beginning of the fifth, in his *Traſlates on the Gospel of St. Matthew*, *Traſlate Second*, referring to the Father's words in Matthew iii., 17, *This is my beloved Son*, incidentally condemns the Arian service of a created Christ as follows: for he says on those words of God the Father:

"His Son certainly, not by adoption and grace, nor by creature-religion (408) as the heretics wish to have it, but by the property of His kind and in the verity of His Nature" (409).

Section 9, Spread of Creature-Service the result of Arian teaching.

I have seen no proof that any Arian worshipped angels or saints. On such matters they seem not to have swerved far from the doctrine of that Universal Church which they forsook.

Yet as during their long control of all of it by violence and tyranny during part of the reign of Constantius, and of the Eastern part during the reign of Valens, they expelled or imprisoned or killed all the sound bishops and clergy, and taught the people that creature-worship, as applied to their created Christ, is right, they blunted the moral sense on that point of many, and prepared the way for those who would teach the invocation of saints and of angels, and the worship of relics by kissing (Hosea xiii., 1-4). At any rate we find no creature-worship in the church before the Arian Controversy.

There is no creature-invocation in any genuine Ante-Nicene Christian writing, nor in any genuine writing of Athanasius, or in any

si Filium habet Deus, et uxorem habet, aut certe femineus est, et aliunde concepit et genuit Filium. Ecce vos dicitis jam plures deos; quomodo nos insultatis, quod deos dicimus esse?

(406). Quoted in note "a," col. 593, id.

(407). Ibid.

(408). Or "*by the worship of a creature*."

(409). Col 331, tome xx., of Migne's *Patrologia Latina*, *Hic est Filius meus*. Suis utique, non per adoptionem gratiae, neque per religionem creaturae, ut haeretici volunt, sed sui proprietate Generis et veritate Naturae.

Orthodox writing of St. Athanasius', life-time. On the contrary, all the primitive writings which touch on creature-worship of any kind condemn it. The martyrs died to oppose it and to witness to the fundamental doctrine of Christ's saving Gospel, that all acts of religious service are prerogative to Almighty God. Yet creature-service in the form of prayer and bowing to the mere Arian created Christ was preached in the reigns of Constantius and Valens, in the Christian Church by the Arians who had, by the aid of the persecuting civil power, driven out the Orthodox pastors and usurped their places.

It is true, as we see from a passage of Epiphanius on the Anomean heresy (Heresy LXXIV.), quoted above, that even that radical Arian sect seem to have refused worship to any other creature than their created Christ; for the old Scriptural spirit of the primitive Church against all creature-service still survived to some extent even in their perverted minds, and still more in the minds of the people, upon whom they had forced themselves: so that to preach the invocation of the Virgin Mary, or of angels, would have made trouble for them among the sound people, who were compelled by the terrors of the stern power and tyranny of Constantius and of Valens to endure them. Hence wisdom and prudence would keep them from invoking angels or saints. Yet their evil course in sanctioning and teaching the principle that creature-worship, if given to their created Christ, is lawful and right, would naturally be carried out to its logical results by the more depraved and lead in their minds to the worship of the Virgin Mary and angels. Indeed not only Epiphanius as above, but Athanasius also had predicted that their creature-worship would not end with worshipping their created Christ, but would extend itself to other creatures. I have given the quotation from Athanasius above.

Even John Henry Newman in a note to page 3 of his Translation of *S. Athanasius' Treatises Against Arianism*, justly spoke of the Arian denial of Christ's divinity and the creature-worship consequent on that denial, as a "*bringing back idolatry and its attendant spiritual ignorance*," and refers to "*the idolatrous character of Arian worship on its own showing, viz., as worshipping One whom they yet maintained to be a creature.*" Later on, Mohammed, the Arab impostor, adopted and propagated with the sword the Arian denial of the Divinity of the Eternal Word. In a work by some old author, *Against Mohammed*, we find the statement:

"He drew the doctrine of but one God from the Hebrews; and the doctrine that the Word and the Spirit are creatures from the Arians; and the worship of a man from the Nestorians. And he composed for himself a religion made up from them all" (410).

The corruptions and creature-worship and image-worship which had entered the Church brought God's curse upon it, but since the Reformation the deluge of Arab and Tartar and Turkish conquest has been receding, and let us hope, will soon utterly subside; and the Faith of Nicaea will again control all it ever had. It will if the Christians under the Mohammedan sway will only reform.

Happily the Church Universal is perfectly clear from all stain of creature-service. The invocation of angels is condemned by Canon XXXV. of the local Council of Laodicea about A. D. 364, when it first appears, and that canon was invested with Ecumenical Sanction by Canon I. of the Fourth Ecumenical Synod. Of course by equality of reasoning (*pari ratione*) all other creature-invocation is forbidden by that enactment. For it is all creature-service contrary to Christ's own saving law in Matthew iv., 10, *Thou shalt bow to the Lord thy God, and Him only shalt thou serve.*

St. Epiphanius, in the last half of the fourth century, in his account of the Heresy of the Collyridians, shows that the worship of the Virgin Mary was then a novel thing and was regarded by all Orthodox men as silly and sinful.

And the Third Ecumenical Council by approving St. Cyril of Alexandria's Anathema VIII., which condemns the Nestorian way of service to the human nature of Christ by itself and the IXth Anathema of the Fifth Ecumenical Synod which condemns the same error, in effect, forbid *a fortiori*, that is *much more* all creature-service. For surely if I may not worship by itself the highest of all mere created things, that is Christ's humanity, much less may I worship the Virgin Mary, or any other saint or angel.

(410). Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*, tome 104, col. 1447, 1448 and 1449, *Contra Muhammed.*

NICÆA, A. D. 325:

THE FIRST ECUMENICAL COUNCIL.

INTRODUCTORY MATTER.

CHAPTER IV.

THE SYNOD ITSELF.

1. *Events just before it.*
2. *When did it meet?*
3. *In what building did it meet?*
4. *Number of Bishops present.*
5. *Whence they came.*
6. *The disputations at Nicaea before the Synod met.*
7. *Who presided?*
8. *The AËs, that is Minutes of the First Synod.*
9. *On what topics Nicaea decided.*
10. *Why should not the gathering of the Apostles at Jerusalem, which acquitted Peter, as told in AËs xi., be deemed the First Ecumenical Synod, and that which vindicated the claim of Gentile Christians to be free from the Mosaic Law, be deemed the Second, in which case Nicaea would be reckoned the Third?*
 1. *Events between Arius' expulsion from the Church in A. D. 320, or 321, and the Ecumenical Council of Nicaea, A. D. 325.*

Arius, after attempting to excite his followers and the populace, and the civil authorities, many of whom were pagans, against his

Bishop, Alexander (411), and after his consequent expulsion from Alexandria, went, as we have seen, to Palestine, where he found some friends, chief among whom was Eusebius, Bishop of Caesarea, the noted Church Historian, who sympathized with his heresy. But here the diligent pursuit of Bishop Alexander followed him, as was right and just, for Arius was actively engaged in corrupting the faith, and in ruining souls. Thence he went to his strongest partisan, Eusebius of Nicomedia, after whom the whole heretical party are often called *Eusebians* by St. Athanasius. There Eusebius and his partisans issued an Encyclical addressed to all Bishops, asking them to admit the Arians to communion, though they had justly been excommunicated. The response, judging from what occurred soon after at Nicaea, could not have been much. One thing however at this time helped Arianism. It was the disorder into which matters had fallen in the war between Constantine and the Emperor Licinius, which began in A. D. 322, and ended in A. D. 323, with the victory of Constantine. Egypt and Asia belonged before the war to Licinius, the champion of paganism, and during the turmoil when he persecuted the Orthodox Bishops, Arius was permitted to return to Alexandria. Constantine on becoming Master of the whole empire undertook to reconcile the Orthodox and their opponents by condemning both Alexander and Arius, and by representing the questions involved as of no importance, a thing which displayed his own ignorance of their tremendous import. The contents of the letter which was sent from Nicomedia show the hand of the Arian Bishop of that see, and his influence on Constantine, who, by the way, had not yet been baptized. It was sent to Alexandria by the venerable Bishop Hosius, of Cordova, the one Orthodox Bishop who seems to have had most influence over the Emperor's mind, with whom it is thought he may have become acquainted when he held Spain in his jurisdiction after the death of his imperial father. Hosius, of course, could not make oil and water mix, for the Orthodox were righteously firm and the Arians were obstinate, and so he returned to the Emperor. According to Sulpicius Severus, it was held that Hosius was the cause of the holding of the Synod (412). For he seems to have

(411). See Hefele I., 248, Clark's translation, Edinburgh, and the authorities there cited.

(412). Sulpit. Sever. *Hist.* ii., 55. He writes, as quoted in Hefele I., 261, *Nicaena Synodus, auctore illo (Hosio) confecta habebatur.*

advised the Emperor to summon the Bishops of the Christian world to meet there. Constantine, as Rufinus states, acted in the matter in accordance with the advice of the Bishops (413). That advice was given by Westerns like Hosius for instance, and by Oriental prelates also. Some have thought that the Bishop of Rome, Sylvester, was not consulted, while Hefele argues that he was. To prove that he was, is no argument for any alleged *supremacy* of Rome, as distinguished from her primacy, for the letter of convocation was sent by the Emperor everywhere. And in an Ecumenical Synod every see had a right to be heard. Constantine put the public conveyances at the disposal of the Bishops to help them on their way, and provided a daily maintenance for them.

2. *When did it meet?*

On May 20, 325, according to Socrates (414), the Council met, and on June 19 put forth its Creed (415).

3. *In what building did it meet?*

On this matter there has been some doubt among some, as we see in Hefele's note 7, page 279, volume i., of the English translation of his *History of the Christian Councils*. Eusebius in his *Life of Constantine*, III., 10, states that it was "in the most central house of the imperial palace buildings." Theodoret in his *Ecclesiastical History*, Book I., Chapter 7, as in Bohn's translation, describes it as follows:

"When they [the bishops] were all assembled, the Emperor ordered a large apartment to be prepared for their accommodation in the palace, in which a sufficient number of seats were placed: and here the bishops were summoned to hold their deliberations upon the proposed subjects. The Emperor, attended by a few followers, was the last to enter the room."

Sozomen in his *Ecclesiastical History*, Book I., Chapter 19, speaks of the bishops having summoned Arius before them, and of their examining his doctrine and of their withholding their decision, and all this before the day of their meeting with the Emperor, from all

(413). Rufinus' *Hist. Eccl.* I., 1.

(414). Socrates' *Ecclesiastical History*, Book I., Chapter XIII, at the end; Act. II., of Chalcedon in Harduin. *Concil.* II., 286: Mansi vi., 955.

(415). Mansi VI., 955: Hard. II., 286. See on those matters Hefele's *History of the Church Councils*, Clark's English translation, Vol. I., page 274 and after.

which it appears that the final decision on the faith was done in one day. Eusebius in Chapter 10, Book III., of his *Life of Constantine*, implies the same. And a note on page 122 of Bagster's English translation of that work, well infers from Eusebius' statement in that Chapter:

"Hence it seems probable that this was the last day of the Council; the entire session of which occupied more than two months, and which was originally held in a Church." The Synodal Epistle speaks of the matters being settled in the presence of the Emperor, which implies that they must have been settled on the day the Emperor met them, and he met them in session, so far as appears, on that day only. That they met before in a Church seems clear from Eusebius of Caesarea's statement in Chapter 7 of Book III., of his *Life of Constantine*, where he speaks of their assembling before in a house of prayer.

4. *Number of Bishops who were present at the Council of Nicaea.*

This, according to Athanasius himself, was three hundred and eighteen (416).

5. *Whence they came.*

From the whole Roman Empire, though as the Council was held in the East, most present were Orientals. Yet Eusebius, of Caesarea, states in his *Life of Constantine*, Book III., Chapter 6, that the Emperor assembled an Ecumenical Synod (σύνόδον οἰκουμένης) that is a Synod of the whole "inhabited world." Eusebius in the same place states, that by "an honoring letter," Constantine besought the Bishops of every quarter, (ὑπαντάχουσιν), to assemble speedily at Nicaea. Recognizing their supreme right to rule in the spirituals, he referred the whole question to them. According to Rufinus' *Ecclesiastical History*, Book I., Chapter 1, (or by another reckoning, Book X., Chapter 1), the Emperor asked Arius to come. Of the Westerns, there were present only Hosius of Cordova in Spain; Caecilian, Metropolitan of Carthage, or, as we would now say, antiocephalous Patriarch of all Latin Africa; Marcus of Calabria in Italy; Nicasius of Dijon in Gaul; Domnus of Stridon (in Pannonia); the two Roman Presbyters, Vitus and Vincent, representatives of Sylvester, Bishop of Rome. The

(416). Hefele, in his *History of the Christian Councils*, English translation, Vol. I., page 270 and after, has gone into detail on that matter. See there.

Orient, including its Apostolic sees, was more fully represented, for we find the names of Alexander of Alexandria, Eustathius of Antioch, and Macarius of Jerusalem, and a host of other sound Bishops; and with them the great patrons and defenders of Arius and his heresies, Eusebius of Nicomedia and Eusebius of Caesarea. Two Bishops came from outside the limits of the Roman Empire, one a Persian, the other a Goth.

But as yet the lands of northern Europe lay in the darkness of paganism, and therefore we find no Anglo Saxon, no Hollander, no Dane, Norwegian, Swede, Finlander, German, Polander, Bohemian, or Russian among them. A still greater glory awaits their prelates in a seventh Ecumenical Council of the future which shall purge away all idolatry and all creature-service, and all infidelity and reunite in unsullied and perfect Orthodoxy, all who claim to be Christians. The strong arms of the Teutonic converts to the faith did their part nobly in the great battle near Tours, in turning back the desolating hordes of Moors and Arabs in the eighth century, who threatened to subjugate all Christendom. John Sobeiski and his Poles succored Vienna in its dire extremity in 1683, and saved Christendom again; and the Russian who at the time of the Council of Nicaea was a barbarian and a pagan, has stood as the champion of Eastern Christianity for centuries past, has waged successful war for it, and seems destined, if he reforms, to win back all it has lost by the destroying sword and torch of the cruel Arab and Turk.

6. *The Disputations at Nicaea before the Synod met.*

Arius was there, and no less than seventeen bishops, led by Eusebius of Nicomedia, were among his partisans.

On the side of the Orthodox were many champions for Christ against the creature-servers, but pre-eminent among them all was Athanasius, *immortal* in name and immortal in fame, the Bishop who stands greatest among all prelates since the Apostles, though he was then only a deacon. Sozomen as in Bohn's translation writes:

"Many of the bishops and of the inferior clergy attracted the notice of the Emperor and the Court by these disputations. Athanasius, who was then a deacon of Alexandria, and had accompanied the Bishop Alexander, greatly distinguished himself at this juncture" (417). Gregory of Nazianzus bears similar testimony to Athanasius' merits.

(417). Sozomen's *Ecl. Hist.* I., 17.

"Theodoret," writes Hefele, "praises Athanasius equally, who, he says, '*won the approbation of all the Orthodox at the Council of Nicaea, by his defence of apostolic doctrine, and drew upon himself the hatred of the enemies of the truth*'" (Theodoret's *Ecl. Hist. I., 26*). "Rufinus says, '*By his controversial ability (suggestiones)* [literally '*suggestions*'] he discovered the subterfuges and sophisms of the heretics (*dolos ac fallacias*)'" (418). We can easily see that chief among those *suggestions*, that is *inferences* suggested by him from the Arian denial of Christ's divinity, were the two necessary and inseparable ones of Polytheism and Creature-Worship, on which he insists in the passages quoted above, and elsewhere, as the unavoidable outcome of that denial.

7. Who presided?

Hefele, in Section 5 of the first volume of his *History of the Christian Councils*, page 27 and after, of Clark's translation, treats of "*The Presidency of Councils*," and shows that a certain supervision of their proceedings, not in the way of voting but by suggestion, entreaty, and by preserving order, was sometimes wielded by the imperial power: while the whole decision on dogmas, discipline and rites rested with the bishops alone: both which positions are easily proven, though when the mere lay power of the Emperors became *bossy* and attempted to control the Bishops in the just exercise of their prerogatives, they rejected it where they were free to do so, as for instance St. Cyril of Alexandria and the Bishops of the Third Ecumenical Council rejected the attempt of the Emperor Theodosius II. by his representative, Count Candidian, to control the Synod's action against the heresiarch Nestorius.

Hefele goes on in a cunning and insinuating way to argue that the Bishop of Rome presided in the Ecumenical Synods by his legates. In that he fails, for to prove that his representative signs first simply proves that the Orientals admitted the Bishop of Rome to be Bishop of the first see of the then Christian world; but it does not prove that he was what we now understand by a *President* of a deliberative assembly: for, as has been said, and as is proven by the Acts of those Councils themselves, and as even Hefele shows, much of what in our day would be styled *mere chairmanship duties*, was performed by the mere lay power, though such a thing as lay power over Bishops is

(418). Hefele, I., 278, Clark's translation.

not mentioned in the New Testament, and is not at all necessary but novel and unauthorized, and was even rejected by the Third Council when it interfered with the Bishops in the performance of their duties.

Hefele finds that some Roman Bishop is spoken of as *praesidens*, that is *foresitting* in other Ecumenical Councils (419), or that Hosius is mentioned as having *been a leader* (ἡγήσατο) in Councils (420), and he immediately jumps to the conclusion that he was the *only foresitter* and the *only leader*, and in brief the *Chairman* or *President* of the Council.

But in the Six Ecumenical Synods no one man had the sole power of putting motions, etc., after the model of our modern Chairmanship or Presidentship system. Indeed, the facts prove just the very opposite, and show that he was only "*First among his equals*" (*primus inter pares*) For no representative of the Bishop of Rome was at the Second Ecumenical Council; and at the Fourth the attempt of his legates to hinder the adoption of the twenty-eighth Canon of Chalcedon did not prevent the Orientals from passing it right in their teeth, and the Fifth Ecumenical Council treated Pope Vigilius as a wayward brother who was subject to it, and not at all as its President, and went on without him and finally made him submit to its decisions.

As to Nicaea, but little or nothing is said definitely as to who presided in the Disputations between the first meeting of the Council on May 20th, 325, and the formal session of June 19, of the same year which adopted the Creed and condemned Arianism. Though two Roman presbyters, Vitus and Vincent, were present to represent Rome, yet no one is mentioned as presiding in them or any of them as a legate of Rome. Nor in the formal session of June 19, is there any mention of any exclusive Presidentship of Hosius or of any other, though it is definitely stated that the Emperor Constantine, after a modest Oration to them in which he counselled unity, "*handed over the matter to the Foresitters*" (421), that is to the occupants of the chief sees. If Hosius were a representative of Rome as Hefele contends,

(419). Hefele's History of the Church Councils, Clark's translation, pages 31, 32.

(420). Id., page 39.

(421). Eusebius' *Life of Constantine*, Book III., Chapter XIII., *παρεδίδου τὸν λόγον τοῖς τῆς συνόδου προέδροις*.

Alexander, Bishop of Alexandria, and Eustathius, Bishop of Antioch, would be among them, and certainly they were among the presiders that is Presidents (τοῖς προέδροις) as Hefele on pages 35, of his Volume I., admits.

There seems to have been a tendency in all the Ecumenical Councils to imitate the form of procedure in Acts xv., where each Apostle had the right to speak, though some are more prominent than others, where singularly enough no one is termed President. But there are leaders in them all, and Rome's representatives, while they could not of themselves decide any question, and while they could cast but one vote, that of the Bishop of Rome, nevertheless voted first, but every Bishop could speak and cast one vote also, whether his see was great or small. So Peter spoke first in the Council of Jerusalem in Acts xv., but his mere opinion given in that dress of his did not settle matters, but the Synod went on to hear *the apostles Barnabas and Paul*," and finally James suggests the plan that the decision should take, and then *the apostles* adopted his suggestion and the thing was settled. In all this Peter had only one voice and one individual vote. He is simply *First among his equals*. That is the type of things in the Six Ecumenical Councils. Peter's successor votes first and signs first, but every Bishop votes and signs independently after him, and the majority of votes decides every question. Peter had no power to decide any question separate from the rest of the Apostles. He had a Primacy among them, not a Supremacy over them. The power of binding and loosing was given to all (Matt. xviii., 15-21: John xx., 21-24). So was the power of teaching (Matt. xxviii., 16-20). And those powers are exercised by the Universal Apostolate in Ecumenical Synods. No valid and sound Bishop may be deprived of them. Nor is he dependent on what the bishop of Peter's Roman see may think or say as to their exercise. On the contrary, the Universal Apostolate can judge and condemn any bishop of Rome. As a matter of fact, the Fifth Ecumenical Council censured Vigilius, and the Sixth condemned Pope Honorius as a heretic. Moreover, the creature-invoker and image-worshipper, Leo XIII., is not a valid successor of Peter; for the essentials, comprising all the rest of the Apostolic sees, justly brand him as a heretic condemned by the decisions of Ecumenical Councils, and deny the validity of his baptism and his orders, and the Angli-

can communion, in its formularies, justly condemns him as an idolater and a heretic. And he is condemned as an idolater, a creature-server and a heretic, by the decisions of the Six Ecumenical Synods. So that one of the first things to be done in a future Seventh Ecumenical Council is to put a sound and valid successor to Peter in his place.

We have seen that there is no proof of any exclusive Presidency of Peter's Romam see in the first meeting of the Council on May 20; nor is there any in the period between that day and the formal opening of the Council on June 19. How was it then? Let us see.

There was on the 20th of May a meeting of the Bishops in *a house of prayer*, as we see above. From that day on till June 19, when the Emperor opened the Council formally, there were repeated discussions between the Orthodox and their opponents, and it soon became clear that the great majority of the Bishops were on the sound side, and a small number on the side of Arius. Arius himself was examined again and again and his heresy was made fully manifest to all. Yet no definite sentence was passed, for the Council still awaited the coming of the Emperor. Finally after his arrival, he arranged a large room *in the most central house of the palace buildings*, and invited the Bishops to enter it (422). That was seemingly on the 19th of June, thirty days after the gathering of the Synod in the *house of prayer* of which Eusebius speaks, on May 20. The 19th of June seems to be sure for the date of the Creed, for Hefele has adduced two authorities for that view; they are:

(A). That date is on the copy of the Nicene Creed which was read by Bishop Eunomius of Nicomedia in the second session of the Fourth Ecumenical Council, A. D. 451.

(B). It is also in the *Alexandrian Chronicle* (423).

On that day the whole work of the Synod on the Creed and Easter and perhaps also that on the Meletians seems to have been done. I judge so from the following:

(A). From the statement of the Synodal Epistle it is clear that all the matters regarding Arius and his heresies and the promulgation of the Creed were done *in the presence of the Emperor*: and it does not appear that Constantine met them in session except on that day, June

(422). See Hefele, I., page 274, for the original authority.

(423). *Ibid.*

19, 325, though he gave them a banquet after the conclusion of the Council of which Eusebius writes in Chapter XV., of Book III., of his *Life of Constantine*. That banquet was at the celebration of Constantine's *Vicennalia* in July, but the day is not given. And there was quite an interval between June 19 and it.

(B). Constantine in his Epistle to the Churches on the Council of Nicaea in Eusebius' *Life of Constantine*, Book III., Chapter XVII., etc., and Eusebius of Caesarea in Book III., Chapter X., and after, mention no more than one session of the Council, at which seemingly not only the Creed but the Pask matter also was settled. Compare Eusebius' *Life of Constantine*, Book III., Chapters X. to XV., and Chapter XVIII.

Eusebius in those places tells how, directly after the Emperor's speech in opening the Council on June 19, and his exhortation to the Bishops to unity, the Emperor "gave permission to those who presided in the Council to deliver their opinions. On this some began to accuse their neighbors, who defended themselves, and recriminated in their turn. In this manner numberless assertions were put forth by each party, and a violent controversy arose at the very commencement." That is, this Arian shows that the Orthodox accused the Arians, who retorted.

"Notwithstanding this, the Emperor gave patient audience to all alike, and received every proposition with steadfast attention, and by occasionally assisting the argument of each party in turn, he gradually disposed even the most vehement disputants to a reconciliation. At the same time, by the affability of his address to all, and his use of the Greek language (with which he was not altogether unacquainted), he appeared in a truly attractive and amiable light, persuading some, convincing others by his reasonings, praising those who spoke well, and urging all to unity of sentiment, until at last he succeeded in bringing them to one mind and judgment respecting every disputed question.

CHAPTER XIV.

Unanimous Declaration of the Council Concerning Faith, and the Celebration of Easter.

"The result was that they were not only united as concerning the faith, but that the time for the celebration of the salutary feast of Easter was agreed on by all. Those points also which were sanctioned

by the resolution of the whole body were committed to writing, and received the signature of each several member: and then the Emperor, believing that he had thus obtained a second victory over the adversary of the Church, proceeded to solemnize a triumphal festival in honour of God.

CHAPTER XV.

Constantine Entertains the Bishops on the Occasion of his Vicennalia.

"About this time he completed the twentieth year of his reign."

All this which I have quoted from Bagster's translation implies that the Emperor acted like a Reconciler, though not exactly like our modern Presidents, though still an unbaptized man. The circumstances were peculiar. The influence of Hosius seems to have led the Emperor to favor the Orthodox faith and to plead with the Arians for it. In all the accounts of the proceedings at Nicaea in Eusebius' *Life of Constantine*, and in the *Histories* of Socrates and Sozomen, and in Athanasius there is proof of his influence. There is no proof that the two Roman priests, Vito (Vitus) and Vincentius, ever acted as Presidents of the Council. The fact is the form of management of business at Nicaea and at Ephesus as we shall see was different from our modern system; for they discussed the matter and practically settled the chief points before the Council met, so that at Ephesus and at Nicaea a single day sufficed to settle the chief matters. The Bishops of the chief sees had the lead and seem to have arranged the business. So Constantine, as Eusebius writes, after his speech to the Bishops and his arguments for unity "*turned the matter over to the Foresitters*," that is to the Presiding Prelates, who then managed matters: and when they could not convince the heretically inclined small minority, he helped them by his exhortations. The language of Constantine's speech was in Latin, and it had to be translated to be understood. It is not likely that either of the two Roman Presbyters would be allowed to preside over Bishops; nor is it clear that they knew Greek well enough to do so. The Roman legates were empowered to represent the views and beliefs and interests of their Bishop; but the management of the business of the Council of Nicaea and that of Ephesus was in the hands of the Prelates of the chief sees, one of whom who understood Greek well taking the lead generally.

If Hosius, as Hefele contends, was empowered to represent Rome, though he was a Spaniard, and not a Roman, and so not of Rome's

jurisdiction, he was only first among his equals and had only one vote for Rome. But scholars are divided as to whether he represented Rome or not. We may speak more on that point elsewhere. But we shall see from the Acts of the Councils that the Bishop of Rome had no supremacy in them.

8. *The Acts of the First Synod of the Christian World, A. D. 325, which was held at Nicaea.*

No copy of the Acts of the First Ecumenical Council has reached us.

Athanasius when consulted as to the transactions at Nicaea, does not refer to any Acts as existing, but gives an account of them himself in his work *on the Nicene Definition*. See it, Section 2, page 4, of the Oxford translation in S. Athanasius' *Treatises Against Arianism*.

Photius, patriarch of Constantinople in the ninth century, makes no mention in his *Bibliotheca* of any *Book of the Acts of the First Ecumenical Council*, except that of Gelasius of Cyzicus: but of that he says in Section XV. of his *Bibliotheca* as follows: I translate the whole section with its title:

"Book of the Acts of the First Synod:

"I have read a *Book of the Acts of the First Synod* in three books. The work bears the name of Gelasius in its title, but it is no more a book of the Acts than it is a history. And furthermore it is mean and low as to style: but he narrates in detail those things which were done in the Synod (424).

Gelasius of Cyzicus is of very little authority. Scholars like Cave, Dupin, Natalis Alexander, and Valesius assure us that it contains spurious matter and is not always correct, as to facts. See Venables' article "*Gelasius (13) of Cyzicus*" in Smith and Wace's *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, where their judgments on the work are mentioned.

In the article on "*Theodorus of Mopsuestia*" by Professor Swete in Smith and Wace's *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, Volume IV., page 943, right hand column, we read the following:

(424). Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*, tome 103, column 56: Photii Patriarchae C. P. *Bibliotheca*, Col. XV., 'Πρακτικὸν τῆς Πρώτης Συνόδου * * * Εἰτελὴς δὲ καὶ ταπεινὸς τὴν φράσιν, πλὴν γε λεπτομερῶς διέξεισι τὰ ἐν τῇ συνόδῳ. The Latin in the parallel column in Migne renders the last Greek sentence above as follows: "Sermo vilis et humilis, nisi quod minima quaeque in Synodo gesta narret."

"A MS. history of the Nicene Council by Theodore of Mopsuestia is said to be preserved in the library of the American Mission at Beirut (Laurie, *Account of Dr. Grant*, Edinb. 1853)." Swete thinks "*It may possibly be a fragment of the catechetical lectures*" of Theodore of Mopsuestia of which Swete speaks in the parallel column. Whatever it is, it might be well for the American Missionaries there to describe it, and to publish it, for the information of scholars. If Theodore wrote it, we might naturally expect it to contain much heresy.

It may be of some value, or it may be one of those spurious and worthless documents of which Hefele speaks on Nicaea.

Balsamon, who died about A. D. 1204, mentions *the Acts* of the First Ecumenical Synod. For, referring to the decision of the Council on Pask that is Easter, he remarks on Canon I. of Antioch as follows,

"That is not found among the canons of the Fathers at Nicaea, but it is found in the Acts of the First Synod" (425).

Canon I., of Antioch refers to the decision of Nicaea on that topic. But no man can, from that language, feel sure that those words *must* mean that Balsamon had seen the Acts of Nicaea. Indeed, on reflection, it seems to me much more likely to refer to the decision on Pask in the *Synodal Epistle* of Nicaea, not in its Minutes. There is no proof that its Minutes existed in Balsamon's day.

The fact is that Eusebius of Caesarea, in his *Life of Constantine*, Book III., and Socrates in their *Ecclesiastical Histories*, and Athanasius in his works on the Arian controversy, give us the fullest details we possess on it. The main decisions were formulated in one day, June 19, 325. I have seen no details as to the time when the canons were made, whether on that day, or at a later session. Perhaps no Minutes of Nicaea were ever made: though the *Decisions* were written and were preserved.

9. *On what topics Nicaea decided.*

(425). Ralle and Pottle's *Σύνταγμα τῶν * * * Κανόνων*, tome 3, page 124, (Athens, 1853). Balsamon on Canon I., of the Synod of Antioch: "But the holy Fathers of the present Synod, say that the matters regarding that Feast [Easter] were decided by the First Synod. 'Ὁτι γοῦν τοῖς κανόσι τῶν ἐν Νικαίᾳ Πατέρων τοῦτο οὐχ εὑρίσκεται· εἰς δὲ τὰ πρακτικὰ τῆς πρώτης συνόδου εὑρίσκεται.'"

The great and most vital decisions are those against the denial of *the Divinity of God the Word*, and against its corollaries of *Creature-Worship* and *Polytheism*, yet like the Second Ecumenical Synod, the Third, and the Fourth, it decided in its Canons on other matters of doctrine, discipline and rite. We shall see what they are when we come to them.

10. *Why should not the gathering of the Apostles at Jerusalem, which acquitted Peter, as told in Acts XI., be deemed the First Ecumenical Synod, and that in Acts XV., which vindicated the claim of Gentile Christians to be freed from the Mosaic Law be deemed the Second, in which case Nicaea would be reckoned the Third?*

Answer. Because, 1, *Ecumenical* means *of the inhabited world*: and because at neither of those gatherings was *the inhabited world* represented. The matter discussed at the gathering in Acts XI., occurred at Caesarea in Palestine, and so far as appears, only Palestinians were present.

The gathering of the Apostles at Jerusalem, mentioned in Acts XV., was not Ecumenical either; for only Jerusalem and Palestine and Antioch in Syria were represented, though the faith had spread through the converts at Pentecost to different nations, and though we know that, before that, there were disciples at Damascus, one of whom baptized Paul.

NICÆA, A. D. 325:

THE FIRST ECUMENICAL COUNCIL

INTRODUCTORY MATTER.

CHAPTER V.

DOCUMENTS BEFORE THE COUNCIL, BUT BEARING ON IT.

1. *A Synodical Epistle of Alexander, Bishop of Alexandria, and his Synod, to Alexander, Bishop of Constantinople.*
2. *An Encyclic Epistle of Alexander, Bishop of Alexandria, to the Bishops of the Universal Church everywhere.*

The next two documents are really not Forematter, but part of the documents of the Council itself.

3. *An Oration of the Emperor Constantine to the Synod of Nicæa on Peace.*
4. *An Oration of the Orthodox Eustathius, Bishop of Antioch, in the Nicene Synod, which is addressed to the Emperor Constantine.*

DOCUMENTS PREFIXED TO THE COUNCIL OF NICÆA, A. D. 325. IN MANSI'S CONCILIA.

It is customary in modern editions of the Councils to prefix to the Acts proper such documents as bear on the Synod most appositely and importantly. I give a list of all in Mansi's *Concilia*, that is *Councils*, tome ii., page 641 and after:

I.

A Synodical Epistle of Alexander, Bishop of Alexandria, and of the Synod of Alexandria, which was held A. D. 321, to Alexander, Bishop of Byzantium, that is of Constantinople. It is in Theodoret's.

Ecclesiastical History, Book I., Chapter IV. It is found in an English translation in Bohn and in Bagster. It is found in the *Tripartite History*, Book I., Chapter 14. It is a valuable document as showing the positions of the Alexandrian and Egyptian Orthodox at that time, and the tenets of the Arians, and the early history of the struggle.

2.

An Encyclic Epistle of Alexander, Bishop of Alexandria, to the Bishops of the Universal Church everywhere, against the Arian heresy. This is found in Socrates' *Ecclesiastical History*, Book I., Chapter 6, and in Gelasius of Cyzicus' *Collection of the things done in the Council of Nicaea*, Book II., Chapter 3. An English translation of it is found in Bohn's *Ecclesiastical Library* and in Bagster.

3.

An Oration of the Emperor Constantine to the Synod of Nicaea on Peace.

This is found in Eusebius' *Life of the Emperor Constantine*, Book III., Chapter 12. It is found in the translation of that work which is published by Bagster.

Another and longer form of this Oration is found in Gelasius of Cyzicus' *Collection of the things done in the Council of Nicaea*, but, as much that he writes is romance and not history, it can not be relied on as genuine.

4.

An Oration of the Orthodox Eustathius, Bishop of Antioch, in the Nicene Synod which is addressed to the Emperor Constantine. It is really only a short, but valuable address which Hardouin in his *Concilia*, tome i., index, mentions as from Baronius, Anno 325, Num. LV. It is found in Mansi, in a Latin version only.

Venables' article on "*Eustathius* (3), Bishop * * * of Antioch" in Smith and Wace's *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, states that "*The Allocutio ad Imperatorem*," [that is the address of Eustathius to the Emperor] "given by Labbé (*Concil.* II., 633) is certainly supposititious. This fact is asserted by Theodoret (H. E., I., 7), but contradicted by Sozomen (H. E., I., 19), who assigns the dignity to Eusebius. Eusebius himself maintains a discreet silence, but he evidently wishes it to be inferred that the anonymous occupant

of the place of honor mentioned by him was himself (*Euseb. de Vit. Const.* III., 11). This is accepted by Valesius (not. ad loc.). Hardouin does not give it in column 310 or 311, tome i., of his *Councils*, but mentions it only in the *Index* at the beginning of that tome, where he speaks of it as "from Gregory of Caesarea, the presbyter in his *Oration on the Holy Fathers of the Nicene Council* in Lipomannus, tome vi." Migne gives it in Greek in his *Patrologia Graeca*, tome 18, column 673 and after. Mansi gives it in full in columns 663, 664, of the second tome of his *Concilia*, but in Latin form only. But deferring, for the present, the question whether there was more than one address to the Emperor, it will suffice to say here that it does not seem probable that the great Orthodox majority of the Council would depute the persistent Arian, Eusebius, to address the Emperor for them, but would instigate one at least of their own number to speak to Constantine in their own behalf. And Eustathius stood deservedly high among them. From the wording of this address of Eustathius, I at first thought that it was delivered after the formal conviction of Arius and his heresies in the Council, on June 19, and that Eusebius of Caesarea spoke before. But, on reflection, that does not seem a probable view. For it should be said that Eusebius does not assert that he himself spoke, though Sozomen, writing in the century following, in Chapter XIX., of Book I., of his *Ecclesiastical History*, says that it was he who delivered the opening address in the Council to the Emperor. But, as Baronius thinks (426), Sozomen may have misunderstood Eusebius' non-mention of the name of the Bishop who made that address to Constantine, to imply that it was he (Eusebius) himself, but that from motives of modesty he omitted his own name. But Baronius states that Sozomen seems not to have well understood the habits of Eusebius, for he never omits any opportunity of speaking in a way to confer honor on himself, and passes over in silence only what proves his own baseness: "But," adds Baronius, "it is rendered sufficiently clear that he himself [Eusebius], from envy, kept silence as to the name of the Bishop who in that most magnificent assembly was holding the first place on the right side, and first of all addressed the Emperor in that Oration. But that speaker was that great Eustathius, Bishop of Antioch, who had been preferred to Eusebius himself for that see (as has been already

(426). Baronius' *Annales Ecclesiastici*, ad Annum 325, num. LIV., LV.

told in detail); which Theodoret was not ignorant of, for" [in Chapter VII., (al. VI.), Book I., of his *Ecclesiastical History*] "he says," [I quote a little more of the chapter than Baronius gives, and I render it from the Greek. Theodoret is describing the entrance of the Emperor Constantine into the Council of Nicaea, and writes: (Chrystal)]:

"And a little seat having been placed in the midst [of the Council] he [Constantine] sat down [on it], after he had first asked the bishops to permit that thing, and with him sat down all that godly choir [of bishops]. *And straightway first spoke the great Eustathius*, who had gotten the foreseat (427) of the church of the Antiochians. For Philogonius, of whom I have spoken before, had passed over to the better life, and the high priests (428) and the priests (429) and all the Christ-loving people (430) had, by a common vote, forced him [Eustathius], though he was unwilling, to accept the shepherdship, in his [Philogonius'] place. He crowned the head of the Emperor with the flowers of praises, and returned him blessings for his zeal for divine things. And, he having ended, the all-well-famed Emperor spoke words to them as to oneness of mind and harmony of speech," (431) etc.

"These things," continues Baronius, "Theodoret writes of the Oration of Eustathius. Moreover, Cassiodore has attempted to make Sozomen agree with Theodoret by saying that Eusebius spoke after Eustathius; but Eusebius himself testifies that only one delivered an

(427). Greek, τὴν προεδρίαν, that is *the Presidency*, that is *the Episcopate*. The throne of the Greek bishop when he is not in the chancel is before all the people, at the side, as I have seen in the Anglican church and in the Latin. Hence his title often among the old Greeks was *the Foresitter*, ὁ Προέδρος. The Foresitters to whom the Emperor, after his own speech, turned over the business of the Council were the bishops of the great sees; Rome, present by his legates, and Alexandria, Antioch, etc., who were present in person. Any other noted bishop, like Hosius of Cordova in Spain for instance, might be added to them for convenience. I have seen no convincing proof that Hosius was a Roman legate, for the oldest authors mention only the presbyters Vitus and Vincent as such.

(428). That is, the bishops, Greek, ἀρχιερεῖς.

(429). Greek, ἱερεῖς, that is, the presbyters.

(430). That is, the laity.

(431). Theodoret's *Church History*, Book I., Chapter VI., col. 917, tome 8a of Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*.

oration, and no one after him discharged the same function [of orator] in the Synod. Indeed, Gregory, the Presbyter of Caesarea, gives the very short oration which was delivered by Eustathius, as follows": Then Baronius gives a Latin translation of Eustathius' oration above. The place in Cassiodore, to which Baronius refers, is Chapter V., book II., of his *Tripartite History* (see note 46, col. 1066 of tome 20, of Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*). This last-named note states from Nicetas that Theodore of Mopsuestia writes that the honor of making that address had been ascribed to Alexander, Bishop of Alexandria; but I presume that statement was based on the fact that as probably neither Vitus nor Vincent, the two legates of Rome, the first see, was able to speak in Greek, the language of the bulk of those present, and so could not so well represent them, nor be understood by them; and as, moreover, neither of them was a bishop, that honor would naturally fall to the see next in rank at that time, which was Alexandria. But the statement of Theodoret contradicts that view and assigns that oration to Eustathius, of Antioch, the see next in rank after Alexandria. And that is not strange, for as those two bishops were in all probability among the *Foresitters* or *Presidents*, (τοῖς τῆς συνόδου προέδροις), to whom the Emperor handed over the business of the Council after his own address, the address to the Emperor may have been assigned to Eustathius, in the division of labors and of duties among those Presidents, or he spoke first because he may have been the best orator among the Foresitters, or because as the Emperor in his ignorance of theology had, at the beginning of the controversy, censured Alexander for maintaining Orthodoxy, and as Alexander might be supposed to be less popular with Constantine for that reason, and as it was desirable to gain the monarch for Orthodoxy, therefore Alexander might well have made way for the nonce for the able champion from Antioch.

The same note (46) argues that the unnamed bishop must be Eusebius of Caesarea, because at the beginning of Book II., of his *Life of Constantine*, he writes:

"And we, ourselves, taking aside the gloriously triumphant Emperor when he was in the midst of a Synod [or "a gathering"] of God's ministers were honoring him with Vicennalian hymns."

But to this I reply, that this relates to the Emperor's *Vicennalia*, which did not occur till after the Synod of Nicaea had ended, and

that his words evidently refer to the banquet given by the Emperor to the Bishops to celebrate [his] *Vicennalia*. An account of that banquet is given by Eusebius in Chapter XV., Book III., of his *Life of Constantine*. Then Eusebius of Caesarea had signed, though reluctantly, as Athanasius in Section 2 on the *Nicene Definition* shows, the *Nicene Creed*, and might have got an aside hearing from the Emperor. Even then, it does not appear that Eusebius was deputed by the Council to represent them, nor did he address the Emperor before them all, but *took him aside* not to deliver an address to him, but to read hymns to him which he had composed in his honor, and seemingly to win his favor. The memory of Eusebius' persistent heresy was still fresh in the minds of the Synod, and, if they knew his real sentiments, they would find that his acceptance of the Homoeousion was insincere and that he was as much an Arian as ever, as events following showed.

The account given by Eusebius himself in Chapter XI., Book III., of his *Life of Constantine*, agrees with the Oration of Eustathius, not with any hymns of Eusebius, on Constantine's *Vicennalia*. Eusebius in that place describes it as follows :

I give a literal translation of the beginning of Chapter XI., Book III., of Eusebius' *Life of Constantine*, in Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*, tome 20, col. 1065. It is as follows :

"And he, among the bishops who held the first place on the right row, rose up and began to deliver a measured oration (432), addressing the Emperor, and making a hymn of thanksgiving to Almighty God for him ; and when he himself also had sat down, silence prevailed, and all looked intently at the Emperor." Then the Emperor spoke.

This description tallies well with the contents of Eustathius' speech to the Emperor. It is at the same time an address to the Emperor and a hymn of thanksgiving regarding him, though of course it is not in rhyme, because the ancients did not use rhyme.

(432). Greek, *μετρημένον* * * * *λόγον*. I understand this to mean that the orator was not to be too lengthy, but was to limit himself within a certain measure of time. This implies great care on the part of the presiding prelates and systematic arrangement of the proceedings. It may have been chanted as a recitative.

Another argument against the view that Eusebius of Caesarea made the opening speech is that in order to do so, at least as the representative of the Council, he must have been deputed by the Council, or possibly by the Emperor to that task: but the Orthodox Synod would not depute an Arian heretic like Eusebius; for he had been notorious as a champion of Arius from the beginning of the controversy: and the Emperor's own conduct in the Council in persuading bishops to adopt the *ὁμοούσιον*, that is the expression "*of the same substance*," shows that he was not under the influence then of Eusebius, but of his old Spanish Friend, Hosius, an Orthodox leader. Eusebius of Caesarea, and Eusebius of Nicomedia were bitter enemies of Eustathius, and wrought him woe by intrigue afterwards, and by deposition wrongly. It is no wonder then that Eusebius of Caesarea in his *Life of Constantine* omits Eustathius' name, the more so as Eustathius' Oration denounces his Arianism. Eusebius omits also the names of those who faulted the Arians after the Emperor's speech. I would conclude then by saying that Eustathius' speech is undoubtedly genuine. Its internal evidence also makes strongly for it, for it savors of the strong opposition to Arian creature-service which we find in Athanasius and other Orthodox leaders of that time. It is so short that I give it all: it is as follows:

"We give thanks, O most excellent Emperor, to God who giveth thee the empire of the earth, who by thee hath abolished the error of images, and hath given freedom to the well disposed minds of the faithful. The steam [of the sacrifices] of demons hath ceased, the objects of worship of the Greek Polytheism have been destroyed (433), the darkness of ignorance has been driven away: the whole world is illuminated by the light of the knowledge of God: the Father is glorified; the Son is co-bowed to [with Him]; the Holy Ghost is proclaimed; the consubstantial Trinity, one Divinity in Three Persons and Hypostases is preached. By that Trinity, O Emperor, the power of thy piety is fortified. Guard it well and inviolate for us. Let no heretic who has secretly stolen into the Church, take away any one thing from the Trinity, and so leave dishonored what will then be left of it. Arius has given his name to the madness, and is the cause of this controversy (434) and this assembling. He, though

(433). Or, "*have lost their hold*," (καταλείπεται).

(434). Or "*this matter*," τοῦ λόγου.

we know not how, was enrolled on the list of the presbyters of the Church of the Alexandrians, and unknown to us was an alien to the doctrine of the thrice blessed prophets and apostles. For he does not dread to rob the Sole-Born Son and Word of the Father of His Consubstantiality with the Father, and THE CREATURE-WORSHIPPER EAGERLY TRIES TO CO-NUMBER THE CREATOR WITH WHAT HAS BEEN CREATED (435). But mayest thou persuade him, O Autocrat, to change his mind and not to strive against the apostolic doctrines; or, if he persists in the impieties of the wicked opinions in which he has been detected, mayest thou cause him to disappear utterly from the fold of Christ and of us, so that he may not make the souls of the more simple a prey to his turbid and flattering language" (436).

According to the article, *Eustathius of Antioch* ("Eustathius (3)") in Smith and Wace's *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, Theodoret makes special mention of a Sermon of Eustathius on Proverbs VIII., 22, extracts from which are found in Theodoret's *Eranistes*, Dial. II., p. 90, and Dial. III., p. 156.

In columns 679 to 686, tome 18 of Migne's *Patrologia Græca*, we find passages quoted by Theodoret from a sermon of our Eustathius on Proverbs VIII., 22, "The Lord made me a *beginning of His ways*," *Κύριος ἔκτισέ με ἀρχὴν ὁδῶν αὐτοῦ*, in which he explains orthodoxically that text which the Arians so much perverted. Venables, in his article on *Eustathius*, in Smith and Wace's *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, remarks:

"Excerpts from his *Eight Books Against the Arians*, gathered from Photius, Facundus, Gelasius, etc., are given by Galland (*u. s.*), Fabricius (*Biblioth-Graec*, IX., 131, ff. ed., Harles), and Migne (*u. s.*, p. 61, ff.)."

We see from this how much he wrote against Arianism, and how able he was. He might be deservedly chosen, therefore, to address Constantine against it.

On the Arian side, as showing their heresies in their own words, may be especially mentioned the three documents from the pen of

(435). Migne's *Patrologia Græca*, tome 18, col. 673-676: *Sancti Eustathii episcopi Antiocheni Allocutio ad Imperatorem Constantinum in Concilio Nicaeno*: Τὸν γὰρ μονογενῆ Υἱὸν καὶ Λόγον τοῦ Πατρὸς ἀποστρεῖν τῆς ὁμοουσιότητος τοῦ Πατρὸς οὐκ ἐντρέπεται, καὶ τῇ κτίσει τὸν Ἐκτίστην ὁ κτιστολάτρης συναριθμεῖν ἐπιείγεται.

(436). *Ibid.*

Arius, mentioned in Chapter III. above, and the Epistle of Eusebius, Bishop of Nicomedia, to Paulinus, Bishop of Tyre, which is in Chapter VI., Book I., of Theodoret's *Ecclesiastical History*.

Eustathius, though only the third of the great bishops of the Church, and therefore after the Bishop of Alexandria, was perhaps the chief actor. Even the partisan Romanist, Hefele, proves his high position in the Council. I quote page 38, volume 1, Clark's English translation of his *History of the Christian Councils*:

"Eustathius, Archbishop of Antioch, * * * according to Theodoret (*Hist. Eccl. I.*, 7), pronounced the speech in question [at the opening of the Council] which was addressed to the Emperor. He was one of the great patriarchs; and one of his successors, John, Archbishop of Antioch, in a letter to Proclus, calls him the '*first of the Nicene Fathers*.' The Chronicle of Nicephorus expresses itself in the same way about him (Tillemont, *Mémoires pour servir à l'Hist. Eccl. VI.*, 272, *Brux.* 1732). He can not, however, be considered as the only president of the Council of Nicaea; for we must regard the expression of Eusebius (437) which is in the plural (τοῖς προέδροις); and besides it must not be forgotten that the Patriarch of Alexandria ranked higher than the Patriarch of Antioch. To which, thirdly, it must be added, that the Nicene Council itself, in its letter to the Church of Alexandria (Cf. Socrat. I., 9), says: '*Your bishop will give you fuller explanation of the Synodical decrees; for he has been a Master* (438) (Κήρυξ) and participator (κοινωνός) *in all things that have been done*'" (439).

"These words seem to give a reason for the theory of Schröckh (Schröckh, *Kirchengeschichte*, Thl. V., s. 335) and others, that Alex-

(437). Eusebius' *Life of Constantine*, Book III., Chapter 13.

(438). Hefele renders Κήρυξ by *leader*, which is not its exact sense, but I have preferred the common meaning of the word, *Master*.

(439). I give a literal translation of the above passage and what is just before it. The Greek is found in column 81, of tome 67 of Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*: Socrates' *Ecclesiastical History*, Book I., Chapter 9:

"These are the chief matters and those which pertain to Egypt and the most holy Church of the Alexandriaus. And whatsoever else has been set forth as a canon or as a dogma, the Master (τοῦ κυρίου) and most honored Fellow-Minister, our brother Alexander, who is present himself, will report to you more in detail (ἀκριβέστερον) inasmuch as he was a Master and a sharer of all those things which were done"—(ἄτε δὲ καὶ κύριος καὶ κοινωνός τῶν γεγενημένων τυγχάνων).

ander and Eustathius were both presidents, and that they are intended by Eusebius (440) when he speaks of the *πρόεδροι*," that is *the Presidents*, (literally, "*the Foresitters*")."

There may have been more than two, or three, including the two representatives of Rome, Vitus and Vincent, as representing one see, and Hosius may have been added as a friend of the Emperor; for if Hosius was, as one account has it, an Egyptian, or even of Egyptian descent only, he might well know Greek, and as long resident in Spain he knew Latin fluently, and hence was well adapted to be an intermediary between the Latin-speaking Emperor and the mainly Greek-speaking Council.

The greater metropolitans were prominent at Ephesus, that is the Place-holders of Celestine, Metropolitan of Rome, Cyril, Metropolitan of Alexandria, and of all Egypt, Libya and Pentapolis, Memnon, Metropolitan of Ephesus, and of the Diocese of Asia (441), etc. So it was in other Ecumenical Councils, the first generally leading if he understood Greek well; if not, the second if he did.

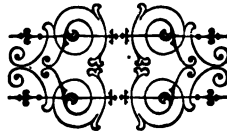
I would add that the fact that we see the greater *Metropolitans* (called later often *Patriarchs*), leading their suffragans in the Councils is easily explained by the fact that they led and ruled them at home. Yet every Suffragan could speak and vote in every Ecumenical Council, and had one vote just as his metropolitan had. The letter of Theodosius II., convoking the Third Ecumenical Synod orders each Metropolitan to select and bring with him to it such of his Suffragans as were most fit.

Hefele next attempts to show that Hosius was President of the Council. He seems to have been one of them and a very active one, for he certainly seems to have inclined the Emperor to the Homousion. Hefele further tries to make out that Hosius was a legate of Rome. But Morse, in his article on *Hosius* in Smith and Wace's *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, shows that that notion originated with the very inaccurate Gelasius of Cyzicus in the last half of the fifth century and that Eusebius of Caesarea who was present at the Council enumerates only the two Roman Presbyters, Vitus and Vincent, as Roman legates, and that Sozomen does the same, and that

(440). Eusebius' *Life of Constantine*, Book III., Chapter 13.

(441). Bingham's *Antiq.*, Book IX., Chapter I., Section 6.

the bulk of all the testimony is against the notion that Hosius was a legate of Rome. See Morse's remarks on that matter on pages 168 and 169, of Volume III., of Smith and Wace's *Dictionary of Christian Biography*. Compare also the three lists in Cowper's *Syriac Miscellanies*, pages 8, 25 and 31, of the bishops at Nicaea; the last two of which mention Hosius as from Spain, and Vitus and Vincent (misspelled in list 3) as the representatives of Rome. List 1. agrees with them except in putting Hosius' see in Italy, but he does not even then sign as representing Rome, but himself; whereas Vitus and Vincent alone sign in all three lists as representing the Bishop of Rome.



NICÆA, A. D. 325:

THE FIRST ECUMENICAL COUNCIL.

ITS GENUINE UTTERANCES.

CHAPTER VI.

CONTENTS.

1. THE SYNODAL EPISTLE.
2. THE CREED.
3. THE TWENTY CANONS.

The Genuine Remains of the First Ecumenical Council are:

1. *Its Synodal Epistle.*
2. *Its Creed.*
3. *Its Twenty Canons.*

The Doubted, and the Spurious Matter ascribed to it will be mentioned further on.

I.

THE SYNODAL EPISTLE.

This is extant in Greek in Socrates' *Ecclesiastical History*, Book I., Chapter IX., from which we give it. It is found also in Theodoret's *Ecclesiastical History*, Book I., Chapter VIII., which is sometimes numbered 9.

ITS CONTENTS.

The Epistle treats mainly of four matters:

(A.) Arius and his heresies, of which we have spoken sufficiently above, are condemned. The names of two Egyptian Bishops,

Theonas of Marmarica and Secundus of Ptolemais are specified, as having been condemned with Arius by the Synod, evidently to warn the Alexandrians against them. (There is a short account of Secundus under "Secundus (3)" in Smith and Wace's *Dictionary of Christian Biography*).

(B.) *The Meletian Schism which had distracted part or all of Egypt is condemned, and order is given as to how Meletius and his partisans shall be received.*

Who Meletius was. He was one of the principal bishops of Egypt and was subject to the Metropolitan of Alexandria, who had the right to ordain all the bishops of Egypt, Libya and Pentapolis, as Bingham shows (442). The Metropolitan had supreme control over all the provinces of the whole Diocese of Egypt, which according to the civil Notitia were six in number (443), and according to another were three, and according to still another were nine (444). On those points Bingham gives the details in his *Antiquities of the Christian Church*, Book IX., Chapter I., Sections 1 to 9, and Book IX., Chapter II., Section 6. In Book II., Chapter XVI., Sections 13 and 23, and in Chapter XVII., Section 11, he gives the details as to the rights and powers of the Bishop of Alexandria over all the bishops of all the provinces of Egypt. They were very great.

Meletius, or Melitius, as Hefele tells us (445), Athanasius spells the name, started a schism, as did the Novatians in Italy and the Donatists in Africa, on the plea that the church was not severe enough towards those who had fallen in persecution and afterwards repented and came back to the church, rebelled against his own Metropolitan, Alexander, Bishop of Alexandria, usurped the power of ordaining bishops which belonged to him alone, and set up bishop against bishop and presbyter against presbyter and altar against altar.

The Council then in that case vindicated the claim of the Chief Metropolitan of the nation of Egypt, Libya and Pentapolis to rule and to order all his suffragans, whether they were at the head of a

(442). Bingham's *Antiq*, Book II., Chapter XVI., Sections 13 and 23. and Chapter XVII., Section II.

(443). Id., Book IX., Chapter I., Sections 1 to 9.

(444). Id., Book IX., Chapter II., Section 6.

(445). Hefele's *History of the Christian Councils*, Clark's translation, Vol. I., page 345.

province or not, and condemned the suffragan Meletius for usurping those powers of ordination and rule which belong to the supreme National Metropolitan alone. Canons IV., V., VI. and XV., of the Council have reference to Meletius and his schism. Whether Meletius was a Primate of a province, or a mere suffragan, is not so clear. In either case he was a usurper.

THE LESSON TO US.

The canons, in making the highest Metropolitan of a nation, what we would now call a National Patriarch, guarded the religious unity of Egypt and fortified it against schisms; for the tendency would have been for each minor Metropolitan if offended with his Patriarch, to burst away from him; and the local feeling of his particular province would in many cases help him to break unity, just as our state system has a tendency to break up our national unity, and to split us into fragments.

I have seen no proof that the term *metropolitan* is applied to any bishop under Alexander, Metropolitan of Alexandria, and certainly it could not be used of any of the bishops under him, in the sense it is of him in Canon VI., of Nicaea. The chief bishop of a province under Carthage was called a Primate, that is a *First*, but originally not a *metropolitan*, that term seemingly at first being limited to the bishop of the chief see of the nation, that is of its capital, or Metropolis. For originally at the first planting of the Gospel the Metropolitan of Rome was the only chief bishop in his country of Italy; so the Bishop of Alexandria was the only chief bishop in Egypt; so the Bishop of Antioch was the only chief bishop in Syria; so the Bishop of Carthage was the only chief bishop in Latin Africa, etc. But in time lesser primates became necessary as numbers and Church business increased, and so the term *Archbishop* is found in Epiphanius on the Heresy of the Ariomaniacs of Meletius, the head possibly of such a province, under Alexandria, and the term *primate*, or *senex* of the head of such a province, under Carthage in Africa: and as time wore on such minor metropolitans began to be called *Metropolitans*, after the old greater Metropolitans began to be called *Patriarchs*, though the term *Patriarch* itself does not occur in the Ecumenical Canons, and though some scholars regard it therefore as a merely complimentary name. Yet for convenience sake it seems best to retain it, and to apply it and *Exarch* to the head of every national

church. The latter term is used in the sense of *Patriarch* in Canon IX. of Chalcedon, as Hammond, on it says. He is the head Bishop of the Diocese, and presides in the Council of the Diocese of Canons II. and VI., of the Second Ecumenical Council. Jerome, and others as Bingham shows (in his *Antiquities*, Book II., Chapter XVII., Sections 7, 8 and 9, etc.), held, in effect, that Canon VI. of Nicaea guarantees the power of the Patriarch of Alexandria over the Metropolitans, as we now term them, under him.

The Metropolitan, or as we now say, the Patriarch of Carthage, held a to some extent similar power over the Primate of all the provinces of Latin Africa; and preserved their ecclesiastical and national unity. For he defended their ecclesiastical weal against schisms at home, and against the attempt of the Bishop of Rome abroad to secure *Appellate Jurisdiction* there, and so to subjugate Latin Africa's Church, as the secular power of Rome had subjugated the secular dominion of Carthage. We shall see this on Canons of Nicaea further on. Carthage, in other words, was the head of the National North African Church. So the Metropolitan of Antioch, the Patriarch of it, as we would now say, was the head of the National Church of all Syria, and controlled its other Metropolitans. So the Bishop of Rome was the head of the National Italian Church of the seven provinces of South Italy, and of the three Italian islands, Sicily, Sardinia and Corsica, and was over the other Metropolitans there. The powers of every such National Patriarch are confirmed in Canon VI. of Nicaea, and Canon VI. of 1 Constantinople. As Bingham shows in his *Antiquities*, Book II., Chapters XVI and XVII., they were great, though not always the same. Such power is necessary in every National Church. Hence the Bishop of London at the next vacancy of the see of Canterbury should be Patriarch of all England, and head of the Diocesan Synod of all England, and have such power over the Archbishops of York and Canterbury, and over all other metropolitical sees of England, if any others are created, and over the whole English National Church as the Patriarch of Alexandria had over his Metropolitans and the National Church of Egypt, the Patriarch of Antioch over the Metropolitans and National Church of all Syria, the Patriarch of Rome over his national South Italian Church, or over the whole Italian Church, if it be deemed best, etc.

And so the Bishop of New York or of Washington should be

Patriarch of all the National American Church, and should ordain and control all its other metropolitans, and to preserve the national religious unity, there should be but one Diocese in all the United States and to its Diocesan Council should there be the right of appeal from the decision of every provincial council in our land, the Bishop of New York or Washington being *ex-officio* its President. This would be in accordance with Canon VI. of Nicaea and Canons II. and VI. of 1 Constantinople. That Diocesan Council, as well as each provincial Council, must consist of Bishops alone, according to those laws of the Universal Church.

Such practically Patriarchal power has existed from the beginning, as I show elsewhere, as we see in the rule of the Apostle Paul over those who were practically his suffragans, Timothy and Titus. And gradually the people of each nation grouped themselves naturally, as a matter of convenience, about the Bishop of their chief city, whose language and race was theirs, and whose interests were theirs in church and state. That system is approved in those canons. Rome in the middle ages and since has practically opposed it, and acting in accordance with the maxim, "*Divide et impera*," "*Divide and rule*," has set up the power of minor Metropolitans against their chief national Metropolitans, that is against their own should-be Patriarchs, and by working craftily on their jealousies and ambitions has set them at variance, drawn appeals from their own should-be Patriarch to Rome, and has tyrannized over them, and forced the Latin language on them in service and corrupted their faith. But no appeals are allowed according to the canons from the Diocesan, that is the National Synod, except, 1, *to the whole sound Episcopate of the Christian world distributed*, that is, at their homes; and, 2, *to the same Episcopate in Ecumenical Council assembled*. Hence those appeals, when the universal episcopate becomes sound again, should be allowed from the Patriarch of London, and the Diocesan Synod of all England; and in the United States from the Patriarch of New York or Washington, and the Diocesan Council of the whole United States. So shall we preserve our language and keep our people free from Roman idolatry. The secular power which has so often in every Western land helped Rome against their own chief national Prelate should help him in every way, and forbid Rome to usurp his canonical power. Otherwise we shall become not brethren to foreign bishops, but their helots and slaves, lose our language in the service, and be-

come creature-servers, to our endless loss. Canon IX. of the Fourth Ecumenical Synod is peculiar in allowing an appeal from all the Patriarchs of the National Church of the Eastern Empire to its chief National Patriarch at Constantinople. This, however, is only an instance of an appeal to the head of a National Church.

(C). *The Decision on the Paschal Festival* is next mentioned.

This, though originally only a slight difference in rite between certain churches of Asia and the rest of the Christian world, had become grave in its consequences: for some, as Eusebius states (446), were celebrating the Easter Festival in joy while others were still fasting, and much inconvenience resulted. Besides the stiff Quartodecimans, in their zeal for the observance of the Paschal Festival, were, as Epiphanius on that error shows (447), prone to Judaize by asserting that it was commanded in the Law of Moses; which argument was folly, for the Law of Moses had never been given to the Gentile World, and, as Epiphanius in effect argues, the law is done away. Hence one might as well quote to a Christian the abolished law of Moses for circumcision, and for other peculiar Jewish observances, as for the fourteenth day of Nisan. Epiphanius tells us that the Quartodecimans held to the common articles of Christian faith, but were peculiar as to the day of the Paschal feast (448). We find the following summary on them in his *Panarion*: "The Fourteenth-dayites are those who keep the Pask on the same day every year, that is on whatsoever sort of a day the fourteenth day of the moon may fall, whether it be on Saturday or on the Lord's day; and they fast and at the same time keep vigil on it" (449).

Eusebius, Bishop of Caesarea, in his *Ecclesiastical History*, Book V., Chapters XXIII., XXIV. and XXV., shows how much controversy there was, even in the second century, on that matter, how Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna, went to Rome to see Anicetus, Bishop of that see, and tried to persuade him to observe his practice which he derived from St. John, and how Anicetus tried to persuade him to follow the Lord's Day Pask, old in Rome, how neither succeeded,

(446). Eusebius' *Life of Constantine*, Book III., Chapter V.

(447). Epiphanius' *Panarion*, Heresy 50.

(448). Ibid.

(449). The Synopsis of the Quartodeciman Heresy, just before the Book in which it stands (page 420, vol. i., of Dindorf's Epiphanius).

how Anicetus yielded to Polycarp the office of consecrating the Eucharist, how they communed with each other and separated in peace. Anicetus was Bishop of Rome about A. D. 157-161. On other matters they disputed and were reconciled, but on Pask, St. Polycarp stood firm. Afterwards Victor, Bishop of Rome, A. D. 185-197, put the Quartodeciman brethren out of his own communion and tried to get others to do the same, but failed; for Eusebius, as above, shows that bishops who were not Fourteenthdayites, like Irenaeus, and others "*pressed upon Victor with much severity*" and rebuked him for his rashness, and counselled moderation and unity and forbearance. The Quartodeciman brethren accordingly were in communion with the Church till the Council of Nicaea, when they came around to the common view, as Eusebius shows (450). The facts incontestibly prove that while the Bishop of Rome was regarded with respect, he had no power to cut off any church out of his own jurisdiction in Italy, nor any power of himself alone to settle any religious controversy; but that an Ecumenical Synod had; for the few who did not submit to Nicaea were deemed heretics in that they refused to hear the Church (450½). Those chapters of Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History* are well translated by Dr. Cruse, and published by Bohn, and well repay persusal. Besides, the following authors have gleaned the ancient authorities on the early disputes as to the proper time of observing the Paschal Festival:

1. Bingham in his *Antiquities of the Christian Church*, Book XX., Chapter V., page 10. That chapter is well epitomized in the beginning of Volume VII., of the Oxford ten-volume edition of A. D. 1855.
2. Hensley's article "*Easter*," in Smith and Cheetham's *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*.
3. Hefele's *History of the Church Councils*, Volume I., Clark's translation, *Index*, under "*Easter*." He is, however, partisan, and sometimes very inexact, where Rome is mentioned.

(450). Eusebius' *Life of Constantine*, Book III., Chapter XIV.

(450½). No one Apostle, even though, like Peter, he be "*first among his equals*," can usurp the powers of rule, and of defining on doctrine, discipline and rite, which Christ gave to the whole body of the Apostles. Paul, an Apostle, "*withstood*" Peter, an Apostle, "*to his face because he was to be blamed*," Galatians II., 11. Paul and Barnabas, Apostles, differed on a small matter, like Pask, and did not excommunicate each other, Acts XV., 29.

AUTHORITY GIVEN BY THE SYNOD TO THE BISHOP OF ALEXANDRIA
TO DETERMINE THE PASK LORD'S DAY.—DIFFERENCES
AFTERWARDS AMONG THOSE WHO HELD TO NICAËA, AS TO
WHAT LORD'S DAY SHOULD BE KEPT AS EASTER.—
FINAL AGREEMENT OF ALL, AND DISAPPEAR-
ANCE OF FOURTEENTH DAY SECTS.—FOLLY
OF SOME MODERN DIFFERENCES
AS TO EASTER.

The First Ecumenical Council deputed the work of computing Easter to the Bishop of Alexandria, because, according to the explanation of Pope Leo I., Alexandria excelled in learning for that purpose. This is clear from Pope Leo the First's Epistle CXXI., in Migne's edition, which is addressed to the Emperor Marcian. Leo I. states that there had been error and consequent differences as to what day should be observed as Pask, and then refers to the Decision of the First Ecumenical Council on it, as follows:

"Therefore the holy Fathers studied to remove the occasion of that error, by delegating all that care to the Bishop of Alexandria, (forasmuch as from old time skill in that sort of computing seemed to have been handed down among the Egyptians): in order that through him, [the Bishop of Alexandria], the day of the aforesaid Festival should every year be made known to the Apostolic See, and that by his letters the general notice [of the correct day] might run through to the more remote churches" (451).

Then he refers to a difference between his own reckoning of Easter, as to when it would fall in the seventy-sixth year of Theophilus, the Bishop of Alexandria's, computation of one hundred Pasks, beginning with that for A. D. 380, and prays the Emperor to deign to pay attention to that matter, and to induce *"the Egyptians, or whosoever else may have certain knowledge of that sort of reckoning,*

(451). Migne's *Patrologia Latina*, tome 54, col. 1056 Leon. Magn. *Epist. CXXI., (Ad Marcianum Augustum), de Paschate*, cap. 1, Studuerunt itaque sancti Patres occasionem hujus erroris auferre, omnem hanc curam Alexandrino episcopo delegantes (quoniam apud Ægyptios hujus supputationis antiquitus tradita esse videbatur peritia) per quem, quotannis dies prædictæ solemnitatis Sedi Apostolicæ indicaretur, cujus scriptis ad longinquiores Ecclesias indicium generale percurreret.

to solve his doubts" on the matter (452). Leo I. has reference to the Easter of A. D. 455.

I find that there is an alleged *Paschal Prologue* of St. Cyril of Alexandria, which states on the year 437, as follows:

"By the agreement of a Synod of the Saints of the whole world, it has been decreed that inasmuch as it has been found that the Church of Alexandria has been famous for science, as to when on the Calends, or Ides, or moon, the Pask ought to be celebrated, it should every year intimate it in a letter to the Roman Church, whence by Apostolic authority, the Universal Church throughout the whole world should learn without any doubt, the exact day of the Pask" (453).

This is so much stronger in favor of Rome, than Leo's language above, that I have been led to doubt its genuineness, the more particularly as it is found, according to Hefele, in Latin only (454). From Leo's language above, we should infer that the Bishop of Alexandria was to tell the exact day of Easter to the Bishop of Rome, in order that he might transmit it by letter "*to the more remote churches*," that is, evidently, of the West, such as Gaul, Spain, Britain, etc., which did not, however, imply any jurisdiction over them; whereas the alleged *Paschal Prologue* of Cyril of Alexandria might be taken to mean that the Bishop of Rome was to announce it to the whole world. But I am not aware that Rome at any time announced the time of Easter to any Oriental Bishop, whereas in the matter on the struggle between Carthage and Rome, translated farther on in this work, we find the same St. Cyril of Alexandria announcing, before that, the day of Pask to the North African Latin Church. But we do find that not every year, but on some one or more years, the Bishop of Rome had announced the date of the Pask to the farther West Churches, as had been their wish at the Council of Arles, A. D. 314 (455); hence to Britain also, for on Augustine's going there to con-

(452). Id.

(453). Id., col. 1055, quoted in note "g" there.

(454). Hefele's *History of the Christian Councils*, Vol. I., page 326, note 3.

(455). In Migne's Peltier's *Dictionnaire des Conciles*, under "Arles * * * l'an 314," we find the statement in column 190 that the bishop of Rome announced the day of Easter to the Westerns, and the Bishop of Alexandria to the Easterns. The remark is made by a Romanist.

vert the Saxons and on his trying to induce the British Christians to accept the new Roman computation of Easter, they refused, and adhered to an older Roman computation which had reached them before, either directly from Rome, or indirectly through Gaul, or elsewhere. That of course shows that the Britons had not got the time from Rome every year, or they would have known the new rule. It shows, moreover, that they did not deem themselves bound to accept a date for the Festival just because it came from Rome, though Nicaea seems to have intended, if Leo be correct, that the Alexandrian time should be passed on by the Bishop of Rome to the remoter churches of the West. But as Rome, by receiving it from Alexandria, did not admit any jurisdiction of the Bishop of Alexandria at Rome; and as Carthage by receiving it from Alexandria, did not admit any jurisdiction of the Bishop of Alexandria in North Africa; so neither did Britain, by receiving it from Rome, admit any jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome in Britain. The giving out the exact time from Alexandria to the East and to Latin Africa, and from Rome to the "*more remote churches*" of the West, was merely a brotherly act on the part of those two chief bishops to ensure uniformity as to the day of its observance, and, so far as the computation of it by Alexandria is concerned, it rested on the authorization and appointment, and order of the Supreme Tribunal of the whole Church, its Court of Final Appeal, an Ecumenical Council, that is that of Nicaea, not on the Bishop of Rome nor the Bishop of Alexandria, nor on any other one Bishop.

Hefele shows, further on, that after the Council of Nicaea, while Alexandria and Rome both agreed in keeping the Pask on the Lord's Day, there remained a differing way of reckoning it, so that some years one kept it on one Lord's Day, and the other on another; and that the Emperor Theodosius the Great, asked Theophilus, Bishop of Alexandria, for an explanation of the fact that in the year 387, the Romans kept Easter on March 21, whereas the Alexandrians did not keep theirs till five weeks later, that is not till April 25. Theophilus explained to him the principles of the Alexandrian computation. Ambrose, Bishop of Milan sided with the Alexandrian computation (456). That makes against the story of the alleged Prologue of Cyril, that Rome announced Pask to all the world after receiving it

(456). Hefele I., 329.

from Alexandria. Hefele goes on to state that "Cyril" of Alexandria "showed in a letter to the Pope, what was defective in the Latin Calculation; and this demonstration was taken up again, some time after, by order of the Emperor, by Paschasinus, Bishop of Lilybaeum and Proterius of Alexandria, in a letter written by them to Pope Leo I. In consequence of these communications, Pope Leo often gave the preference to the Alexandrian computation, instead of that of the Church of Rome" (457). Finally, after different attempts to make the Roman and the Alexandrian reckonings of Easter agree, it was accomplished by Dionysius the Little, a monk of Rome, in the sixth century, and in the reign of Charlemagne, that is Charles the Great, who died A. D. 814, his Calculations were accepted by all the West, and so harmony on the date of Easter was assured, after long and vexatious differences. It is to be regretted that we have lost the exact form of the edict of Nicaea, which made the Bishop of Alexandria the Computer of the time of Pask for the Universal Church. The fact, however, that it did so is incontestibly proven.

Valuable references as to the disputes among those who were not Quartodecimans, but adhered to Nicaea, but nevertheless had different ways of computing Pask Lord's Day, are as follows:

(A.) Hefele, on pages 298-341, of Volume I. of his *History of the Christian Councils*, treats learnedly of the Decision of Nicaea on Easter, and of the differences before and since on that point.

(B.) Much of the Originals to which he refers may be found in tome 54 of Migne's *Patrologia Latina*, *Index* under "*Paschalis dies*."

(C.) The authorities as to the difference between the British Churches and Augustine, the Roman missionary to the Saxons, at the end of the sixth century, and in the seventh, as to the particular Lord's Day on which the Paschal Festival should fall, are given in Smith's Gieseler's Church History, Volume I., page 530, note 4. Compare also page 531, note 8. Gieseler there shows that the Britons were not Quartodecimans, as has sometimes been ignorantly supposed, but always kept Easter on a Lord's Day, but followed an old and antiquated and erroneous table to compute it.

We see then, (to sum up), that the first Ecumenical Council decided 1, that the Pask must always fall on a Lord's Day, the joyful Festival on the joyful day; and 2, that it must not be celebrated

on the same day as the Jewish Passover, hence not on the Fourteenth day of Nisan. These points are gleaned from the Synodal Letter of the Council and from the Emperor Constantine's Letter on the subject (458).

That became the universal custom. A few in Asia would not however receive it, but split off from the church and were called *Quartodecimans*, that is *Fourteenthdayites*. A few small sects also opposed the Council's Decision. The Ebionites had been Quartodecimans because they believed in the perpetual obligation of the Mosaic Law.

Disappearance of the sects which opposed the Nicene Decision on Easter.

Folly of the difference between the Greeks and Latins on it in our day.

The Novatian sect rose in the Roman or Italian Church in the third century; and at first, as Sozomen tells us, kept the Paschal Festival at the time the Roman Church did (459), which custom they and the Romans seem to have claimed to be from the Apostles Peter and Paul. Afterwards, about A. D. 375, some of them in the East, under the lead of Sabbatius and others, began to keep it on the same day as the Jews (460). That appears to have been one thing that led him to split off from them. The Montanists, in the fourth century at least, followed in the main, the Jewish against the Christian Paschal custom (461). Yet Sozomen shows that the Quartodecimans differed both from the Fourteenth Day wing of the Novatians and from the Montanists, in that they always kept their Pask on the Fourteenth Day, whereas those Novatians and the Montanists in certain cases did not; through when they did not, they still varied as to the time of its observance from each other. However, all the Fourteenth Day sects soon died out, and the Nicene usage became universal. In later times, after the separation of East and West, and the adoption of the Gregorian Calendar, as the Easterns still continued, unwisely, to refuse to do a little mathematical work and to correct their Old

(458). See the Synodal Letter above, and the quotation from the Emperor's Letter in Hefele I., pages 322-324.

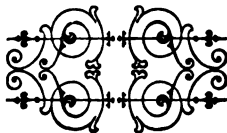
(459). Sozomen's *Ecd. Hist.* Book VI., Chapter 24, page 279 of Bohn's English translation.

(460). Sozomen's *Ecd. Hist.*, *ibid*, and book VII., Chapter 18.

(461). *Ibid*.

Style, and as the Westerns did, the Latins first, and the Protestants afterwards, a difference of twelve days was made in their time and a difference also as to the day of keeping Pask. This useless and silly difference should be done away and all should strictly follow the Nicene rule. If there be differences as to the exact Lord's Day when it should be kept, that is a mathematical question, and fairness and good feeling should settle it in a few hours. Otherwise we can not expect a universal observance of the same Paschal day till the Seventh Ecumenical Synod meets. The absurdity of adhering to a style which all parties, East and West, admit to be twelve days behind the right time, and the folly of failing to see that it is not a question of Theology, but of mathematical science, are too clear to need discussion. If the papers can be trusted, Russia at least has lately had the common sense to decree that in civil matters at least, the new and correct computation of time shall be observed in its dominion.

(D.) Alexander, Bishop of Alexandria, who had led in Christ's battle against the creature-serving Arius and his partisans, and had excommunicated them as duty demanded, and so made the whole heretical party in Alexandria and elsewhere his bitter enemies, is vindicated and commended.



THE SYNODAL EPISTLE.

Τῇ ἁγίᾳ Θεοῦ χάριτι, καὶ μεγάλῃ Ἀλεξανδρέων ἐκκλησίᾳ, καὶ τοῖς κατ' Αἴγυπτον, καὶ Λιβύην καὶ Λιβέντιπολιν ἀγυπτιοῖς ἀδελφοῖς, οἱ ἐν Νικαίᾳ συναθρόντες, καὶ τὴν μεγάλην καὶ ἁγίαν σύνοδον συγκροτήσαντες ἐπίσκοποι, ἐν Κυρίῳ χαίρειν.

Ἐπειδὴ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ χάριτος, καὶ τοῦ θεοφιλεστάτου βασιλέως Κωνσταντίνου συναγαγόντος ἡμᾶς ἐκ διαφόρων πόλεων τε καὶ ἐπαρχιῶν, μεγάλη καὶ ἁγία σύνοδος ἐν Νικαίᾳ συνεκροτήθη, ἐξ ἁπαντος ἀναγκαῖον ἐφάνη, παρὰ τῆς ἱερᾶς συνόδου καὶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐπιστεῖλαι γράμματα· ἵν' εἰδέναι ἔχητε τίνα μὲν ἐκινήθη, καὶ ἐξητάσθῃ, τίνα δὲ ἔδοξε καὶ ἐκρατύνθῃ. Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἐξ ἁπάντων ἐξητάσθη τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἀσέβειαν καὶ τὴν παρανομίαν Ἀρείου καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ, ἐπὶ παρουσίᾳ τοῦ θεοφιλεστάτου βασιλέως Κωνσταντίνου· καὶ παμφηφεί ἔδοξεν ἀναθεματισθῆναι τὴν ἀσεβῆ αὐτοῦ δόξαν, καὶ τὰ ῥήματα καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα τὰ βλάσφημα, οἷς ἐχέχρητο βλασφημῶν, τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ λέγων 'ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων,' καὶ 'εἶναι ποτὲ ὅτε οὐκ ἦν,' καὶ "αὐτεξουσιότητι κακίας καὶ ἀρετῆς δεκτικὸν τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ" λέγοντος, καὶ "κτίσμα" καὶ "ποιήμα" ὀνομάζοντος, ἅπαντα ταῦτα ἀνεθεμάτισεν ἡ ἁγία σύνοδος, οὐδὲ ὕσον ἀκοῦσαι τῆς ἀσεβοῦς δόξης ἢ ἀπνοίας, καὶ τῶν βλασφημῶν ῥημάτων, ἀνασχομένη. Καὶ τὰ μὲν κατ' ἐκείνου οἴου τέλους τετύχηκε, πάντως ἢ ἀκριχύατε ἢ ἀκούσεσθε, ἵνα μὴ δόξωμεν ἐπεμβαίνειν ἀνδρὶ δι' οἰκείαν ἁμαρτίαν ἄξια τὰ ἐπίχειρα κομισαμένῳ. Τούτου δὲ ἰσχυσε αὐτοῦ ἡ ἀσέβεια, ὥς καὶ παραπολέσαι Θεωνᾶν ἀπὸ Μαρμαρικῆς, καὶ Σεκυῶνδον ἀπὸ Πτολεμαίδους· τῶν γὰρ αὐτῶν κακείνῳι τετύχηασιν. Ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ἡ τοῦ Θεοῦ χάρις τῆς μὲν κακοδοξίας ἐκείνης καὶ ἀσεβείας καὶ τῆς βλασφημίας, καὶ τῶν προσώπων τῶν τυλμησάντων διάστασιν καὶ διαίρεσιν ποιήσασθαι τοῦ εἰρηνευμένου ἄνωθεν λαοῦ, ἡλευθέρωσεν ἡμᾶς, ἐλείπετο δὲ τὸ κατὰ τὴν προπέτειαν Μελετίου, καὶ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ χειροτονηθέντων· καὶ περὶ τοῦτου τοῦ μέρους ἃ ἔδοξε τῇ συνόδῳ, ἐμφανίζομεν ὑμῖν, ἀγαπητοὶ ἀδελφοί. Ἐδοξεν οὖν Μελετίῳ μὲν, φιλανθρωπότερον κινηθείσης τῆς συνόδου,—κατὰ γὰρ τὸν ἀκριβῆ λόγον οὐδεμιᾶς συγγνώμης ἄξιος ἦν,—μένειν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ μηδεμίαν ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν αὐτὸν μήτε χειροθετεῖν, μήτε προχειρίζεσθαι, μήτε ἐν χώρᾳ μήτε ἐν πόλει ἐτέρᾳ φαίνεσθαι, ταύτης τῆς προφάσεως ἕνεκα· ψιλὸν δὲ τὸ ὄνομα τῆς τιμῆς κεκτῆσθαι. Τούτῳ δὲ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κατασταθέντας, μυστικωτέρᾳ χειροτονίᾳ βεβαιωθέντας κοινωνῆσαι ἐπὶ τούτοις, ἐφ' ᾧ ἔχειν μὲν αὐτοὺς τὴν τιμὴν καὶ λειτουργίαν, δευτέρους δὲ εἶναι ἐξ ἁπαντος πάντων τῶν ἐν ἐκάστη παροικίᾳ τὴ καὶ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐξεταζομένων, τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ τιμιωτάτου καὶ συλλειτουργοῦ ἡμῶν Ἀλέξανδρου προχειρισμένων· ὥστε τούτοις μηδεμίαν ἐξουσίαν εἶναι τοὺς ἀρέσκοντας αὐτοῖς προχειρίζεσθαι, ἢ ὑποβάλλειν ὀνόματα ἢ ὅλως ποιεῖν τι χωρὶς γνώμης τῶν τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐπισκόπων, τῶν ὑπὸ Ἀλέξανδρον. Τούτῳ δὲ χάριτι Θεοῦ

NOTE.—In the document here following, I translate from Hussey's text as given by Professor Bright in his edition of Socrates, pages 20 and 21. My impression is, however, that Theodoret's text in his *Ecclesiastical History*, Book I., Chapter VIII., is sometimes preferable to it in places where they differ. I will therefore refer to the principal differences between them in notes.

TRANSLATION OF THE SYNODAL EPISTLE

Of the First Ecumenical Council, held A. D. 325, at Nicaea in Bithynia, to the Church of Alexandria.

"To the Church of the Alexandrians, by God's grace, holy and great, and to the beloved brethren in Egypt and Libya and Pentapolis, the Bishops who have been assembled in Nicaea, and who have celebrated the Great and Holy Synod, wish joy in the Lord.

Forasmuch as God's grace, and the most dear to God Emperor Constantine, have assembled us out of different cities and provinces, and a Great and Holy Council hath been celebrated in Nicaea, it seemed by all means necessary to send a Letter to you also from the Sacred Synod, in order that ye may be able to know what things have been agitated and inquired into, and what things have seemed good and have been established.

First, then, the matters relating to the impiety and the lawlessness of Arius and of his partisans have been inquired into by all in the presence of the most dear to God Emperor Constantine, and by the votes of all it hath been decreed that his impious opinion is to be anathematized and the blasphemous expressions (462) and names

(462). The "*blasphemous expressions*" especially referred to, are evidently those anathematized in the Nicene Creed, such as are specified further on in the above Epistle, such as,

1. "*The Son of God was made out of things not existing.*"
2. "*Before He was born He was not.*"
3. "*There was once when He was not.*"
4. "*The Son of God is capable of vice.*"

In this Epistle, as in Theodoret's *Ecclesiastical History*, Book I., Chapter VIII., we find expression 2 above. It is not in Socrates.

Yet I suppose the reference is to all the blasphemous language used by Arius, who came before the Bishops of the Council and vented his impieties.

καὶ εὐχαῖς ὑμετέραις ἐν μηδενὶ σχίσματι εὐρεθέντας, ἀλλὰ ἀπηλιδώτους ἐν τῇ Καθολικῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ ὄντας, καὶ ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν προχειρίζεσθαι, καὶ ὀνόματα ἐπιλέγεσθαι τῶν ἀξίων τοῦ κλήρου, καὶ ὅλως πάντα ποιεῖν κατὰ νόμον καὶ θεσμὸν τὸν ἐκκλησιαστικόν. Εἰ δέ τινας συμβαίη ἀναπαύσασθαι τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ, τῆνικαὺτα προσαναβαίνειν εἰς τὴν τιμὴν τοῦ τετελευτηκότος τοὺς ἄρτι προσληφθέντας, μόνον εἰ ἄξιοι φαίνονται, καὶ ὁ λαὸς αἰροῖτο, συνεπιψηφίζοντος αὐτῶ καὶ ἐπισφραγίζοντος τοῦ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐπισκόπου. Τοῦτο δὲ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις πᾶσι συνεχωρήθη· ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ Μελετίου προσώπου οὐκέτι τὰ αὐτὰ ἔδοξε, διὰ τὴν ἀνέκαθεν αὐτοῦ ἀταξίαν, καὶ διὰ τὸ πρόχειρον καὶ προπετὲς τῆς γνώμης, ἵνα μηδεμίᾳ ἐξουσίᾳ ἢ αὐθεντίᾳ αὐτῶ δοθείη, ἀνθρώπῳ δυναμένῳ πάλιν τὰς αὐτὰς ἀταξίας ἐμποιῆσαι. Ταῦτα ἐστὶ τὰ ἐξαιρετα καὶ διαφέροντα Αἰγύπτῳ, καὶ τῇ ἀγιοτάτῃ Ἀλεξανδρέων ἐκκλησίᾳ.

Εἰ δέ τι ἄλλο ἐκανονίσθη ἢ ἰδογματίσθη, συμπαρόντος τοῦ κυρίου καὶ τιμιωτάτου συλλειτουργοῦ καὶ ἀδελφοῦ ἡμῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου, αὐτὸς παρὼν ἀκριβέστερον ἀνοίσει πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ὅτε δὴ καὶ κύριος καὶ κυινῶν τῶν γεγεννημένων τυγχάνων. Εὐαγγελιζόμεθα δὲ ὑμῖν, περὶ τῆς συμφωνίας τοῦ ἀγιοτάτου Πάσχα, ὅτι ὑμετέραις εὐχαῖς κατορθώθη καὶ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος ὥς τε πάντας τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἐψῶ ἀδελφοὺς, τοὺς μετὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων τὸ πρότερον ποιοῦντας, συμφῶνως Ῥωμαίοις καὶ ἡμῖν, καὶ πᾶσιν ὑμῖν τοῖς ἐξ ἀρχαίου μεθ' ἡμῶν φυλάττουσι τὸ Πάσχα, ἐκ τοῦ δεῦρο ἄγειν. Χαίροντες οὖν ἐπὶ τοῖς κατορθώμασι, καὶ τῇ τῆς εἰρήνης συμφωνίᾳ, καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ πᾶσαν αἵρεσιν ἐκκοπῆναι, ἀποδέξασθε μὲν μετὰ μείζονος τιμῆς καὶ πλείονος ἀγάπης τὸν συλλειτουργὸν ἡμῶν, ὑμῶν δὲ ἐπίσκοπον Ἀλέξανδρον, τὸν εὐφράναντα ἡμᾶς ἐν τῇ παρουσίᾳ, καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἡλικίᾳ τοσοῦτον πόνον ὑποστάντα ὑπὲρ τοῦ εἰρήνην γενέσθαι καὶ παρ' ὑμῖν. Εὐχέσθε δὲ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀπάντων, ἵνα τὰ καλῶς ἔχειν δόξαντα, ταῦτα βέβαια μένη, διὰ τοῦ παντοκράτορος Θεοῦ, καὶ διὰ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, σὺν Ἀγίῳ Πνεύματι· ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας· ἀμήν.

There are some various readings of the above Epistle in Migne's Socrates and in his Theodoret; but for the most part they make no great difference in the sense. The most important of them are mentioned in the notes to the English translation below. The difference in the last sentence involves the important point of the inspiration of the Council by the Holy Ghost, and its consequent infallibility; and leads us to question whether the full form given by Theodoret is not the original, and whether Socrates, (as a Novation?) did not omit the allusion to the inspiration of the Council, because to admit it as inspired would be to admit that its condemnation of the Novations, that is the Cathari, is just. Still, we do not undertake to give an opinion on those matters. See the last sentence in both the translations here given of the above Greek.

(463) which he had used in blaspheming, by saying that "*the Son of God was made out of things not existing* (464)," and that *there was once when he was not,*' and that "*the Son of God by the freedom of his own will is capable of vice and of virtue,*' and in calling him '*a creature*' and '*a work:*'"

All these things the Holy Synod has anathematized, not enduring so much as to hear the impious opinion or madness and the blasphemous words. And the matters in relation to him have been so concluded as ye have certainly heard or will hear, in order that we may not seem to trample on a man who has received the rewards due to his own sin. But his impiety was so powerful as to ruin also Theonas of Marmarica and Secundus of Ptolemais. For they also have received the same rewards.

But forasmuch as the grace of God hath freed us from that evil opinion and impiety, and from the blasphemy and the persons of those who have dared to make division and separation amongst the people who before had lived in peace; and [forasmuch as] the matters relating to the rashness of Meletius and of those ordained by him yet remained, we hereby inform you, beloved brethren, of the things which have seemed good to the Synod in regard to him also. The Holy Synod then, being disposed to deal gently with Meletius, (though in strict justice he was deserving of no indulgence), hath decreed that he remain in his own city, and that he have no permission to lay on hands, or to appoint any one [to any ecclesiastical office], or to appear in the country or in any other city on that pretext, but that he have only the bare title of [the episcopal] honor. And in regard to those who have been appointed by him, we have decreed that they, after being made sure by a more mystic ordination, (465) shall be admitted to communion

(463). Theodoret has here "*thoughts,*" instead of "*names.*"

The *names* referred to in Socrates' form of the Letter certainly include, especially the names, "*creature*" and "*work*" applied by the Arians to Christ's Divinity.

(464). That is "*made out of nothing,*" as opposed to the saying of the Orthodox, that He was *unmade* and eternal in the Father, as a Part of the Divinity, but was born out of Him "*before all the worlds,*" as the Creed of the Second Ecumenical Synod has it.

(465). Or, "*more regular ordination;*" or "*an ordination more sacramental.*" The Greek here is, *μυστικώτερά χειροτονία*. The Greek word for *sacrament* is, *μυστήριον*, that is "*mystery.*" In the early church in times of persecu-

on the following terms: they shall have both the honor and the power of ministering, but shall by all means be second to those found in each Paroecia (466) and Church to have been before appointed by the most honorable, our fellow-minister Alexander: so that they shall have no authority to appoint [to any clerical office] such persons as please them, or to suggest their names, or to do anything at all without the consent of the Bishops of the Universal Church who are under Alexander. But those who, by God's grace and by your prayers, have been discovered in no schism, but are without stain in the Universal Church, shall have authority both to appoint [clerics] and to suggest the names of those who are worthy of the clericate, and in short to do all things agreeable to Church law and custom. But if it should happen that any of the clergy of the church should go to their rest, then those [Meletian clergy] who have just been admitted [in this enactment] shall succeed to the honor of the one who has finished his course, provided only they appear worthy, and the people take them, and the Bishop of Alexandria (467) gives them his vote also, and puts his seal [on their nomination]. So much as this then has been granted to all the others [of the Meletian clergy].

But in regard to the person of Meletius [himself], on account of his former disorderly conduct and on account of the levity and rashness of his disposition, the same things have not been decreed; in order that no authority or personal power should be given to him, a man capable of creating the same disorders again.

These are the chief things and those which relate especially to Egypt and the most holy Church of the Alexandrians. But if any thing else has been enacted in the form of canon or of dogma, the Lord and most honorable fellow-minister our brother Alexander who himself was present with us will himself report them to you more in detail, inasmuch as he was both a Master and a sharer in the things which have been done.

tion Christian rites were generally secret. There is no definition of the whole church, as to what a sacrament is; nor as to exactly how many there are. The word may from its meaning, "*Sacred Rite*," be applied to any New Testament Rite.

(466). Greek, *παρουσία*, that is, what we call a *diocese* now.

(467). Theodoret has, "*the Bishop of the Universal Church at Alexandria*."

Moreover, we announce to you the glad tidings in regard to our agreement respecting the most holy Pask [Easter] that, by your prayers, that particular also has been rightly settled, and that all the brethren in the East, who formerly kept the feast with the Jews, will for the future keep it in harmony with the Romans, and with us, and with all those who from ancient time keep the Pask [Easter] with us. Rejoicing therefore at the rightings (468) and at the peace and agreement, and at the cutting off of every heresy, receive ye with greater honor and more love our fellow-minister, your Bishop Alexander, who gladdened us by his presence, and who has undergone so much labor at such an age for the purpose of making peace among you also.

But pray also for all of us, that those things which have seemed good may remain firm through the Almighty God and through our Lord Jesus Christ, together with the Holy Ghost, (469) to whom be the glory for ever: Amen (470).

In some respects, notably as to the end, I prefer the form of the *Synodal Epistle* as found in Theodoret. Here it is:

THE SYNODICAL EPISTLE

Of the First Ecumenical Council, held A. D. 325, in Nicaea in Bithynia, to the Alexandrian Church, translated from Chapter VIII., Book I., of Theodoret's *Ecclesiastical History*, (columns 927-932 of tome 82 of Migne's *Patrologia Græca*).

"To the holy and great, by God's grace, Church of the Alexandrians, and to the beloved brethren in Egypt and Libya and Pentapolis the Bishops who have been assembled in Nicaea, and who have celebrated the great and holy Synod, wish joy in the Lord.

Forasmuch as the grace of God, and the most dear to God Emperor Constantine have gathered us from different provinces and cities, and the great and holy Synod has been celebrated, it seemed necessary that a letter should be sent to you also from all the sacred Synod, in order that you may be able to know what matters have been agitated

(468). Greek, τοῖς κατορθώμασι.

(469). Theodoret's text has here, "may remain firm, through our Lord Jesus Christ, for they have been done, as at least we have believed, according to the good pleasure of the Almighty God and Father in the Holy Spirit, to whom be the glory forever, Amen."

(470). Bright's *Socrates' Ecclesiastical History*, Book I., Chapter IX., (pages 20 and 21).

and inquired into, and what have seemed good and have been established.

First, then, the matters in regard to the impiety and the lawlessness of Arius have been inquired into before our most dear to God Emperor Constantine, and, by a unanimous vote, it seemed good to anathematize his impious opinion, and his blasphemous expressions and thoughts, which he used when blaspheming the Son of God, by saying, '*He was made out of things not existing,*' and, '*Before he was born he was not;*' and '*There was once when he was not;*' and '*The Son of God, by his own free will is receptive of vice and of virtue,*' and his naming him '*a creature*' and '*a work.*' All those things the Holy Synod anathematized, not enduring so much as to hear his impious opinion, and senselessness, and his blasphemous expressions.

And the matters in regard to him have been so ended, as ye have fully heard or will hear: [we say no more] lest we may seem to trample upon a man, who has received due rewards on account of his own sin. But his impiety had so much strength as to ruin besides Theonas of Marmarica, and Secundus of Ptolemais: for these two also have received the same rewards.

But inasmuch as the grace of God freed Egypt from that wicked opinion, and from the blasphemy, and the persons of those who dared to make a dissension and a division among a people before at peace, there remained the matters in regard to the rashness of Meletius and of those ordained by him: and, beloved brethren, we hereby show you the things which seemed good to the Synod concerning that matter.

It seemed good therefore, forasmuch as the Holy Synod was moved to deal kindly towards him, (although in strict justice he was unworthy of any pardon), [we mean Meletius], that he remain in his own city, and have no authority, either to ordain, or to promote [any one], or to lay on hands, or to appear in the country, or in any city for that purpose; but to possess [only] the mere name of the honor [of the episcopate]. Moreover, those who were settled [as clergy] by him, when they shall have been made sure by a more mystic ordination, *μυστικωτέρῃ χειροτονίᾳ* shall be received into communion on the following terms: They shall have the honor which they now have, and shall minister, but shall by all means be in a secondary position, as compared with those in each Paroecia and Church, who

are found to have been ordained before by our most honored fellow-minister, Alexander; so that those [Meletians] shall have no authority to promote those who are pleasing to them, or to suggest a name [of any one for the ministry], or to do anything at all without the consent of the Bishops of the Universal and Apostolic Church, who are under Alexander.

But those who by God's grace and by your prayers, have been found in no schism, but are without spot in the Universal and Apostolic Church, shall have authority both to elect [clergy], and to suggest names of those who are worthy of the clericate, and in short to do all things which are in accordance with Church Law and usage. Moreover, if, at any time it shall happen, that any one of those who are in the church, shall go to his rest, then some one of those now received shall be promoted to the honor of the one who has finished his course, provided only he seem to be worthy, and the people choose him, and the Bishop of the Universal Church in Alexandria, also give his vote for him, and set his seal upon the election.

That [much] has been conceded to all the others [the followers of Meletius]: but, as regards the person of Meletius himself, it did not seem good to grant him the same things longer, on account of his disorderliness before, and because of the hastiness and rashness of his judgment, that no authority nor power may be given to him, a man capable of making the same disorders again.

These are the things and those which especially pertain to Egypt and to the most Holy Church of the Alexandrians. And whatsoever else has been enacted in the shape of canon, or of doctrine, the Lord and most honored fellow-minister, our brother Alexander, who was present, will himself relate it to you more in detail, inasmuch as he was both a master and a sharer in the things which have been done.

We also announce to you glad tidings in regard to the agreement respecting our most holy Pask, that by your prayers this matter also has been rightly settled, so that all the brethren of the East who aforetime did not keep it in agreement with the Romans, (471) and

(471). The readings of the Greek here are quite various. Our translation above is made from Migne's Theodoret. And the text of Socrates and that of Coleti's *Concilia* differ so much that one is compelled to choose between them.

with you and with all who kept the Pask, will from henceforth keep it with you.

Rejoicing therefore for these settings right, and for the common

Another reading for the above passage is as follows:

"So that all the brethren in the East, who fearlessly kept it aforetime with the Jews, will from henceforth keep it in harmony, with the Romans and with us, and with all those who from the beginning keep the Pask with us."

There are still other readings of parts of the above.

If we accept "*fearlessly*" or "*intrepidly*" and the reading in the text above as the true one, then some may possibly fancy that the First Ecumenical Synod will seem to have eulogized those who intrepidly withstood the Roman attempts to enforce their custom on the Quartodecimans of Asia, which was successfully opposed at that time, and for which attempt, as Eusebius testifies, Irenaeus Bishop of Lyons, so nobly attacked Victor, Bishop of Rome. See Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History*, Book V., Chapters XXIII., XXIV. and XXV. Whether if it were the true reading, which I doubt, other causes, among them opposition to the Quartodecimans who refused to follow the decision of the Council on this matter, had not something to do with the other reading given in the text, we leave the learned to judge.

Or was the "*intrepidly*" which is found in Basil, omitted in some manuscripts because some ignorant transcribers knew nothing of the intrepid resistance by these brethren of the East to attempted Papal tyranny? Still as it is not edited in any text and as it is not proven to be the correct lection, it is not wise to rely on it as sure.

Still another reading is as follows:

"So that all the brethren of the East, who kept it with the Jews, and aforetime intrepidly refused to keep it in agreement with the Romans, and with you, and with all who kept the Passover with you from the beginning, will from henceforth keep it with you." Other readings may be given.

The Greek is found in Socrates' *Ecclesiastical History*, Book I., Chapter IX.; in Theodoret's *Ecclesiastical History*, Book I., Chapter VIII., and in tome 2 of Coleti's *Concilia*, columns 260-264. The Greek in Coleti, as just referred to, is from Gelasius of Cyzicus' *Arrangement of the Acts of the Synod in Nicaea*, Book II., Chapter XXXIII. The reading "*ἀδῶς, intrepide*, Basil, Gr.," is found in note 50, column 931, tome 82, of Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*.

But *ἀδῶς*, may well be rendered "without fear," and then the commendation on their intrepidity disappears. I do not by any means feel sure that the Council meant to compliment the Quartodeciman Churches for opposing the common custom on Pask of the great bulk of the Church, though they would, of course, deny the right of the Bishop of Rome to excommunicate them without an Ecumenical Council.

The various lections of this Synodal Epistle will be found under it in Migne's *Socrates* and in Migne's *Theodoret*.

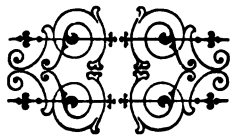
peace and harmony, and for the cutting off of every heresy, receive with greater honor and with more love, our fellow-minister, your bishop Alexander, who cheered us by his presence, and even at his time of life endured so much toil to settle your affairs in peace.

And pray for us all, that the things which have seemed good may remain firm, through our Lord Jesus Anointed, for they have been done, as at least we have believed, according to the good pleasure of the Almighty God and Father in the Holy Spirit, to whom be the glory forever. Amen."

According to Socrates' *Ecclesiastical History*, Book I., Chapter III., end, the Synodal Epistle of the First Ecumenical Council was passed by a common vote of all of it: for Socrates there writes:

"And by a common vote (κοινῇ ψήφῳ) the Synod wrote as follows to the Church of the Alexandrians, and to those in Egypt and Libya and Pentapolis."

Then he gives at once the Conciliar Epistle of Nicaea.



NICÆA, A. D. 325:

THE FIRST ECUMENICAL COUNCIL.

CHAPTER VII.

ITS SYMBOL, THAT IS, ITS CREED.

We propose here:

1. *To give the Greek text of the Nicene Creed and an English translation of it side by side.*
2. *To note the Variations in the Greek text of the Nicene Creed and in the Latin translations of it.*
3. *To speak of Gelasius of Cyzicus, and of his work on the Nicene Council and to show its unreliability.*

To consider:

4. *Whether any DECLARATIVE CREED preceded the Nicene.*
5. *Whether any author of a date anterior to Nicaea, A. D. 325, gives any such Creed.*
6. *To examine whether the Creed of the 318 is an amplification of the Western local Creed which is now commonly called the Apostles'.*
7. *To examine the claim of Eusebius of Caesarea in Palestine, that in his Profession of Faith offered at Nicaea, he furnished the First Ecumenical Council, the basis of the Nicene Creed, and to consider in this connection the opinion of Valesius, that Eusebius' Profession is the same as an Arian document which, Theodoret testifies, the Fathers of the Council tore up.*

8. *To ask what faults have reached us, as to who was most active at Nicaea for the expression "OF THE SAME SUBSTANCE," (ὁμοούσιον), and against Arian Creature Service.*
9. *To mention the most notable terms which are found in the CREED OF THE FIRST ECUMENICAL COUNCIL, but are not in the PROFESSION OF FAITH presented by Eusebius of Caesarea, and to note the reason for them.*
10. *To mention the chief things in Eusebius of Caesarea's PROFESSION OF FAITH which are not in the Nicene Creed, and to ask why they were omitted by the Fathers of the Council.*
11. *To ask, Who wrote the SYMBOL OF THE 318 OF NICAEA?*
12. *To show the SCRIPTURALNESS of the Creed of Nicaea.*
13. *On the inconsistent and hypocritical course of the Arian party in signing and afterwards rejecting those terms of the Nicene Creed which teach the Consubstantiality of the Son with the Father; and in pleading that they rejected them because they are not in Scripture, while they used terms which are not in Scripture to express their heresy.*

SECTION I.—THE GREEK TEXT OF THE NICENE CREED AND ITS ENGLISH TRANSLATION, SIDE BY SIDE. THE CREED OF THE FIRST ECUMENICAL COUNCIL; *which is sometimes called the Nicene Creed, and sometimes that of the 318 Holy Fathers at Nicaea.*

It is the first of the only two Ecumenical Creeds; the other being that of the Second Ecumenical Council, which is called that of the 150 Fathers of that Synod, because that was the number of bishops in it. That Creed will be given when we come to the Second Ecumenical Synod. In the Fourth Ecumenical Council those Creeds were read separately, as being of two different Synods. But in later times a wrong custom has sprung up of calling the Constantinopolitan Creed the Nicene. It should never be done. The use of the terms employed of those Symbols in the Ecumenical Councils should be retained for exactness sake.

THE GREEK TEXT OF THE NICENE
CREED,

From Eusebius of Caesarea's
Epistle to the Caesareans, as in
Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*, tome
20, column 1540 :

Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἕνα Θεὸν Πατέρα
παντοκράτορα, πάντων ὑπατῶν τε καὶ
ἀυράτων ποιητὴν·

Καὶ εἰς ἕνα Κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χρισ-
τὸν τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, γεννηθέντα ἐκ
τοῦ Πατρὸς μονογενῆ, τοῦτέστιν ἐκ τῆς
οὐσίας τοῦ Πατρὸς, Θεὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ, φῶς
ἐκ φωτός, Θεὸν ἀληθινὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ ἀληθινοῦ,
γεννηθέντα, οὐ ποιηθέντα, ὁμοούσιον τῷ
Πατρὶ, δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο, τὰ τε
ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ· τὸν δι'
ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡμετέ-
ραν σωτηρίαν κατελθόντα καὶ σαρκω-
θέντα, ἐνανθρωπήσαντα, παθόντα, καὶ
ἀναστάντα, τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ, ἀνελθόντα
εἰς οὐρανοὺς, καὶ ἐρχόμενον κρῖναι
ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς·

Καὶ εἰς τὸ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα.

Τοὺς δὲ λέγοντας, Ἦν ποτε ὅτε οὐκ
ἦν, καί, Πρὶν γεννηθῆναι οὐκ ἦν, καὶ ὅτι
Ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων ἐγένετο, ἢ ἐξ ἑτέρας
ὑποστάσεως ἢ οὐσίας φάσκοντας εἶναι,
ἢ κτιστὸν ἢ τρεπτὸν ἢ ἀλλοιωτὸν τὸν
Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἀναθεματίζει ἡ Καθολικὴ
Ἐκκλησία.

The difference between Eusebius of Caesarea's text of the Nicene Creed as given by Hahn on pages 78, 79 and 80, of his *Bibliothek der Symbole*, and Athanasius' text as given in his *Epistle to Jovian*, column 817, tome 26, of Migne's *Patrologia Latina*, is merely verbal in a few places which do not affect the sense perceptibly, except that Athanasius has "and Apostolic" before "Church" in the Anathema. I

THE GREEK TEXT OF THE NICENE
CREED,

From St. Athanasius' *Epistle to
the Emperor Jovian*, as in
Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*, tome
26, column 817 :

Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἕνα Θεὸν, Πατέρα
παντοκράτορα, πάντων ὑπατῶν τε καὶ
ἀυράτων ποιητὴν·

Καὶ εἰς τὸν ἕνα Κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χρισ-
τὸν, τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, γεννηθέντα ἐκ
τοῦ Πατρὸς μονογενῆ, τοῦτέστιν ἐκ τῆς
οὐσίας τοῦ Πατρὸς, Θεὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ, φῶς
ἐκ φωτός, Θεὸν ἀληθινὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ ἀληθι-
νοῦ, γεννηθέντα, οὐ ποιηθέντα, ὁμοούσι-
ον τῷ Πατρὶ, δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο,
τὰ τε ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς·
τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ διὰ
τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν κατελθόντα, καὶ
σαρκωθέντα, ἐνανθρωπήσαντα, παθόντα,
καὶ ἀναστάντα τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ, καὶ ἀνελ-
θόντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς, ἐρχόμενον
κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς·

Καὶ εἰς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον.

Τοὺς δὲ λέγοντας, Ἦν ποτε, ὅτε οὐκ
ἦν, καί, Πρὶν γεννηθῆναι οὐκ ἦν, καὶ
ὅτι Ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων ἐγένετο, ἢ ἐξ ἑτέρας
ὑποστάσεως ἢ οὐσίας φάσκοντας εἶναι,
ἢ κτιστὸν, ἢ τρεπτὸν, ἢ ἀλλοιωτὸν τὸν
Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, τούτους ἀναθεματίζει
ἡ Καθολικὴ καὶ Ἀποστολικὴ Ἐκκλησία.

here give below an English translation of Eusebius of Caesarea's text of it in Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*, and of St. Athanasius' text of it in Migne also. I have placed them side by side for convenience of comparison.

THE NICENE CREED,

As in Eusebius of Caesarea's
Epistle to his flock, in column
1540, tome 20 of Migne's *Patro-*
logia Graeca :

"We believe in one God, the
Father Almighty, Maker of all
visible and [of all] invisible things.

"And in one Lord Jesus An-
ointed, the Son of God, born out
of the Father, Sole-Born, that is
out of the substance of the Father,
God out of God, Light out of
Light, real God out of real God,
born, not made, of the same sub-
stance as the Father, through
whom all things were made, both
those in the heaven and those in
the earth, who for us men and for
our salvation came down, and
took on flesh, put on a man, suf-
fered, and rose up on the third
day, went up into the heavens,
and cometh to judge the living
and the dead.

"And [we believe] in the Holy
Ghost.

"And the Universal Church
anathematizes those who say that
*There was once when the Son of
God was not*, and that *He was not
before He was born*, and that *He
was made out of things not exist-*
ing ; or who assert that *He is of
another subsistence or substance*
[than the Father], or that *He was
created*, or is *mutable or con-*
vertible."

THE NICENE CREED,

As in St. Athanasius' *Epistle to
the Emperor Jovian*, in column
817, tome 26, of Migne's *Patro-*
logia Graeca :

"We believe in one God, the
Father Almighty, Maker of all
visible and [of all] invisible things.

"And in the one Lord Jesus
Anointed, the Son of God, born
out of the Father, Sole-Born, that
is out of the substance of the
Father, God out of God, Light
out of Light, real God out of real
God, born, not made, of the same
substance as the Father, through
whom all things were made, both
those in the heaven and those on
the earth, who for us men and for
our salvation came down, and
took on flesh, put on a man, suf-
fered, and rose up on the third
day, and went up into the heavens.
He cometh to judge the living
and the dead.

"And [we believe] in the Holy
Ghost.

"And as to those who say that
*There was once when the Son of
God was not*, and that *He was not
before He was born*, and that *He
was made out of things not exist-*
ing, or who assert that *He is of
another Subsistence or Substance*
[than the Father], or that *He was
created*, or is *mutable, or convert-*
ible, the Universal and Apostolic
Church anathematizes them."

Remarks on the differences between the Greek of the Nicene Creed as in Eusebius of Caesarea, in Migne's text, and that given by St. Athanasius in his Epistle to Jovian, in Migne. To be precise, these are as follows :

1. The τὸν before Κύριον (that is the "the" before "Lord") is in Athanasius, not in Eusebius, but a note on Athanasius' *Epistle to Jovian*, column 818 of tome 26 of Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*, tells us that, "It is absent from the Royal and from Theodoret."

2. Καὶ (that is "and") is not in Athanasius before ἐρχόμενον (that is "cometh").

3. Instead of εἰς τὸ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα (that is "in the Holy Ghost"), Athanasius, as in his *Epistle to Jovian*, in Migne's edition, has εἰς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον, which, however, is the same in meaning.

4. Migne's Athanasius has here τοὺτους ("these"), which Eusebius has not.

5. Walch, in lection 19, on pages 79 and 80 of his *Bibliotheca Symbolica Vetus*, states that Athanasius, in his *Epistle to Jovian*, Socrates, Gelasius, Basil, Theodotus, Eutyches and the Council of Chalcedon have the Greek for "the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church," Chalcedon having it twice : whereas Theodoret, in giving the Epistle of Eusebius of Caesarea to the *Caesareans*, his *Parecians*, gives the Greek for "the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church of God."

Dr. G. Ludwig Hahn gives Eusebius of Caesarea's text of the *Nicene Creed* on pages 78, 79 and 80, of the second edition of the *Bibliothek der Symbole*, (Breslau, 1877). It differs only slightly, and in nothing that makes any great difference in sense, from the text of Eusebius as given by his father, Dr. August Hahn, in the first edition of that work, which was published at Breslau in A. D. 1842. The second edition gives exactly the same text of the Nicene Creed that we find in Eusebius of Caesarea's *Epistle to the Caesareans*, in column 1540 of tome 20 of Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*. In conclusion, I would remark that the texts of Eusebius of Caesarea and of Athanasius, when the same, are generally to be preferred to any lection that differs from them. Where they differ, and they differ very little, the undoubted Orthodoxy of St. Athanasius has led most to follow his reading, especially the words "and Apostolic" in the Anathema.

I would add that Migne's text of Athanasius' *Epistle to Jovian* has in the Anathema *γεννηθῆναι* that is "made" instead of *γεννηθῆναι* that is "generated." But that is evidently a copyist's or printer's mistake, for the language, of Eusebius of Caesarea and of Athanasius himself, as both are elsewhere quoted in this volume, shows that *γεννηθῆναι* is meant.

The Nicene Creed was read in Act I. of the Third Ecumenical Council, held at Ephesus A. D. 431. As in that Act, in Tome V. of the Royal Edition of the Councils, Paris, A. D. 1644, it differs from the same Creed as in St. Athanasius' *Epistle to Jovian*, in column 817, tome 26, of Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*, only as follows:

1. It has not "the" before "one Lord Jesus Anointed."
2. It has not "both" before "in the heaven."
3. Like the form in Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*, tome 20, column 1540, above quoted, it has "in" before "the earth," not "on the earth" as in Athanasius.
4. It has not "and" before "went up."
5. It omits "or created" in the Anathema.

Otherwise it is exactly the same as the Nicene Creed in Athanasius' *Epistle to Jovian* as in Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*, tome 26, column 817, as above.

In the Royal Edition of the Church Councils, Tome VIII., Paris, A. D. 1644, on page 405, we find the Creed of Nicaea again. It was read publicly in Act II. of the Fourth Ecumenical Synod. It agrees with the form of that Creed in column 817, of tome 26, of Migne's *Patrologia Graeca* in Athanasius' *Epistle to Jovian*, with the following exceptions :

1. It has not "the" before "one Lord."
2. It has "in" before "the earth."
3. It has "and" before "put on a man."
4. It has "and" before "went up."
5. It has "and again" before "cometh."
6. It has not "or created," in the Anathema.

These differences are evidently copyist's errors somehow.

Yet in Act V., of the same Fourth Council, in its definition we find the unusual and peculiar form of the Nicene Creed which has so many additions from the Constantinopolitan of which Hahn speaks. See below in Section 2. It is in the same Tome VIII. of the Royal Edition, on pages 636, 637. On page 630 of the same tome we read, "*The things which follow are translated from Latin into Greek,*" but I am not aware that the Definition is included among the *things* so translated. If it were we might suppose a corrupt Latin copy. So I must confess my ignorance why the form of the Creed of Nicaea in the Definition of Chalcedon differs so much from that in its Act Second. Certainly an old translation of that Definition into Latin gives the Nicene Creed in a form which is utterly without any additions from the Constantinopolitan. See it noted below.

SECTION 2.—*We here note the Variations in the Greek Text of the Nicene Creed, and in the Latin Translations of it :*

Christian W. F. Walch, in his *Bibliotheca Symbolica Vetus* (Lemgoviac, A. D. 1770), pages 75-80, gives us the text of the Nicene Creed from Eusebius of Caesarea's *Epistle to his Paroeciains*, that is to the people of his Diocese, and notes the differences between that text here and there and others. He has, however, failed to accent his Greek.

Hahn, in his *Bibliothek der Symboie*, pages 78-81, has followed him, but abbreviates some of his notes and leaves out others. He there summarizes the places where texts of the Creed of the 318 may be found, as follows. I translate from his German and Latin. Writing on the text given by himself, Hahn remarks :

"It is according to Eusebius, in his *Epistle to the Caesareans* in Athanasius' *Epistle on the Definition of the Council of Nicaea*, Tome I., Part I., edition of Montfaucon, page 239, whence the above text is taken. Besides, that Epistle of Eusebius [to the Caesareans] is also found in Theodoret's *Ecclesiastical History*, Book I., Chapter XII.; in Socrates' *Ecclesiastical History*, Book I., Chapter VIII., and in Gelasius' *History of the Nicene Council*, Book II., Chapter XXXV.; in Mansi's Tome II, page 916. With that Eusebian Recension are also to be compared the Recensions of the *Nicene Formula* in Athanasius' *Epistle to Jovian*, in the place mentioned, Part II., page 781; in Theodoret's *Ecclesiastical History*, Book IV., Chapter III.; in Socrates' *Ecclesiastical History*, in the place mentioned; in Basil the

reat's *Epistle*, CXXV., Tome III., page 215, of the Benedictine edition; in Cyril of Alexandria's *Epistle to Anastasius*, in Tome V., part II., edition of Jo. Aubert, page 174, and in Mansi's Tome V., page 387 and after; in Gelasius, in the place mentioned, in Chapter XVI.; in Mansi's Tome II., page 878 and after; Eutyches, in his *Confessional Statement*, in Mansi in the *Acts of the Council of Chalcedon*, Tome VI., page 629; in Theodotus of Ancyra's *Book Against Nestorius*, edition of Combefis, Paris, A. D. 1675, page 24. In the *Code of the Canons of the African Church*, according to Justellus, in Mansi's Tome III., page 708, and besides in the *Acts of the Council of Ephesus*, Act VI., there is a form [of the Nicene Creed], in Mansi's Tome IV., page 1341; and there are two forms [of it] in the *Acts of the Council of Chalcedon*, the one in Act II., Tome VI., page 955, the other, which is less true, in Act V., Tome VII., page 109; there is so one in the *Acts of the Sixth Ecumenical Council*, in Act XVIII., Mansi's Tome XI., page 633 (the Third Council of Constantinople, the following notes). Compare Walch's *Bibliotheca Symbolica*, page 75 and after, where he specifies with great diligence the literature relating to the topic, and compares almost all the other Recensions with the Eusebian; and on page 87 and after he has given the various readings [of the Creed of Nicaea] in a seemly and complete manner." Hahn then adds that in his own notes he gives the more important readings, and corrects some things in Walch's statements.

I will note the more important of those various readings in Walch and in Hahn, though I ought to say at the start that they are mainly verbal merely, and do not affect any dogma. Such of the texts as were written after the adoption of the Creed of the Second Ecumenical Council show, once in a while, that the transcriber, in quoting the Nicene from memory, adds in something from the Constantinopolitan, or omits what is not in the Constantinopolitan, but is in the Nicene. The form in Act V. of the Fourth Ecumenical Council, that that of Chalcedon, which is quoted below, follows, in some places, the Constantinopolitan, not the Nicene.

The words, "*both those in the heaven and those on the earth*," are lacking in Act V. of the Council of Chalcedon, probably because they were not in the Constantinopolitan, and so the transcriber thought they were not in the Nicene.

The addition, "*out of the heavens*," which is found in Act V. of the Council of Chalcedon, and in the editions of Basil after "*came*

down," is not found there in the manuscripts. It is evidently an addition from the Constantinopolitan.

After "*took on flesh*," the Fifth Act of the Council of Chalcedon adds, "*of the Holy Ghost and of Mary the Virgin*," evidently from the Constantinopolitan.

Gelasius of Cyzicus, in the place above mentioned, pages 880 and 916, after "*suffered*" adds "*buried*" from the Constantinopolitan.

Act V. of the Council of Chalcedon, after "*and put on a man*," adds, exactly as in the Creed of the Second Ecumenical Council, "*And was crucified for us under Pontius Pilate, and suffered and was buried*," and just below, after the words "*on the third day*," the same Act V. of Chalcedon adds :

"*According to the Scriptures*," as in the Constantinopolitan.

So Gelasius, in the place above mentioned, page 880, *the Code of the Canons of the African Church*, and Act V. of the Council of Chalcedon, after "*went up into the heavens*," adds, "*And sitteth at the right hand of the Father*," as in sense in the Constantinopolitan, and in almost exactly or in exactly the same words. So, in sense, we find it in the Council of Ephesus and in the Third Council of Constantinople, A. D. 680, with slight change in the wording.

So Gelasius, in the place mentioned—*the Code of the Canons of the Church of Africa*, and Acts II. and V. of the Council of Chalcedon—with "*cometh*" add "*again*" from the Constantinopolitan, and Act V. adds, as in the Constantinopolitan, "*with glory*," and after the words "*to judge the living and the dead*," it subjoins, "*of His Kingdom there will be no end*," as in the Constantinopolitan.

Gelasius, in the place mentioned, instead of "*And in the Holy Spirit*," has "*And in His Holy Spirit*." And Act V. of the Council of Chalcedon has instead, "*And in the Holy Spirit, the Lord, the Life-Giver*," from the Constantinopolitan.

I would add that the Creed of the 318, as in the Definition of the Fourth Ecumenical Council, in Labbé and Cossart, in Hardouin and in Mansi, in the additions of them mentioned below, lacks *ἡ κτίσις*, that is "*or created*," in its Anathema. Hahn does not note that lack.

Athanasius, in his *Epistle to Jovian* ; Socrates, Gelasius, on page 880 ; Basil the Great, *the Code of the Canons of the African Church*, Theodotus of Ancyra, Eutyches, and the Council of Chalcedon, in its

Acts II. and V., have, in the Anathema, instead of "*The Universal Church*," the fuller phrase, "*The Universal and Apostolic Church*," to which Socrates adds, "*of God*."

Gelasius, on page 916, has, "*The Apostolic and Catholic Church*." Theodoret, in both places, and Socrates once, have, "*the Holy Universal and Apostolic Church*."

The Council of Ephesus and that of III. Constantinople have, "*The Holy Universal and Apostolic Church of God*."

To sum up as to the readings of the Greek of the Creed of the 318 in the Ecumenical Councils aforesaid. There is very little in the way of divergence in the text of it, as in the First, the Second and the Fifth Ecumenical Council. The different readings above specified refer to the Third Ecumenical Council, the Fourth and the Sixth, as in Mansi's text.

Let us glance at them.

First, as to the Third Synod :

St. Cyril of Alexandria, in his long letter to Nestorius, which has the *XII. Chapters*, gives the Nicene Creed. It is found in Mansi's *Concilia*, Tome IV., column 1072. It was read in Act I. of the Third Ecumenical Council. It differs from Hahn's text, as on pages 78-80 of his *Bibliothek der Symbole*, as follows :

1. It puts τὸν μονογενῆ (that is "*the Sole-Born*") next after τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ (that is after "*the Son of God*"), whereas Hahn puts "*Sole-Born*" (μονογενῆ) without τὸν (that is without "*the*") after ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς (that is after "*out of the Father*").

2. It has καὶ ("*and*") before ἐνανθρωπήσαντα (that is before "*put on a man*."

3. It has no καὶ ("*and*") before ἐρχόμενον (that is "*cometh*").

4. It has τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον (that is "*the Holy Ghost*"), which differs in wording a little—not at all in sense—from Hahn's text.

5. It has τινός ("*any*") before ὑποστάσεως ("*subsistence*").

6. It omits κτιστόν (that is "*created*") in the Anathema.

7. It has καὶ ἀποστολική ("*and Apostolic*") towards the end of the Anathema.

The Creed of the 318 was read in Act I. of the Third Ecumenical Council, but is not there given in full in Mansi, but the reader is referred to it as in Cyril's Epistle above.

Now, second, as to the Fourth Council :

The references to Act V. of the Council of Chalcedon (the Fourth Ecumenical), on pages 79 and 80 of Hahn's *Bibliothek der Symbole*, are to the Nicene Creed as, in Greek and Latin, in the Definition of Chalcedon. Why it should differ so much from that Creed of the First Ecumenical Council I cannot tell. The notes on it in Mansi's *Concilia*, Tome VII., columns 109 and 110, tell us that *the additions in it are not in the old codexes*.

It is followed in Mansi, Tome VII., column 112, by the Creed of the Second Ecumenical Council.

Remarkably enough, in Act II. of Chalcedon, as in Mansi's *Concilia*, Tome VI., column 956, the Nicene Creed is found in the common form, as given from Eusebius of Caesarea by Hahn, on pages 79 and 80, except that it has *καὶ* before *ἐνανθρωπήσαντα* and *πάλιν* before *ἐρχόμενον*, and *τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον* instead of Hahn's *τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα*, and it omits *κτιστόν* in the Anathema at the end, and has *καὶ ἀποστολική* before its final word *ἐκκλησία*.

Or, to put those differences into English, it has :

1. "And" before "put on a man."
2. "Again" before "cometh."
3. It has a different wording for the "Holy Ghost," but not a different sense.
4. It has "and Apostolic" before "Church."

The form in that Act II. professes to be the Creed of the 318, and is formally given as such. For Cecropius, Bishop of Sebastopolis, asks for the reading of the Creed of the 318 Holy Fathers.

In response we read :

"The most glorious Archons and the most ample Senate said, Let there be read what was set forth by the Three Hundred and Eighteen Holy Fathers, who came together in Nicaea.

Eunomius, the most reverent Bishop of Nicomedia, read from a Book :

"*The Statement of the Synod held at Nicaea.*"

Then follows the Creed of the 318, as above mentioned.

Now, third, as to the Sixth Synod.

The Nicene Creed, as in the Definition of the Sixth Ecumenical Synod, Act XVIII. (column 633 of Tome XI. of Mansi's *Concilia*), differs from Hahn's text :

1. It has καὶ before ἐνανθρωπήσαντα (that is "and" before "put on a man").
2. It adds, "and sitteth at the right hand of the Father."
3. In the Anathema it omits ἡ κτιστὸν (that is "or created"), and
4. At the end it has τούτους ἀναθεματίζει ἡ ἁγία τοῦ Θεοῦ καθολικὴ καὶ ἀποστολικὴ ἐκκλησία, instead of Hahn's Eusebius' reading, ἀναθεματίζει ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία ; that is, it has :

"These the Holy Universal and Apostolic Church of God Anathematizes," instead of "The Universal Church Anathematizes."

So much on the various readings of the different Greek texts of the Nicene Creed.

Sometimes, in the editions of the *Councils*, only the beginning of the Creed of the 318, and of that of the 150 of the Second Synod, is given. For instance, we read, here and there, the Nicene as follows :

"We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, Maker of all visible and of all invisible things, etc.," the rest being understood while the Nicene Creed was still in common use.

I have thought that in Act V. of the Fourth Ecumenical Council, and in Act XVIII. of the Sixth, the original might have had that only, but that at some later time, when the Creed of the 150 had taken the place of that of the 318, another copyist might give the Creed of the 318 in full, as he understood it, no matter how mistakenly, and that hence the variations from the original form of it might have arisen. The Bishops of the Fourth Ecumenical Council, A. D. 451, witness in their exclamations in the Council that it was the Creed into which they had been baptized, and into which they baptized. And so it must have remained, the Creed still taught the Catechumens. How long after that it was that the Creed of the Second Ecumenical Council supplanted it may admit of some doubt (472). But we know

(472). Swainson, in his article "Creed," in Smith and Cheetham's *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, tells us, from Theodorus Lecter (*Hist. Eccl.*, p. 563) that Timotheus, Bishop of Constantinople, A. D. 511, ordered "that the Creed should be recited * * * at every congregation, whereas previously it had

that the Creed of the 150 was used at the Eucharist in Spain in A. D. 589, and that that was the custom of the Oriental Churches before

been used only on the Thursday before Easter, when the Bishops catechized the candidates for baptism." Swainson adds that the order speaks of "the Creed of the 318," but thinks it must there mean the Creed of the 150 Bishops of the Second Ecumenical Council. But to the Greek of that day the words would mean, as they did at Chalcedon only about sixty years before, the Creed of the First Ecumenical Council. The reason why Swainson thinks that the Creed of the 150 must be meant, and not the Nicene, is that Timothy's object "was to express the continued abhorrence which the Church felt for the teaching of Macedonius." From that language of his, Swainson seems to think that the Macedonius meant is the notorious heretic who denied the Divinity of the Holy Ghost, and was made Bishop of Constantinople A. D. 342 or 343, and that Timothy aimed to oppose his errors on the Spirit, on which the Constantinopolitan Creed is fuller than the Nicene. But the context of Theodore Lector, just before, shows that not he but the Orthodox Macedonius, who was made Bishop of Constantinople A. D. 495, is intended. He was exiled by the Monophysite Emperor Anastasius, and Timothy, a Monophysite heretic, was put into his place in A. D. 511 by that monarch. Timothy undoubtedly ordered the Creed of the 318 to be recited, as Theodorus Lector asserts—not that of the 150. The Monophysite party were wont to assert that the Orthodox did not admit the Creed of the 318 because they did not admit their heretical Monophysite sense of it. There was no discussion between the Orthodox and the Monophysites as to the Divinity of the Holy Ghost, for both admitted it. Their difference was on the two Natures of Christ, on which the Symbol of the 318 is so full. Hence the passage of Theodorus Lector relates to Macedonius, who was made Bishop of Constantinople in A. D. 495. I quote the passage of Theodorus Lector from column 201, Tome 86, of Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*. Translated, it is as follows:

"Timothy contrived that the Symbol of the Faith of the Three Hundred and Eighteen Fathers should be said in every Church gathering, undoubtedly to favor a slanderous charge against Macedonius, as though he did not receive the Symbol, it having been said before once a year [only] on the Holy Preparation Day of the divine suffering [our Good Friday], at the time when the Catechetical instructions were given by the Bishop." See the articles in Smith and Wace's *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, on "Macedonius (3) II.," "Timotheus (24)." Daniell's article on the latter states that the custom of saying the Creed at every service has been ascribed to the Monophysite Peter the Fuller, who was the intruding Patriarch of Antioch, A. D. 471-488. Indeed, Nicephorus Callistus states of Theodorus Lector (column 208, Tome 86, of Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*) that he was the originator of that good custom, and also of the idolatrous and creature-serving one of naming the Virgin Mary in every prayer. And it was no wonder that the creature-servers who, as Monophysite heretics, worshipped the merely created humanity of Christ as God, should go one step further and name, that is, I think, *invoke* here, the Virgin Mary, and so contrary to Christ's own prohibition in Matthew IV., 10, give an act of religious

(473), and in baptism at Rome in the ninth century, for a Roman Baptismal Order of about that date has the Constantinopolitan—not the Nicene (474). After A. D. 800, when the Nicene had passed out of common use and was very little known except to scholars, a common copyist would very naturally get it confounded with the Constantinopolitan, and sometimes would lug into it parts of the Constantinopolitan, when he attempted to supply the words which might be lacking after the first line or so in older manuscripts, and from

service to a creature. The term *named* is used in the sense of *invoke* in Canon XXXV. of Laodicea, where the invocation of angels is forbidden.

I quote Theodore Lector's language in column 208 of Tome 86 of Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*, as reported by Nicephorus Callistus. It is, translated, as follows:

"Theodore Lector says that Peter the Fuller contrived that the sacred ointment should be consecrated in the Church before all the people, and that the invocation over the waters at the Theophany (our Epiphany, Sophocles' Greek Lexicon, under *Θεοφάνεια*) should be performed in the evening: and that the Bringer Forth of God should be named in every prayer [or perhaps better "*in every service of prayer*," Greek *ἐν ἐκάστῃ εὐχῇ*] and that the Creed should be said in every meeting," [*ἐν πάσῃ Συνάξει*.] The name of the Virgin is used in prayer in the public services now, alas! not only by the Monophysites but also by the Greeks, but I am not aware that it is said "*in every prayer*," though it is said in services of prayer very often. At what time the Greeks took that creature-worshipping sin from the Monophysites, I can not say.

The author of Note 7, column 209, Tome 86 of Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*, "understands by *in every meeting*" above, *at every Eucharistic service*, though he admits that the expression in its literal sense may be applied to any meeting. Moreover, referring to the statement above, that the Monophysite Timothy had introduced the custom of so reciting the Nicene Creed, he thinks both that statement and this may be reconciled by supposing that Peter the Fuller first instituted it at Antioch, and that it was afterwards adopted by his fellow-heretic Timothy, for Constantinople, which seems a rational explanation. That note concludes: "Indeed, those rites which are said to have been first instituted by the Fuller, were not used at once by all churches, but in the course of time, little by little, they got into use." Alas, that was so of his invoking of the Virgin, which brings God's curse. But the good custom of reciting the Creed at every Eucharist was productive of good.

The Monophysites seem often, or generally, to have preferred the Creed of the 318, to that of the 150 for public recitation. For instance, the Creed commonly used by the Armenian Monophysites at this hour is that of the 318, somewhat added to. See page 62 above.

(473). Id., page 491, vol. I., and Canon II. of Third Toledo.

(474). Id., page 492, vol. I. It seems to me that the existence of the Con-

such attempts by unscholarly copyists I have supposed that the additions to the Creed of the 318, in Act V. of Chalcedon, and in Act XVIII. of the Sixth Ecumenical Council, might have come.

Yet, at the same time, it must be admitted that those who drew up the *Definition* of the Fourth Ecumenical Council, and those who drew up that of the Sixth, could, as Ecumenical Synods representing the whole Church and under the influence of the Holy Spirit promised by Christ to the Universal Apostolate, have added in their *Definitions* any such words as parts of the Creed in said *Definition* as they might choose. That act would not, of course, abolish the older form put forth at Nicaea in A. D. 325.

On examining the different editions of the Councils, I find that in the *Definition* in Act V. of the Fourth Ecumenical Council the following have exactly the same readings of the Creed of the 318, which Hahn, as above, mentions as not in the form of it as given by Eusebius of Caesarea, nor in that given by St. Athanasius in his *Epistle to Jovian* :

1. Labbé and Cossart, Tome IV. (Paris, A. D. 1671), column 563.
2. Hardouin, Tome II. (Paris, A. D. 1714), column 453.
3. Mansi, Tome VII. (Florentiae, A. D. 1762), column 109.

Constantinopolitan Creed in the Roman Baptismal Office is best explained by the fact that after the conquest of Rome by the Eastern Emperor Justinian, in the sixth century, and during the Greek occupation, in centuries VI., VII. and VIII., some of the Bishops of that city were Orientals, and as by their time the Constantinopolitan Creed had displaced the Nicene in the Greek Baptismal Orders, and as they, as Greeks, had never known the Roman *local* Creed, called the *Apostles'*, and as they would naturally prefer the Creed of the Second Ecumenical Council to it, as being of universal authority and use, they would naturally introduce it into the Roman Baptismal Order, the more especially as it guards the doctrine of the Trinity vastly better than the simple Roman Creed, and by the profession of belief in the "*one Holy Universal and Apostolic Church*," it bound every one who recited it from his heart, in the sense of the Universal Councils, to accept, after A. D. 553, the Five Ecumenical Synods, and to accept the whole Six in A. D. 680, when the Sixth was held. It is strange that the Roman local Creed, which an Anti-Trinitarian can sign, and which the heresiarchs Arius and Macedonius could use, should still be used in any professedly Trinitarian Church at baptism. It really does not ask a man to believe in the Trinity at all, nor in the "*one Baptism for the remission of sins*." The Constantinopolitan does.

But Baluze, in his *New Collection of the Councils* (Nova Collectio Conciliorum), Tome I. (Paris, A. D. 1683), columns 1389-1392, gives what appears to be an old Latin version of the *Definition* of the Fourth Ecumenical Council. The Creed of the 318 in it differs very widely from the present Greek in Labbé and Cossart, in Hardouin and in Mansi, as referred to last above, for it lacks all the additions to Eusebius of Caesarea's text, and to Athanasius', found in those editions, in Act. V. of Chalcedon, and noted on the Creed of the 318 by Hahn. It lacks also "*God out of God; Light out of Light*" and "*or created*" in the Anathema, which we find in Eusebius and in Athanasius, and, like Athanasius, has in the Anathema, "*and Apostolic*" before "*Church*." This implies that it was made from a Greek text of the *Definition* of Chalcedon, different, so far as the Creed of the 318 is concerned, from that which we now find in Labbé and Cossart, Hardouin and Mansi, in the places of their editions specified above, and, with the exception of the omission of "*God out of God, Light out of Light*" and "*or created*," it follows the sense of the Nicene Creed in St. Athanasius' *Epistle to Jovian*, and seems to have been translated from a copy of it in that *Definition* of Chalcedon. Mansi, Tome VII., column 748, gives the *Definition* with that Creed as in Baluze, as above, that is, without the additions to it which we find in the editions of Labbé and Cossart, Hardouin and Mansi, in Act V. of Chalcedon. He tells us, in column 746, that he gives the Latin translation of the *Definition* of Chalcedon, which contains that Creed of the 318 from "*three old codexes in the Colbertine Library*." From what Baluze writes on the old Latin translation of the Acts of the Fourth Ecumenical Council (*Baluze's New Collection of the Councils*, Tome I., column 953 and after), and from what Mansi says in his *Councils* (Tome VII., column 727), I have doubted whether the Greek additions to the Creed of the 318, in Act V. of Chalcedon, do not represent a later Greek text of the *Definition* of Chalcedon than that from which was made the old Latin translation just mentioned, which has not those additions. Whether Rusticus, a Deacon of the Roman Church in the sixth century, or some one else translated them from a defective Latin translation back into Greek, I know not. I can not account for them.

Now for the Variations in the Latin Translations of the Greek.

Walch, on pages 80-93 of his *Bibliotheca Symbolica Vetus*, gives no less than eleven of them.

Of them all, two or three only belong to the fourth century, and therefore, as being the most ancient, are of most authority. They are:

1. That of Hilary of Poitiers :
2. That of Lucifer of Cagliari (both of the fourth century): and
3. That of Rufinus of Aquileia. Rufinus' may belong to the opening years of the fifth at the latest.

Translated into English, they read, in the main, like one or the other of the two English translations just given above.

The differences are noted below. They are slight, and do not affect doctrine. They are mainly merely verbal. Probably most or all of them are mere copyists' errors.

Now for *the Chief Variations of the Latin Versions from Hahn's Eusebius' Greek text, and from each other.* I include the eleven Latin Versions given on pages 80-93 in Walch.

The translation of Hilary of Poitiers, made in the fourth century, has simply "*the Catholic Church*"—that is, of course, "*the Universal Church.*" It is given by Hahn, pages 80 and 81 of his *Bibliothek der Symbole*, and by Walch on pages 80 and 81 of his *Bibliotheca Symbolica Vetus*. That is the only one of the eleven Latin translations that has precisely "*the Catholic Church*" ("*Catholica Ecclesia*")—that is, "*the Universal Church.*"

Of the ten remaining, no less than eight have exactly "*Catholic and Apostolic Church*" ("*Catholica et Apostolica Ecclesia*"). They are Versions II., III., VI., VII., VIII., IX., X. and XI.

Translation IV. is merely a quotation from the Nicene Creed in an Epistle of Pope Leo I. to the Emperor Leo. It is not exact in every part, for after the words "*of one substance with the Father*" it adds, "*which the Greeks call ὁμοούσιον,*" and it omits the whole of the Anathema at the end of the Creed. Walch, on page 84, notes that there is considerable variety in the readings, both in the printed editions and in the manuscripts.

Version V. has "*the Apostolic Church,*" the words "*Catholic and*" being omitted by a copyist's error.

I will here notice a little more at length the eight Latin translations which have "*the Catholic and Apostolic Church*" (*Catholica et Apostolica Ecclesia*).

The old Latin Version in Lucifer of Cagliari, of the fourth century (Version II. in Walch), has "*Catholic and Apostolic Church*" (Catholica et Apostolica Ecclesia, Walch, page 82). Exactly the same words are found in the Latin translation of Rufinus, who flourished in the same century (page 82 in Walch; Version III. there), and in a Latin Version in the Code of the African Church, which was afterwards recited in the Council of Aix-la-Chapelle, A. D. 789 (Walch, page 86; Version VI. there), and in the Latin Version of Epiphanius Scholasticus (Walch, pages 86 and 87; Version VII. there), and in an old Latin translation of Act II. of the Council of Chalcedon (Walch, pages 87 and 88; Version VIII. there), and of Act V. of the same Synod (Walch, pages 88 and 89; Version IX. there); and in a Latin Version in the Ancient Latin translation of the Canons (pages 89 and 90 in Walch; Version X. there), and in an old Latin Version in a manuscript of Verona (page 90 in Walch; Version XI. there). Those are the eight old Latin Versions.

Besides, an old Latin translation in Marius Mercator, of century V., given in Walch, page 85—Version V. there—has "*the Apostolic Church*" (Apostolica Ecclesia), without the word "*Universal*" (Catholica), but the omission of the latter term is evidently a copyist's error.

But that Version is quite faulty. For instead of the true reading at the end,

"Or who assert that the Son of God is a Creature, or mutable or convertible [into anything else], the Universal [and Apostolic] Church anathematizes," it has only,

"Or who assert that the Son is *visible* or mutable, the Apostolic Church anathematizes." That is to say, in those few words the following omissions occur:

1. "*Of God.*"
2. "*A Creature.*"
3. "*Convertible,*" and
4. "*Universal*" [and]. besides
5. "*Visible* is wrongly added, for there is no Greek to base it on.

Walch, on page 85, remarks on that Latin Version :

"It utterly departs from the Greek manuscripts and from the rest of the Latin Versions. We suspect that the singular expression '*invisible*' is a corruption arising from the fault of copyists, and that it should be changed to '*convertible*.'" Walch is right. The translation is evidently carelessly made, and is of no worth in this place.

Two Latin translations elsewhere of the Nicene Creed may here be noted.

The first is "*The Forthset of the Nicene Faith, from a manuscript of the Colbertine Library.*" See the marginal note in Hardouin's *Councils*, Tome I., column 311. That Latin Version reads as follows at the end :

"*Catholic and Apostolic Church*" (*Catholica et Apostolica Ecclesia*).

It quotes the Greek term *ὁμοούσιον*, and explains it in Latin to mean, "*of the same substance with the Father.*"

So it quotes the Greek word *τρέπτον* in the Anathema, and explains it to mean "*convertible or mutable.*"

In column 312, Tome I., of Hardouin's *Concilia*—that is in the column directly opposite the last quoted form of the Nicene Creed in Latin—is found the following :

"Here beginneth the Faith composed at Nicaea by the 318 believing Bishops." Then it gives it. It, like the last above, has "*born*" (*natum*) instead of our bad rendering "*begotten*," but instead of "*not made*" after it, it has "*not created.*"

It tries, but imperfectly, to give *ὁμοούσιον* in Latin letters, for it leaves out an "*o*," but it explains it well to mean, "*of the same substance as the Father.*"

Below it explains *τρέπτον* of the Anathema, quoted in Greek letters, to mean "*convertible or mutable*," and it, like the last, has at the end, "*Catholic and Apostolic Church*" (*Catholica et Apostolica Ecclesia*).

This last Latin translation of the Nicene Creed is, says Hardouin, in his *Concilia*, Tome I., column 312, margin, "From one of our manuscripts, which the amanuensis affirms was written in the year of Christ 800."

In the False Decretals of Isidore the Creed of the 318 figures, to

me extent, in its usual form in Latin, and with matter added to orify the see of Rome.

For instance, in column 694, Tome I., of Hardouin's *Concilia*, there is an Epistle purporting to be from Athanasius and the Egyptian bishops to Pope Liberius. But in Hardouin, Tome I., column 694, in the margin, the following remark is made concerning it:

"It is also spurious." It is from the Collection of Isidore.

It contains what purports to be the Creed of Athanasius and the bishops, who, with him, profess to be the authors of the letter or epistle. It is the Nicene Creed. At the end of the Anathema it is, "*the Catholic and Apostolic Church*" (*Catholica et Apostolica, ecclesia*).

In the margin, directly opposite the above, and on it, occurs the statement that, "*It is the Nicene Creed, in Rufinus' translation.*" That translation is the III^d. in Walch, and is remarked on above.

After that Anathema the spurious Isidore adds, in the epistle purporting to be that of Athanasius and the Egyptian Bishops:

"That venerable Faith the Three Hundred and Eighteen Fathers acknowledged and embraced, and in harmony and unanimously explained in writings."

In column 695, Tome I., of Hardouin's *Concilia*, will be found what claims to be an answer of Pope Liberius to the same persons. But in Hardouin, in the margin of column 695, Tome I., of the *Concilia*, marks of it: "It is likewise spurious; it is from the Collection of Isidore." That forged epistle represents Pope Liberius as formally approving the Nicene Creed, and as forbidding any one to bring forward, or to write, or to compose, or to hold, or to teach otherwise than it does, or to hold anything in faith, or to bring forward anything if it opposes the rules of the Fathers. Then, in about the language of Canon VII. of the Third Ecumenical Council, it forbids to compose, or to bring forward, or to deliver any other Creed to those desiring to turn into the way of truth from any heresy whatsoever, or to turn from Judaism or Paganism to become Christians, under penalty of deposition if they are clerics, or of anathema if they be monks or laymen. The forger who wrote that epistle here ascribes the prohibition, which was really put forth by the Council of Ephesus A. D. 431, to Nicaea A. D. 325, and to Pope Liberius, who died A. D. 366.

But, as has been said, the variations in the text do not affect any dogma. Indeed, they are almost all confined to faulty and uncritical manuscripts. The great bulk of the manuscripts and the oldest Latin translations are overwhelmingly for the common Greek text. Indeed, the others are not worthy of being mentioned. The only important variation in the good and authoritative manuscripts is as to the words "*and Apostolic*" in the Anathema; Eusebius of Caesarea's Greek text, and Hilary of Poitiers' Latin Version rejecting them, and St. Athanasius' Greek, and Lucifer of Cagliari's Latin, and Rufinus' Latin having them.

As both Eusebius and St. Athanasius were present at the Council of Nicaea, and as Hilary of Poitiers and Lucifer of Cagliari were their contemporaries, and active in the Arian struggle; and as Jerome lived in the same fourth century, it is not easy to decide which text is best as to those two words.

Yet we would naturally suppose, as to the Greek, that if the question were only as to which of the two above mentioned as giving it is the more authoritative, the authority of the Orthodox Athanasius would outweigh that of the Arian Eusebius of Caesarea. I would prefer, therefore, to read in the Anathema, "*The Universal and Apostolic Church anathematizes;*" not "*The Universal Church anathematizes.*"

The translation of Hilary seems to be made from the Greek of Eusebius of Caesarea, for it agrees with it in every chief thing, except that the text given by Walch omits the word "*created*," I suspect by a copyist's error, the more so as Walch, on page 81, remark III., witnesses that the manuscripts of Hilary vary as to the Creed of the 318.

The Latin translation of Lucifer of Cagliari and that of Rufinus seem to have been translated from the text of St. Athanasius' *Epistle to Jovian*, and they differ from Hilary's Version mainly in the fact that, like Athanasius, they have "*and Apostolic*" between "*Catholic*" and "*Church*" in the Anathema.

SECTION 3.—*We come now to speak of Gelasius of Cyzicus, and of his work on the Nicene Council, and to show its unreliability.*

Gelasius of Cyzicus, of the last half of the fifth century, of whom we have spoken on page 267 above, is so late as to be of little use of

importance as to the text of the Creed of Nicaea. Besides, his own language shows that he was tinctured and tainted with creature-worship. For instance, in the preface to his work on Nicaea he calls Mary "*the all-reverend and Holy Virgin Mary*." Here the expression "*all-reverend*," if taken in its plain sense, is clearly creature-serving and idolatrous. We see here that the period of paganizing and the curse had already come in, and the punishment was preparing in Chosroes the Persian, and the Goths and others; and, when no repentance came, in Mohammed the Saracen. Only think of it, a mere creature is "*all-reverend*," and God is only "*reverend*." And the Patriarch of Constantinople, in the Greek Church, is actually addressed as "*Your All-Holiness*," whereas God is called merely "*Holy*." Surely every Christian heart, East and West, should be pained at such extravagant and wrong titles to creatures, and reform them.

Again, he calls the rule of truth set forth in the Scriptures, "*to be bowed to*"—that is, "*adorable*"—(προσκυνήσις) which is creature-serving language, for the Scriptures and their doctrine are to be *obeyed*, not to be *adored*, that is, not to be bowed to, for all *bowing*, that is, adoration, is prerogative to Almighty God, for it is an act of religious service. For Christ says plainly, in Matthew IV., 10, "*Thou shalt bow to the Lord, thy God, and Him only shalt thou serve.*" Of course all worship of the Scriptures, or of any *rule* or *gift* in them, though defended by paganizers, on the plea of *relative worship*, is plainly heathen, for that excuse of relative worship is the constant plea of the pagans for their bowing to their images, altars, relics, sacred books and other mere things. So, in the same place, he calls the rule of Christian preaching "*adorable*," which, of course, is pagan language.

Gelasius shows the most utter ignorance of the real character of the Arian, Eusebius of Nicaea; for whereas all the facts show that he was a chief friend of the heresiarch Arius and a sharer of his errors against the Divinity of the Son of God, he makes him Arius' foe. For in his *Acts of the Nicene Council*, Book II., Chapter I., in defending the Orthodoxy of Eusebius of Caesarea, he writes, foolishly, the following error:

"His strivings in the Synod held in the city of the Nicæans, against the impiety of Arius, and in behalf of the Apostolic and Orthodox Faith, exhibit his Orthodoxy."

His strivings there were really against Orthodoxy.

Venables, in his article "*Gelasius of Cyzicus*," in Smith and Wace's *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, shows that the Anglican Cave and the Latins Dupin and Natalis Alexander witness to the blunders and errors of that writer, and the list of those who censure him as unreliable might be much extended, for it includes the scholarship of the Christian world. For that reason I can make but little use of him. My own judgment agrees with that of Natalis Alexander, as quoted by Venables below, in his article on *Gelasius*.

In that article Venables, referring to the notion that Gelasius based part of his account on another statement on Nicaea, writes:

"But either the original document must have been most untrustworthy, belonging rather to the domain of fiction than fact, or Gelasius himself must have so overlaid it with the inventions of his own imagination that, as an historical authority, it is almost worthless. The prolix disputations and lengthy orations, of which it is full, as Cave has justly remarked, are evidently the writer's own composition. Dupin's verdict is still more severe. He calls Gelasius '*a sorry compiler, who gathered all he met with relating to his subject, both bad and good, without examining whether it was true or false.*' His work is little more than a compilation from the ecclesiastical histories of Eusebius, Socrates, Sozomen and Theodoret, to which he has added little but what is very doubtful or manifestly untrue. '*There is neither order in his narrative, nor exactness in his observations, nor elegance in his language, nor judgment in his selection of facts, nor good sense in his judgments.*' As instances of his untrustworthiness, we may mention that he states that the Council was summoned by Pope Sylvester, and that Hosius of Cordova presided as his delegate, and devotes many chapters (Lib. II., C. 11-24) to disputations on the Divinity of the Holy Spirit, which had not, at the time, become subject of controversy at all.

"Natalis Alexander also condemns the work as being '*levissimi ponderis*' [that is '*of very little weight*'], except when confirmed by other authorities, and says of it, '*scatet erroribus*' [that is, '*it abounds in errors*']. *Ecl. Hist.*, Saec. IV., dissert. 13."

Besides, he makes Rufinus of Aquileia, seemingly, to be a Roman presbyter, and present at the Council of Nicaea, though he was not born till about A. D. 345—that is about twenty years after Nicaea was held. And Ffoulkes, in his article, "*Nicaea, Councils of*," in

■ Smith and Cheetham's *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities* in a passage ■ quoted below, speaks of Gelasius of Cyzicus as "a writer of the poorest credit, who makes Constantinople the seat of empire when the Council met." The fact is, the city was not consecrated till May 11, 330 (page 632 of Volume I. of Smith and Wace's *Dictionary of Christian Biography*).

Gelasius' work on Nicaea is in three books. The first is really not on the Council, for it merely narrates the life of Constantine, the Emperor, "until," remarks Venables, "his victory over Licinius," which was before A. D. 325, the date of the Council of Nicaea.

The second book of Gelasius does treat of Nicaea, and Venables says of it:

"The second book, in thirty-six chapters, comprehends the history of the Council, embellished with imaginary speeches and discussions between the Bishops and heathen philosophers that can never have taken place. * * * * The prolix narrative of the debates between Phaedo, a heathen philosopher holding Arian opinions, and the most learned members of the Council—Eustathius, Hosius, Eusebius, etc.—is stamped by Valesius (*Annot.* in Socr., H. E. I., 8) as decidedly supposititious. The acquaintance with theology and familiarity with the Holy Scriptures shown in Phaedo's arguments exceeds all probability. De Broglie is probably correct in regarding these discussions as specimens of Christian declamations, written as literary exercises, but not with any deliberate intention to deceive, but accepted as authority by the uncritical compiler (*L' Église et l' Empire*, II., 23)."

Incidentally, I would remark that Hefele, a Romanist, mentions a fact worth noting. It is that the third of Gelasius' three books on *the Council of Nicaea* has been tampered with. For he states of it:

"The third [book] is wholly composed of three letters of Constantine's; but we may presume that it was formerly larger, and contained particularly the account of Constantine's baptism, which Photius borrowed from Gelasius, but which was subsequently mutilated, in order that the honor of having been the place where the great Emperor received baptism might not be taken from the city of Rome. However, no sort of proof is given in support of this suspicion" (Hefele's *Councils*, Volume I., page 265).

I would say that so much of that cutting off and adding to has

been done in the interest of Rome that the suspicion seems natural that the excision here has been done for her.

Was the making of Hosius, in Gelasius, a representative of Rome, contrary to the earlier writers, an addition made by some one later than Gelasius in the interest of Rome?

Gelasius bears witness, however, to the *Scripturalness* of the Creed of Nicaea, and that again and again. For instance, in the preface before Book I. he mentions "*Our Holy and Orthodox Faith, which at the first from the Holy Apostles and our Holy Fathers * * * who were assembled in the city of the Nicaeans, has flourished in the Church of God, our Mother*" (475).

Below he refers to Nicaea as "*that Holy Synod on behalf of the rule of the same Holy and Apostolic Faith, which the Church of God has received neither from men nor by men, but from the Saviour of us all Himself and God, Jesus Christ.*"

In Chapter IX. of Book I., Gelasius, though himself not sound in some of his expressions, nevertheless shows that he has not forgotten that one of the grievous parts of Arius' heresy was its creature-worship. For, speaking, in Chapter IX. of Book I. of his work, of his intention to write on the First Ecumenical Council, he says :

"These matters Eusebius Pamphili, in all respects very excellent (476), has put together in the ninth book of his *Ecclesiastical History*, from whose labors, as I have already said, and from those of others, I select and compile, in a brief form, this book, with the greatest zeal hastening the narrative to the lofty and bright-appearing, the Holy and Divine Mountain (*ὄρος*) of the Apostolic and excellent Synod of the Priests of God at Nicaea; especially when I see the prophet taking me by the hand and urging me forward. "*Come, ye,*" says he, "*and let us go up to the Mountain (ὄρος) of the Lord, to*

(475.) Gelasius of Cyzicus, *Volumen Actorum Concilii Nicaeni, Lib. I., praefat.*, speaks of the Nicene Faith as the Faith of the Apostles: *Διὰ ταῦτα καὶ δι' ἄλλα πολλὰ κινήντα κατὰ τῆς ἁγίας καὶ ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως ἡμῶν, τῆς ἀνέκαθεν ἐκ τε τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων καὶ τῶν προῤῥηθέντων ἁγίων ἡμῶν πατέρων τῶν ἐν τῇ Νικαίᾳ συνειλεγμένων, ἐν τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ μητρὶ ἡμῶν πολιτευομένης, κτλ.*

(476.) A lamentable proof of Gelasius' ignorance of the pronounced and inveterate Arianism to the last of Eusebius of Caesarea. Had he read Athanasius more he would have ascertained the facts.

the House of the God of Jacob; and He will teach us of His ways, and we will walk in His paths, for out of Zion shall go forth the Law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem" (477).

For truly Zion and Jerusalem and a very high Mountain (ὄρος) of the Lord, and a House of the God of Jacob is that Divine crowd of the Orthodox Priests of God, who, with the Holy Ghost (πνεύματι ἁγίῳ), examined and defined, by means of the writings of the Prophets, and the Evangelists, and the Apostles, concerning the Word of Life—that is, the Son of God—that He is truly increate in the nature of the Godhead, and that He is not a creature, as the God-Fighter and impious Arius blasphemes against Him, and that He is of the same substance as the Father who brought Him forth before all the worlds, and of the same nature; and they showed, likewise, most clearly that the Holy Ghost is of the same Divinity and Substance as the Father and the Son. And truly a lofty Mountain (ὄρος) of God is this adorable (478) and holy rule (ῥῆμα) of the blameless faith, which, as our preceding discourse has shown, was given to us by the Lord himself through the Apostles, and now is made clear by means of His Priests by testimonies of Scripture at Nicaea (479).

SECTION 4.—*We inquire whether any Declarative Creed preceded the Nicene.*

By *Declarative Creed* I mean a Creed in Creed form, as distinct from the Baptismal Questions and Answers.

Answer.—Yes; that of Gregory Thaumaturgus did; but its use was merely local. And as Cyril of Jerusalem, in his *Catechetical Lectures*, delivered A. D. 348 or 349, speaks of a giving of a Symbol, and its return in the Church of Jerusalem (480), and as Rufinus

(477.) Isaiah, II., 3.

(478.) Here we have a paganized expression, for God alone is to be adored (Matt., IV., 10).

(479.) Καὶ ἀληθῶς ἐψηλὸν ὄρος Θεοῦ, ἀνέστην ἡμῖν, καθὰ προεδήλωσεν ὁ λόγος, παρ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ κυρίου διὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων δοθεὶς, καὶ νῦν διὰ τῶν αὐτοῦ λέγειν κατὰ τὴν Νικαίων γραφικαῖς μαρτυρίαις τρανωθεὶς, ὁ προσκυνητὸς οὗτος καὶ ἅγιος τῆς ἀμωμήτου πίστεως ὄρος.

(480.) See Cyril Hierosol., *Catech.* V., Sect. 12, and *Catech.* XVIII., Sect. 21. Cyril does not, however, use the term Symbol (Σύμβολον) in either place, but the context shows that a Declarative Creed is meant, for it is traditioned—that is, *delivered*—and returned, and the Creed traditioned was always *Declarative*. In the first reference Cyril terms the Creed, *πίστιν ἐν μαθήσει καὶ ἐπαγγελίᾳ* ("Faith

refers to a *Declarative* Creed—the so-called *Apostolic*—as in use at Rome from the earliest times, it is fair to conclude that such Creeds existed before Nicaea—probably each Church had its own—though, except Gregory's, they do not appear in any ante-Nicene writing, because of the rule of reserve which prevailed on such matters.

SECTION 5.—*Does any author of a date anterior to Nicaea, A. D. 325, give any such Creed?*

No; we know of none. Cyril of Jerusalem, and Rufinus, wrote after that date, though their language and the language of other early writers would lead us to infer that each of those Churches had its own local Creed before Nicaea, and that in fact every Church had its own local Creed; for such a Creed would be naturally called for, for convenience in instructing Catechumens and in fortifying the minds of the baptized, and in keeping the chief truths of the Gospel in their minds.

They were probably based largely on the Scriptural teaching as to the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, into whom the Catechumen was to be baptized (Matt., XXVIII., 19) in the Universal Church, into which they were admitted by baptism; in the *one baptism for the remission of sins*, which he was about to receive; into the resurrection of the dead, which the emersion of the primitive trine emersion shadowed forth (Romans, VI., 5; Colossians, II., 12), as understood and explained by the early Fathers (481); and the life of the world to come, which belongs only to the baptized.

in the form of a Lesson and a Declaration"), and in the last reference he terms it distinctly, "*the Declaration of the Faith*." For he calls upon the candidates for baptism to return the Faith thus: "*And let the Declaration of the Faith, after it has been again recited to you by us, be returned and recited by you from memory, with all care, word for word*" (Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν εἰρήσθω, πρὸς ἀπὸδεῖξιν τῆς τῶν νεκρῶν ἀναστάσεως, ἢ καὶ τῆς πίστεως Ἑπαγγελία, πάλιν ὑμῖν ἰφ' ἡμῶν ῥηθεῖσα, μετὰ σπουδῆς πάσης ἐπὶ λέξεως αὐτῆς ἰφ' ὑμῶν ἀπαγγελίσθω τε καὶ μνημονεύσθω). So *Catech.* XI., Sect. 1, and *Catech.* XVII., Sect. 3, and *Catech.* XVIII., Sect. 28. See Touttée's note "θ" on the reference to *Catech.* V., Sect. 12. Yet Cyril uses Ἡ Πίστις in these *Lectures*, in the sense of Creed, again and again. See, in proof, *Catech.* IX., Sect. 4; *Catech.* X., Sect. 4; *Catech.* XIV., Sect. 24 and 27; *Catech.* XV., Sect. 2, and *Catech.* XVIII., Sect. 22 and 26. These, so far as we have seen, are the only terms applied by Cyril to the Creed of Jerusalem.

(481.) See passages of the Fathers quoted in Chrystal's *History of the Modes of Baptism*, pages 47-52, 61, 62, 70, 71, 72, 76, 77, etc.

As, after A. D. 325, the Ecumenical Creed of Nicaea seems to have supplanted such merely local Declarative Creeds in the East, they seem to have been gradually laid aside and lost sight of. However, Cyril of Jerusalem, in his *Catechetical Lectures*, has preserved to us some clauses of the Creed in use there in A. D. 347, 348 or 349; and Cassian, as we show elsewhere, has told us of some parts of the Creed of Antioch, in the latter part of the fourth century or the beginning of the fifth. But the Acts of the Ecumenical Council of Chalcedon, A. D. 451, show that the common creed, into which the Oriental prelates had been baptized, and into which they baptized, was the Nicene. But the case was different in the West, where the old short Roman baptismal Creed remained as such, and was amplified as the centuries rolled on, till it reached its present form, as Heurtley, in his *Harmonia Symbolica*, shows, about A. D. 750 (482). Because it remained as the Occidental Baptismal Creed, we know more of its ante-Nicene form than we do of the ante-Nicene forms of the different local Creeds of the Orient. Bingham, in his *Antiquities*, Book II., Chapter VI., Section 3, argues that in the early times every Bishop was at liberty to frame his own local Creed in his own words, so long as he kept to the Orthodox faith.

The Roman Creed is first found in the Aquileian form in Rufinus, about A. D. 390.

There is an early document which may refer to the Occidental Creed, but even that is after Nicaea. I mean Marcellus' Confession.

Charles A. Heurtley, D. D., Margaret Professor of Divinity and Canon of Christ Church, in his *Harmonia Symbolica, a Collection of Creeds belonging to the Ancient Western Church, and to the Mediaeval English Church*, * * * Oxford, at the University Press, 1858, page 22, remarks: "For the earliest complete Creed belonging to the Western Church, which has come down to us, we are indebted to an Oriental, and one too of more than doubtful Orthodoxy. It is the confession of faith presented by Marcellus, Bishop of Ancyra, in Galatia, to Julius, Bishop of Rome."

Dr. Heurtley, on page 24 of his work, gives A. D. 341, sixteen years after the Council of Nicaea and the adoption of the Nicene Creed, as the date of that confession of Marcellus. But that confes-

(482.) Heurtley's *Harmonia Symbolica, a Collection of Creeds belonging to the Ancient Western Church, and to the Ancient English Church*, pages 70-72.

sion resembles most that form of the Roman Symbol called the Apostles', which, about fifty years later than 341, Rufinus reports. Nevertheless, it must be remembered that it differs in some respects even from that form of the Roman Symbol of the Apostles mentioned by Rufinus, and still more from that Roman Symbol which now we call the Apostles', and that Marcellus does not give it as the Symbol of the Roman Church, nor does he assert that it is a Symbol, nor that it has been made in Symbol form by the Apostles. He gives it simply as his own (483). He says nothing of a Roman Creed, although in all probability it is true that there was in his day a Roman Symbol, to which Rufinus refers. It is possible also that in making a statement of his own faith he followed it. But we must not lay too much

(483.) Speaking of the whole statement of Marcellus, of which this which Heurtley quotes as though it were a Creed forms part, Epiphanius, in his Panarion, on Heresy 72, remarks thus: Εἰ τοίνυν ὁ λιβελλὸς οὗτος καλῶς ἔχει, οἱ δυνάμενοι ἀναγνώτῳσαν, καὶ οἱ δυνάμενοι ἀκριβῶσαι τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ εἰρημένα· κοὶ εἰ μὲν κακῶς ἔχει, αὐτοὶ διακρινέτωσαν. Οὐ γὰρ βουλόμεθα παρὰ ὧν, ἐπιστάμεθα καὶ τῶν εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐλθόντων λῆγειν.

I translate. "If, therefore, that statement [of Marcellus] is sound, let those who can read [it], and let those who can, determine exactly what is said in it. And if it is wicked let them determine it. For we do not wish to speak from what we know and from those things which have come to us."

Just below, Epiphanius seems to lean to the opinion that this statement of Marcellus is correct. See as above, in Migne's edition of Epiphanius, Tome II., column 387.

But it is noteworthy that when certain disciples of this Marcellus set forth what bears as its heading the title, Ἡ ἐπιγραφὴ πίστεως τοῦ Μαρκέλλου, "*to the most Venerable and most Holy Bishops of Diocaesarea*," to clear themselves from the charge of error, they refer only to the Nicene Symbol, thus: Οὔτε φρονοῦμεν, οὔτε πεφρονήκαμεν τί ποτε, ἐκτὸς τῆς κατὰ Νικαίαν ὁρισθείσης οἰκονομικῆς καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικῆς πίστεως· ἥνπερ ὁμολογοῦμεν δυνάμει ταύτην φρονεῖν, ἀναθεματίζοντες τοῖς τολμῶντας κτίσμα λῆγειν τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἄγιον· καὶ τὴν Ἀρειανὴν αἵρεσιν, καὶ Σαβελλίον, καὶ Φωτεινόν, καὶ Παύλον τοῦ Σαμοσατεύς, καὶ τοὺς μὴ λέγοντας τὴν ἁγίαν Τριάδα τρία Πρόσωπα ἀπεριγραφα, κ. τ. λ.

I translate: "We neither hold any opinion at any time, nor have we held any opinion at any time, contrary to the Ecumenical and Ecclesiastical Faith which was defined at Nicaea, as to which we confess that we hold to it with [all our] power, anathematizing those who dare to say that the Holy Ghost is a creature, and the Arian heresy, and that of Sabellius, and that of Photinus, and that of Paul of Samosata, and those who do not say that the Holy Trinity are three uncircumscribed Persons," etc.

Further on in their statement these disciples of Marcellus embody the Creed of the First Ecumenical Council, that is, that of Nicaea, A. D. 325.

stress on this second point, nor base an argument on it, as it rests merely on conjecture (484). Nevertheless, it is probable that in writing that part of his letter which contains this language so similar to the Roman local Symbol, he does follow that Creed. For he had been at Rome, as he states in this same Epistle to Pope Julius, one year and three whole months. It should be added, however, that this passage is but a part of his confession in this epistle. The reader can examine the whole document in Epiphanius; *Heresy*, 72.

Rufinus, who first clearly mentions the Western Creed, wrote on it, as I have said, about A. D. 390.

The epistle ascribed to Ambrose, which speaks of the Apostolic Symbol, is of about the date A. D. 390 (485), and these two last are the earliest distinct mentions of the Western Creed. It is very doubtful whether any of the Orientals at Nicaea had ever seen that Roman Creed. We have no documentary proof of this. Indeed, it is not likely that many of them even understood Latin. For we find that when the Emperor Constantine spoke to them in that tongue it had to be translated into Greek in order that they might understand it (486). That was not strange, seeing that the great bulk of the Bishops present were Easterns. So we find at the Fourth Ecumenical Council, held at Chalcedon, A. D. 451, where most of the Bishops were Orientals, that a communication in Latin from the Placeholders of Pope Leo I. had to be translated into Greek before they could consider it. Greek, not Latin, was the great language of theology. When one reflects on the utter lack of any documentary proof for the notion that the Symbol of the 318 is based on the Roman, he will find cause for wonder that such an unfounded notion should have gained such credence as it has in the Occident, and the wonder is greater when it is remembered that we have the written claim of Eusebius, the Church historian, that the Nicene Creed is merely a modification of the *faith* of Caesarea in Palestine, which he presented. He does

(484.) That is clear from Heurtley himself, in his *Harmonia Symbolica*, pages 22-25.

(485.) Hahn's *Bibliothek der Symbole* (Breslau, 1877), page 20, has a Creed from an *Explanation of the Creed*, which is addressed to those to be initiated, by Ambrose, Bishop of Milan. Walch, page 63, gives almost exactly the same form, as from *A Homily of Maximus of Turin*, of century V., in *Explanation of the Creed*.

(486.) Eusebius' *Life of the Emperor Constantine*, Book III., Chapter XIII.

not even mention the Roman local Creed. And other writers present at the Council, such as Athanasius, make no mention of the Roman Creed at all in connection with it.

SECTION 6.—*Is the Symbol of the 318 Holy Fathers of Nicaea an amplification of the Western Creed, called the Apostles' ?*

No. Not a shred of authority for this is to be found in the Christian antiquity of the *East*, which furnished the basis of the Nicæan Symbol (487). *Indeed, the Western Creed is mentioned distinctly as a Creed in no ancient author before Ambrose or Rufinus, and consequently not till long after the Nicene. Such a notion has existed to some extent in the West, but without any sufficient authority.*

As we have just shown, the First Ecumenical Council did not take the so-called Apostles' Creed as the basis of the Nicene, and develop the latter from it. On the contrary, the local Creed of St. Peter's see of Rome, "*which is commonly called the Apostles' Creed,*" as the VIIIth Article of the Church of England has it, appears first clearly, according to Dr. Heurtley (488), in Rufinus' "*Commentary on the Apostolic Creed,*" called also "*An Explanation of a Creed,*" about A. D. 390, as has just been shown (489); though, of course, it had been in existence at Rome—not in the East at all—in some form,

(487.) Milman, in his *History of Latin Christianity*, Volume I., page 75, states that, "*the East enshrined Creeds, the West discipline.*" The two Ecumenical Creeds are certainly of the full Oriental type in the articles which they have. They are certainly not short like those of the so-called Apostles, that is, Roman. But the Ecumenical Canons were all made in the East also, so that Milman's remark is more rhetorical than exact. It is true, however, that the West by its Reform, and condemnation of creature-invocation and image-worship in the sixteenth century, saved Christianity from slavery to the Turkish unbeliever. It is true also that two Westerns—Hosius, of Cordova, and the Emperor Constantine—were active and influential in procuring the adoption of the expression "*of the same substance,*" and that the West was almost unanimous for Orthodoxy throughout the whole Arian controversy, whereas the East had an active Arian minority; and nearly all the leaders of the heresy, as, for instance, Arius himself, Eusebius of Nicomedia, and most of the rest, were Orientals. And the West nobly supported Athanasius in his struggle against the creature-worshipping and Christ's-divinity-denying Arians.

(488.) Heurtley's *Harmonia Symbolica*, pages 25–26.

(489.) Canon Fremantle's article "*Rufinus* (3)," in Smith and Wace's *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, contains interesting matter.

an unknown time before. But when found it is quite different from the Nicene Creed, for it is in some respects shorter, and in others longer. How great and marked the difference between them is any one can easily see at once by comparing them, as I do below in another volume of this series. No ancient writer puts forth the absurd assertion that one was developed from the other. And when, far down in the middle ages, at the Ferrara-Florence Council of A. D. 1438-39, the uncritical Roman Cardinal Julian made that assertion, we find the Oriental champion, Mark of Ephesus, utterly denying it and adding: "*We neither have nor have seen a Creed of the Apostles.*" See in this work above, pages 26-32, for a translation of that place. The Greek Church has never used any form of that peculiarly Western Creed which we call, commonly, the Apostles'. Indeed, judging from what Rufinus says in his *Commentary* on the Aquileian form of it, it should be called *the Roman Creed*, for there it seems to have originated, and thence to have spread over the whole West. Heurtley shows that it is not found in its present full form till about A. D. 750 (490).

We see, then, 1, that the so-called Apostles' Creed is not even clearly mentioned till about sixty-five years after the First Ecumenical Council, and,

2. That in its present form it does not appear in any writing till four hundred and twenty-five years after it.

I will add, 3, that the internal evidence shows that the Nicene can not be a development and enlargement of the shorter Roman form, for in some respects it is fuller than the Nicene, and,

4. That no ancient writer mentions the so-called Apostles' Creed in connection with Nicaea. It is a late legend merely.

Walch, in his *Bibliotheca Symbolica Vetus*, and Hahn, in his *Bibliothek der Symbole*, have each given us a collection of Creeds, Eastern and Western, from which we readily see that the Oriental Creeds which have reached us are fuller on the Son; and that we see at once is the type of the Nicene. Hence we easily learn that its basis seems to have been some Eastern document or documents, unless we say that it was drawn up on the basis of the words or sense of Holy Writ, without any reference to any preceding Creed. We

shall find Eusebius of Caesarea claiming that the Profession of Faith made by him at Nicaea was the basis of the Nicene Creed.

We come, now,

SECTION 7.—*To examine the claim of Eusebius of Caesarea in Palestine, that in his PROFESSION OF FAITH, offered at Nicaea, he furnished the First Ecumenical Council the basis of the Nicene Creed, and to consider in this connection the opinion of Valesius that Eusebius' PROFESSION is the same as an Arian document which, Theodoret testifies, the Fathers of Nicaea tore up.*

We begin with the following question and answer :

QUESTION.—*What Bishop proposed the GROUND-WORK of the Symbol of the 318, and from what ecclesiastical province did this GROUNDWORK come ?*

ANSWER.—Eusebius of Caesarea in Palestine, the father of Church history, claims that he was the Bishop. The Ecclesiastical province to which he belonged was the First Palestine, of which Caesarea was, at the time of the Synod of Nicaea, the Metropolis, and to which Jerusalem, at this time called *Aelia*, was subject. If we believe him, it was he who proposed its *groundwork* to the Council. But we will examine his claim and try to decide, so far as all the facts taken together enable us to do so.

Happily we have Eusebius' statement, preserved to us by one who was at the Council ; that is by Athanasius, the celebrated champion of Orthodoxy, then, however, only a deacon (491). Eusebius' account is given in a *Letter to the People of his Diocese*, in which he tries to explain away his subscription to the Creed of Nicaea ; a subscription which, as events showed, was insincere and deceptive. Athanasius comments unfavorably on it in Section 3 of his *Defence of the Nicene Definition* (pages 6 and 7 of the Oxford translation of "S. Athanasius' *Treatises Against Arianism*"); and gives the whole *epistle* at the end of that *Defence* (pages 59–66 of the Oxford translation just specified). It is found also in Socrates' *Ecclesiastical History*, Book I., Chapter VIII.; in Theodoret's *Ecclesiastical History*, Book I., Chapter XII.; in Gelasius of Cyzicus' *work on the Council of Nicaea*.

(491.) Socrates' *Ecl. Hist.*, Book I., Chapter VIII.

Book II., Chapter XXXIV., and in Nicephorus' *Ecclesiastical History*, Book VIII., Chapter XXII. A translation of it into English, with notes, will be found in the *Treatises of S. Athanasius Against the Arians*, Oxford, A. D. 1844, page 59.

It is found in the original Greek in Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*, Tome XX., column 1535.

We have seen that Eusebius of Caesarea was one of the earliest and strongest friends of Arius and his opinions. At the Council the formula which he presented was evidently designed to leave out the strongest and most decisive Watchwords of Orthodoxy, like the expression, "*of the same substance*," and to dodge the literal sense of other texts which affirm that the Logos has come *out of* the Father, that is, "*out of His substance*," and to take them in an Arian sense, though he admitted them into his formula, and besides he is careful to put into his Creed, with Arian intent, those words in Colossians, I., 15, *πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως*, rendered "*First born of every creature*," in our Common Version, which the Arian party perverted to teach that God the Word is a creature. As that clause is not in the Jerusalem Creed as given by Cyril of Jerusalem, of the province in which Caesarea stood (492), and as it is in no other ancient Orthodox Creed, it seems most likely that Eusebius introduced it with Arian intent only. We find it introduced in another new Arian Credal statement given us by St. Athanasius, evidently with the intention to wrest it to an Arian sense (493). I mean the Credal statement of the Arian party at their Council of the Dedication at Antioch in A. D. 341 (494). It has been ascribed by some to Lucian, who died a martyr in A. D. 311 or 312; but Tillemont and Constant deny that it is his (495). Lucian has sometimes been deemed the father of Arianism, and was separated from the Church for a time for

(492.) The Jerusalem Creed is found in Hahn's *Bibliothek der Symbole*, page 62, edition of 1877.

(493.) It is translated into English in the Oxford translation of S. Athanasius' *Treatises Against Arianism*, pages 106-108. The Greek is found in Hahn's *Bibliothek der Symbole* (Breslau, A. D. 1877), page 184.

(494.) Id., page 134.

(495.) Id., page 106, note "b."

his views (496). His end was better than his life. Arius, in a letter to Eusebius of Nicomedia, the notorious Arian leader, terms him his "fellow-Lucianist." See page 181 above.

In the *Macrostich*, or long Arian Creed of A. D. 345, they quote the Septuagint of Proverbs, VIII., 22, "*The Lord created me a beginning of His ways for His works,*" evidently in an Arian sense.

Theodoret, like Athanasius, gives the following Epistle of Eusebius of Caesarea to his flock as a testimony from an Arian to the soundness of the Nicene Creed. For in his *Ecclesiastical History*, Book I., Chapter XI., Theodoret introduces it as follows:

"On account of the disgustingness of the Arians, who not only despise the common Fathers [of all Christians], but also refuse [to hear] their own Fathers, I wish to insert in this work the Epistle of Eusebius of Caesarea, which he wrote on the Faith, for it contains a clear condemnation of their raving. For though *they honor him as of the same mind with themselves*, they nevertheless contradict outright the things written by him. And he wrote the Epistle to some who held the errors of Arius, who, as seems likely, had accused him of treason [to them]. But the things written show best the mind of the writer."

Then he gives the Epistle below.

We now come to Eusebius' own statement as to his formula, and as to its being the basis of the Nicene Creed.

I shall follow, in the main, though not wholly, the Oxford translation of S. Athanasius' *Treatises Against Arianism*, page 59 and after. I shall follow the Greek text in Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*, compared with that in Bright's *Socrates*, and shall try to correct Newman's translation by it, where he is capable of revision, that I may claim, so far, to have made a new and improved Version. Newman, however, was a Greek scholar, and has done his work so well that it is only here and there that he can be faulted.

"*The Epistle of Eusebius [the Arian minded (497)] to the people of his Paroecia (498).*

(496). An account of Lucian may be found under "*Lucianus (12)*" in Smith and Wace's *Dictionary of Christian Biography*.

(497). The words in brackets are an addition.

(498). That is, his Diocese, as we say now. But in the East in early times

"The things which have been transacted on the Church's faith at the great Council celebrated at Nicaea you have probably learned, Beloved, from elsewhere, rumor being wont to precede the accurate account of the things done. But lest in such reports the facts of the case have been misrepresented to you, we have felt under obligation to transmit to you, first the writing on the faith put forth by us, and then the second statement, which they gave out after they had made additions to our words (499). Our own writing, then, which was read in the presence of our most dear to God Emperor, and declared to be good and approved, ran in the following way :

2. "As we received from the Bishops who preceded us, and in our first Catechisings, and when we received the bath and as we learned from the Divine Scriptures, and as we believed and taught in the Presbyterate, and in the Episcopate itself, so believing also now, we report to you our faith, and it is this (500) :

"We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, the Maker of all visible and of all invisible things.

"And in one Lord, Jesus Christ, the Word of God, God out of God, Light out of Light, Life out of Life, Sole-Born Son, First Bringer Forth of all creation (501), born out of the Father before all the

Paroecia, from which our *parish* comes, was the ordinary term for a bishop's whole jurisdiction, for though it contained many congregations, all of them were of the one sole parish of the bishop, and he supplied them all by his presbyters, deacons, etc. See Bingham, under "*Parish*," "*Parish Bounds*," "*Parish Churches*," "*Parishes*," "*Parochia*," "*Parochial Churches*."

(499). Greek, as in column 1537, Tome XX., of Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*: Τὴν ὑφ' ἡμῶν προταθεῖσαν περὶ τῆς πίστεως γραφὴν, ἔπειτα τὴν δευτέραν, ἣν ταῖς ἡμετέραις φωναῖς προσθήκας ἐπιβαλόντες ἐκδεδώκασι.

(500). Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*, Tome XX., column 1537—Eusebius' Epistle to the Caesareans:

Καθὼς παρελάβομεν παρὰ τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν ἐπισκόπων, καὶ ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ κατηχήσει, καὶ οὕτως τὸ λουτρὸν ἐλαμβάνομεν, καὶ καθὼς ἀπὸ τῶν θείων Γραφῶν μεμαθήκαμεν, καὶ ὡς ἐν τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἐπισκοπῇ ἐπιστεῖομεν τε καὶ ἐδιδάσκομεν· οὕτως καὶ νῦν πιστεύοντες, τὴν ἡμετέραν πίστιν ὑμῖν προσαναφέρομεν· ἔστι δὲ αὕτη. Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἓνα Θεόν, etc.

(501). Id., Greek, πρωτότοκον πάσης κτίσεως. The Arians took πρωτότοκον to mean *First Brought Forth*, and applied the expression to Christ's Divinity, and so made It a creature—so Eusebius probably took it. But the same word, with the same accent on the last syllable but one, means, *a bringer forth for the first time* or *a first bringer forth*, as we see by Liddell and Scott's *Greek Lexicon*, sixth edition, Oxford A. D. 1869; and so taken gives the lection of our translation

worlds, through whom also all things were made, who for our salvation took on flesh and lived among men, and suffered, and rose up on the third day, and went up to the Father, and will come again in glory to judge the living and the dead.

“ ‘We believe also in one Holy Spirit.

“ ‘Believing each one of those to be and to exist, the Father truly a Father, and the Son truly a Son, and the Holy Spirit truly a Holy Spirit, as also our Lord, sending forth His own disciples to preach, said: ‘Go, ye, disciple all the nations, dipping them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.’

“ ‘Concerning whom we confidently affirm that so we hold, and so we think, and so we have held aforetime, and we are determined to contend for this faith unto the death, and we anathematize every Godless heresy. We witness before God Almighty and our Lord, Jesus Christ, that we have always held those opinions in heart and soul from what time we have known ourselves, and that we now hold and assert them in very truth (502), and we are able by proofs to show and to persuade you that in times past, also, we were so believing and so preaching.’

“3. That faith having been set forth by us, there was no place for any one to contradict it, but our most dear to God Emperor himself first testified that it contains most correct sentiments, and he co-confessed that he himself also so held (503), and he was exhorting all to agree to it, and to subscribe to its dogmas, and to harmonize with its very utterances, with the addition of one expression only; that is, ‘*of the same substance*,’ which, moreover, he explained by saying that he would not use the expression ‘*of the same substance*’ (ὁμοούσιον) in the sense of the sufferings of bodies, nor to imply that the Son had come into existence out of the Father in the way of a taking apart, or of a cutting off, for the immaterial and intellectual and incorporeal

above. Some of the orthodox, however, translate the word by *First Brought Forth*, as do the Arians, but differ from them in applying it to Christ’s humanity only.

(502). Ibid; Ταῦτα ἀπὸ καρδίας καὶ ψυχῆς πάντοτε περὶ ὁμολογεῖναι, ἐξ οὐκ ἐμὲ αὐτοῖς, καὶ νῦν φρονεῖν τε καὶ λέγειν ἐξ ἀληθείας.

(503). The words, “and he co-confessed that he himself also so held,” are not in the above letter in the Greek of Socrates’ *Ecclesiastical History*, Books I., Chapter VIII., in Bright’s edition.

nature could not be subjected to any corporeal sufferings (504), but that it becomes us to understand such things in divine and ineffable senses.

"And such were the theological remarks of our most wise and most religious Emperor; but they, under pretext (505) of the addition [of the expression] '*of the same substance*,' drew up (506) the following writing (507):

"*The Faith dictated in the Council (508):*

"*'We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, Maker of all visible and of all invisible things.*

"*'And in one Lord, Jesus Christ, the Son of God, born out of the Father, Sole-Born, that is, out of the substance of the Father, God out of God, Light out of Light, very God out of very God, born, not made, of the same substance as the Father, through whom all things were made, both those in the heaven and those on the earth, who for us men, and for our salvation, came down, and took on flesh, put on a man, suffered, and rose up on the third day, went up into the heavens, and cometh to judge the living and the dead :*

"*'And [we believe] in the Holy Ghost.*

"*'And the Universal [and Apostolic] Church anathematizes those who say, THERE WAS ONCE WHEN THE SON OF GOD WAS NOT, and HE WAS NOT BEFORE HE WAS BORN, and that HE WAS MADE OUT OF THINGS NOT EXISTING, or who assert that HE HAS COME OUT OF ANOTHER SUBSISTENCE OR SUBSTANCE [than the Father's], or that*

(504). Id., col. 1540. Greek, 'Εἰς μόνου προσεγγραφέντος ρήματος τοῦ ὁμοουσίου, ὃ καὶ αὐτὸ ἡρμήνευσε λέγων, ὅτι μὴ κατὰ τῶν σωματικῶν πάθη λέγοιτο ὁμοοῦσιον, οὐτ' οὖν κατὰ διαίρεσιν οὔτε κατὰ τινα ἀποτομὴν ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ὑποστῆναι· μηδὲ γὰρ δύνασθαι τὴν αὐλὸν καὶ νοερὰν καὶ ἀσώματον φύσιν σωματικόν τι πάθος ἐφίστασθαι. It is the Emperor Constantine who has those ideas, as to the non-separation of the substance of the Logos from the Father's substance—not the Ecumenical Council. Their substance is parted, but their unity of thought and action remains as strong as ever. Eusebius of Caesarea had evidently learned such so-called philosophic notions from the Pagan philosophers.

(505). Or, "*under the plea*."

(506). Literally, "*made*."

(507). Ibid., οἱ δὲ προφάσει τῆς τοῦ ὁμοουσίου προσθήκης, τήνδε τὴν γραφὴν πεποιήκασιν.

(508). Ibid., Ἡ ἐν τῇ συνόδῳ ἐπαγορευθεῖσα πίστις.

THE SON OF GOD IS A CREATURE, *or* CHANGEABLE *or* CONVERTIBLE [into some thing else].'

"5. On their dictating that writing, we did not let it pass without inquiry in what sense they used the expression '*out of the substance of the Father*,' and the expression, '*of the same substance as the Father* (509). Accordingly questions and answers took place, and the meaning of the words underwent the scrutiny of reason. And so it was confessed by them that the phrase '*out of the substance*' is indicative of the Son's having come out of the Father indeed, not, however, that He is a part of the Father. And with this understanding we thought good to assent to the sense of such religious doctrine, teaching as it did that the Son has come out of the Father; not, however, that he is a part of His substance. On this account we also assented to the sense ourselves, and do not refuse even the expression, '*of the same substance*' (τὴν φωνὴν τοῦ ὁμοουσίου), peace being the object which we set before our eyes, and that we should not fall away from the right sense.

"6. In the same way we also admitted the '*born, not made*,' since they [the Council] alleged that '*made*' is an appellative common to the other creatures (510), which came to be through the Son, to

(509). Col. 1540 Tome XX., of Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*: Καὶ δὴ ταύτης τῆς γραφῆς ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὑπαγορευθείσης, ὅπως εἶρηται αὐτοῖς τὸ ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Πατρὸς, καὶ τὸ τῷ Πατρὶ ὁμοούσιον, οὐκ ἀνιξέταστον αὐτοῖς κατελιμπάνομεν * * * καὶ δὴ το "ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας" ὡμολογεῖτο πρὸς αὐτῶν, δηλωτικὸν εἶναι τοῦ ἐκ μὲν τοῦ Πατρὸς εἶναι, οὐ μὴν ὡς μέρος ὑπάρχειν τοῦ Πατρὸς. Ταύτη δὲ καὶ ἡμῖν ἐδόκει καλῶς ἔχειν συγκατατίθεσθαι τῇ διανοίᾳ τῆς εὐσεβοῦς διδασκαλίας ὑπαγορευθείσης ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς εἶναι τὸν Υἱὸν, οὐ μὴν μέρος αὐτοῦ τῆς οὐσίας τυγχάνειν· διόπερ τῇ διανοίᾳ καὶ αὐτοὶ συνετιθέμεθα, οὐδὲ τὴν φωνὴν τοῦ ὁμοουσίου παραιτοῦμεθα.

(510). Notice "*the other creatures*" (τῶν λοιπῶν κτισμάτων), that seems to imply that Eusebius classed God the Son among the creatures, and shows that he was an Arian still. No wonder that after this the Orthodox objected to the attempts of this Eusebius and his namesake of Nicomedia, and the attempts of the rest of the Arian party to explain away the Nicene Creed, and to make it accord with their Arian heresy; and no wonder that those Arians in return plotted against Eustathius, and by their black-hearted malevolence and iniquity got him unjustly deposed. The story is told by Sozomen in his *Ecclesiastical History*, Book II., Chapters XVIII., XIX., XX., XXI., XXII., and after; see Chapters XVIII. and XIX. for their machinations against Eustathius, and the other chapters for their contrivances against other Orthodox Bishops. The story is told with a leaning towards Eusebius of Caesarea, and in a blind and

whom the Son has no likeness. Wherefore (511), He is not a work resembling the things which through Him came to be, but is of a substance which is better than any work, and which the divine oracles teach to have been born out of the Father (512), the mode of generation being inscrutable and incalculable to every generated (513) nature.

"7. And so, too, on examination reason approves the expression that the Son is '*of the same substance as the Father*,' not in the way of bodies, nor like mortal beings, for He is not such by division of His substance, or by a cutting off; no, nor by any suffering or change or conversion of the Father's substance and power (since from all such things the ungenerated (514) nature of the Father is alien), but because the expression '*of the same substance as the Father*' (τὸ ὁμοούσιον τῷ Πατρὶ) suggests that the Son of God bears no resemblance to the made creatures, but that He has been made like, in all respects, to the Father alone who generated Him, and that He is not out of any other subsistence and substance, but has come out of the Father (515). And to that expression, explained in that manner, it seemed

stumbling manner by the pronounced Origenist, Socrates, in his *Ecclesiastical History*, Book I., Chapters XXIII., XIV.; (compare the chapters after for the plottings of the Arian party to which Eusebius of Caesarea belonged, against other Orthodox leaders). See also Socrates' abuse of Eustathius, in the same work, Book VI., Chapter XIII., because he condemned justly his favorite, the heretic Origen, who was afterwards condemned in Anathema XI. of the Fifth Ecumenical Council. The events are more justly narrated by Theodoret in his *Ecclesiastical History*, Book I., Chapters XIX., XX., and especially XXI. and XXII.

(511). Newman's text has "*say they*" after "*wherefore*."

(512). Greek, ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς γεγενῆσθαι. I have rendered those words as they literally mean, but Eusebius of Caesarea, judging from his whole course, seems to have understood them in the forced and unnatural sense of "*made by the Father*" as the other Arians did.

(513). Here Eusebius uses "*generated*" (γεννητῇ in Socrates here) in the sense of "*made*," that is "*created*."

(514). Greek, τὴν ἀγέννητον φύσιν τοῦ Πατρὸς, in Socrates here in Bright's text.

(515). Greek, ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς. I have translated those words literally, "*out of the Father*," as the Orthodox understood them; but I suppose Eusebius of Caesarea, as an Arian, would in his heart reject that sense, and take them in the forced and unnatural sense of "*by the Father*" to get rid of the idea that the Son had actually come out of the Father. For throughout this whole document

to be well to assent, for we knew that among the ancients also some learned and illustrious Bishops and writers have used the expression, 'of the same substance' (516) in their theological teaching concerning the Father and the Son (517).

"8. Let these things, therefore, be said concerning the faith (518) which was set forth, for which all of us gave our voices together, not without inquiry, but according to the senses specified when they were examined before the most religious Emperor himself, and confessed for the reasons aforesaid (519). And as to the An-

he uses some Orthodox expressions in Arian senses, as the sharp and cunning men of his party were wont to do, that they might gull the Emperor and the less learned of the Orthodox, and hold their sees. Yet, as above mentioned, he implies plainly, in the very document above, that the Son is to be classed among creatures, in accordance, probably, with the Arian perversion of the sense of Proverbs VIII., 22, in the Septuagint translation.

(516.) Greek, τοῦ ὁμοουσίου.

(517). Id., col. 1541. *The Epistle of Eusebius of Caesarea to his Paroeci-ans*: Κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ δὲ καὶ τὸ "γεννηθέντα" καὶ "οὐ ποιηθέντα" καταδεξάμεθα, ἐπειδὴ τὸ ποιηθὲν κοινὸν ἔφασκεν εἶναι πρόσρημα τῶν λοιπῶν κτισμάτων τῶν διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ γενομένων, ὧν οὐδὲν ὁμοιον ἔχειν τὸν Υἱόν· διὸ δὴ μὴ εἶναι αὐτὸν ποίημα τοῖς δι' αὐτοῦ γενομένοις ἐμφε-ρὲς, κρείττονος δὲ ἢ κατὰ πᾶν ποίημα τυγχάνειν οὐσίας, ἣν ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς γεγενῆσθαι τὰ θεῖα διδάσκει λόγια, τοῦ τρόπου τῆς γεννήσεως ἀνεκθράστου καὶ ἀνεπιλογίστου πάσῃ γεννητῇ φύσει τυγχάνοντος.

7. Οὕτω δὲ καὶ τὸ "ὁμοοῦσιον" εἶναι τοῦ Πατρὸς τὸν Υἱὸν ἐξεταζόμενος ὁ λόγος συνίσ-τησιν, οὐ κατὰ τὸν τῶν σωμάτων τρόπον, οὐδὲ τοῖς θνητοῖς ζώοις παραπλησίως· οὔτε γὰρ κατὰ διαιρέσιν τῆς οὐσίας, οὔτε κατὰ ἀποτομὴν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ κατὰ τι πάθος ἢ τροπὴν ἢ ἀλλοίωσιν τῆς τοῦ Πατρὸς οὐσίας τε καὶ δυνάμεως· τούτων γὰρ πάντων ἀλλοτριὰν εἶναι τὴν ἀγέννητον τοῦ Πατρὸς φύσιν· παραστατικὸν δὲ εἶναι τὸ "ὁμοοῦσιον τῷ Πατρὶ" τὸ μηδεμίαν ἐμφέρειαν πρὸς τὰ γενητὰ κτίσματα τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ φέρειν, μόνῳ δὲ τῷ Πατρὶ τῷ γεγεννηκότι κατὰ πάντα τρόπον ἀφωμοιωσθαι, καὶ μὴ εἶναι ἐξ ἑτέρας τινὸς ὑποστάσεως τε καὶ οὐσίας, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς· ὃ καὶ αὐτῷ τούτου ἐρμηνευθέντι τὸν τρόπον, καλῶς ἔχειν ἐφάνη συγκαταθέσθαι· ἐπεὶ καὶ τῶν παλαιῶν τινες λογίους καὶ ἐπιφανεῖς ἐπισκόπους καὶ συγγραφεῖς ἔγνωμεν ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ Θεολογίας, τῷ τοῦ ὁμοουσίου συγχρησαμένους ὀνόματι.

(518). Here we have an instance of the use of πίστις in the sense of "creed."

(519). This account we must remember is by an Arian, and is, to some extent, deceptive and unjust. St. Athanasius, in Section 3 of his *Epistle in Defence of the Nicene Definition*, referring to the above Epistle of Eusebius of Caesarea, (pages 6 and 7 the Oxford translation of St. Athanasius' *Treatises Against Arianism*) truthfully writes of that Eusebius, "He was ashamed at that time to adopt" the "phrases of the substance," "Of the same substance," and "The Son of God is neither creature nor work, nor in the number of things

matism set forth by them at the end of the Faith (520), we deemed be a thing which should not pain us (521), for it forbids to use expressions not in Scripture, from which almost all the confusion and order of the Churches have come (522). Because, therefore, no

rated, but * * * the Word is an offspring from the substance of the *er*;" and that therefore, in the above Epistle to his flock, he "excused *elf, to the church in his own way.*" That way was surely an Arian one, and own words show that he was anxious to excuse his own signature to an Orthodox Creed by giving the false impression that the Orthodox understood that l, as an Arian would. He signed it, as we see from the testimonies given e and from that of Theodoret in Chapter VIII. of Book II., of his *Ecclesi- al History*, only dissemblingly and insincerely, and because he feared ex- unication. The venom and persistency of Eusebius of Nicomedia, and bius of Caesarea, the Arian partisans, who signed the Creed at Nicaea, was lerful, for they did not give up the fight then, but commenced to plot and ne at once and kept it up till they died, in secret where they could not be , and openly where they could.

520.) Here is another instance where *την πίστιν*, that is, "*the Faith*," is for "*the Creed*" of Nicaea.

521). "*Straws*," says the old proverb, "*show which way the wind blows.*" Expressions like the above show the Arian trend of Eusebius' heart. The hema pronounced by the Universal Apostolate with the aid of the same ed and savingly warning Spirit which taught the Apostle Paul to anathe- te antecedently in Galatians I., 8, 9, all forms of Arian and other Anti-Gos- ieresy, pains no Orthodox Christian man any more than Paul's Anathema . pains them, for they know that it is God's saving and needed warning to l men against eternal death, which is the Christ-appointed reward of unbe- ig Arianism (Mark XVI., 16; Rev. XXI., 8, and Matt. XVIII., 17, 18; hat that warning is given by the order of the ministry who are deputed by it in His Word to the task of teaching the whole church (Matt. XVIII., 17, LXVIII., 19, 20, and the *Harmonies* of the Gospels, where those passages ound, where we see that they were addressed to the Apostles alone, as are passages also as John XIV., 16, 17; John XVI., 13).

522). Both the Orthodox and the Arians used terms not in Scripture to ess their views; but the differences were :

1. The Orthodox used fewer of such terms than their opponents did. See on that matter above.
2. The Orthodox terms, which were not in the words of Scripture, were ys in accordance with its *sense*; whereas the Arian terms contradicted both ords and its sense.
3. The Orthodox terms were put forth by the Court of Highest Resort, ap- ted by Christ in His Word to settle all Church questions with the promised f the Holy Ghost, that is by the Universal Apostolate, and are therefore iately through them authorized by Christ Himself—whereas the Arian

divinely-inspired Scripture has used the phrases 'out of nothing' and 'once He was not' (523), and the rest of them [in that Anathematism], it seemed not reasonable to assert and to teach them, and to that [conclusion] also, as it seemed fair, we assented, since, moreover, we had not been accustomed to use those expressions in the time before this.

"9. Moreover, to anathematize 'Before He was brought forth He was not' was not deemed out of place, because among all it is confessed that He was the Son of God before His birth in flesh.

"And our most dear to God Emperor had already proved, in his Oration, that He had existence by His divine birth which was before all the worlds, since also before He was actually born He was potentially in the Father unbornly, the Father being always Father, as King also always, and Saviour always, being potential as to all things, and being always in the same respects and in the same way (524).

terms were the outcome of the perverse thoughts of mere individual Bishops and others, who opposed the ancient faith of the Church and the decision of the Universal Apostolate in Ecumenical Synod assembled, and are therefore to be accounted by Christ's Law "as the heathen man and the publican," (Matt. XVIII., 17, 18). Anti-Trinitarians generally forget these facts, and misrepresent matters endlessly. Even Eusebius of Caesarea, in the section above, admits that Arian terms specified by him as anathematized in the Creed of Nicaea are not in Scripture.

(523). Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*, Tome XX., col. 1544, Eusebius of Caesarea's *Epistle to his Paroecians*: Μηδεμίαν γούν Θεογενήσαντος Γραφῆς τῇ "ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων," καὶ τῷ "ἦν ποτε ὅτε οὐκ ἦν," καὶ τοῖς ἐξῆς ἐπιλεγομένοις κεχρημένους, κ. τ. λ.

(524.) Page 47 of the English translation of Theodoret's *Ecclesiastical History*, on that states of it that its "authenticity * * * is doubted," and adds in proof, "Valesius' remarks upon its omission by Socrates and Epiphanius." I here translate the place of Valesius to which reference is made. It is a remark on Section 9 of Eusebius of Caesarea's epistle to his flock. That remark is found in column 1536 of Tome LXXXII. of Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*, and is as follows: It is on the words above, "before he was actually generated He was potentially with the Father ingenerately." Valesius remarks:

"In those words of Constantine or of Eusebius there is a manifest error. For the Word was not potentially in the Father before He was actually brought forth out of the Father. For, firstly, *act* and *power* are not distinguishable in God. Secondly, from that assertion it would follow that the Word was not from eternity. For the rest of the creatures also were potentially in God before they were actually created. But they are not called eternal because of that fact.

"Moreover, it is to be observed that this whole section is not to be found in

"10. These things we have been forced to transmit to you, Beloved, to make clear to you the deliberation of our examination and assent, and how reasonably we resisted even to the last minute,

Socrates, nor in Epiphanius Scholasticus. Socrates certainly seems to me to have omitted it purposely, and that because it contains a heretical sense."

Socrates, pronounced Origenist as he was, might naturally do that; for in Chapter XXI., Book II., of his *Ecclesiastical History*, and in Chapter XIII. of Book VI., he makes a labored attempt to prove that Eusebius of Caesarea was Orthodox, notwithstanding the strong testimony of St. Athanasius and of St. Eustathius that he was an Arianizer. Indeed, Socrates, in Chapter XXIII., Book I., of his *Ecclesiastical History*, expressly states that "Eustathius, the Bishop of Antioch tears to pieces Eusebius Pamphili, on the ground that he put forth a counterfeit of the faith of Nicaea."

Eusebius does put forth a counterfeit of it in the above letter; for the Nicene Faith which he accepts in it is not that in sense which the God-inspired Fathers set forth, but one which he, an Arian, fathered unjustly on them. In his bitter hatred of its Creed, he, in conjunction with the notorious Arian leader, his namesake, Eusebius of Nicomedia, plotted against Eustathius of Antioch, slandered him as if he were a Sabellian, and an enemy of Constantine the Emperor, and got him unjustly and iniquitously deposed and sent into exile. The facts are told by Sozomen in Chapters XVIII. and XIX. of Book I. of his *Ecclesiastical History*; and Theodoret in Chapters XX., XXI. and XXII. of Book I. of his *Ecclesiastical History*, gives the details of the meanness and wickedness of the Arians, Eusebius of Nicomedia and Eusebius of Caesarea, and their fellow-Arians, in their persecution of St. Eustathius. The facts told by Socrates in Book I. of his *Ecclesiastical History*, Chapter II. and in Book VI., Chapter XIII., witness to the good character of Eustathius and to his Orthodoxy. To the same effect witnesses Theodoret in two places in Chapter VII. of Book I. of his *Ecclesiastical History*. The accounts of both taken together testify that he was deposed from his see on the persistent and unsupported accusation of a hired unchaste woman that he was the father of her child; and that she afterwards confessed that she had slandered him; and that not the Bishop Eustathius, but Eustathius the coppersmith was its father. They tell how his people sympathized with him in his sore and undeserved trials. The Arian partisan, Philostorgius, refers to the deposition of Eustathius in Chapter VII., Book II., of his *Ecclesiastical History*, and admits that the city where the Arian leader, Eusebius, was Bishop, "*Nicomedia, was the workshop where they [the Arians] contrived all their evil deeds:*" I quote Bohn's translation.

I ought to add that the Index to Bohn's translation of Socrates, under "*Eustathius*," confounds the Orthodox Eustathius with the heretic Eustathius of Sebaste; the latter is meant on pages 130, 259 and 260 of that translation, as is expressly said by Socrates himself in the context of those places. I would add further that Socrates, in his partisanship for Origen, uses abusive language of Saint Methodius, Bishop of Olympus in Lycia; of Saint Eustathius, Bishop of

as long as we were offended at written statements which differed from our own, but received without contention what no longer pained us, as soon as, on a candid examination of the sense of the words, they

Antioch; and of Saint Theophilus, Bishop of Alexandria; because they opposed Origen's errors. But the Fifth Ecumenical Council vindicated those blessed men when, in its Anathema XI., it anathematized Origen and "*any man who does not anathematize*" him and his "*impious writings,*" and classes him among the "*heretics,*" with Arius, Macedonius, Apolinarius, Nestorius, and Eutyches, and anathematizes "*those who held or hold opinions like those of the aforesaid heretics, and continue in their own impiety to the end.*" How far Socrates the Origenist, (perhaps also the Novatian), held to Origen's opinions is a question which I have no time to investigate here. If he held them to the last he is undoubtedly anathematized in the above Curse pronounced by the Fifth Synod of the whole Church.

Now as to the statement in the note above mentioned in Bohn that Epiphanius has omitted Section 9 in Eusebius of Caesarea's Epistle above to his Flock, I would remark :

1. Valesius refers not to St. Epiphanius, Bishop of Constantia, in Cyprus, in Century IV. and V., but, as he shows in the note above translated from him, to Epiphanius Scholasticus, of the beginning of the sixth century. He translated the Ecclesiastical *Histories* of Socrates, Sozomen and Theodoret into Latin.

2. He merely followed therefore the text on Eusebius of Caesarea's Epistle to his Flock which he found in Socrates, and hence omitted Section 9 above.

3. The article on that "Epiphanius Scholasticus," page 159, volume 2, of Smith and Wace's *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, tells us as to his translations that: "Cassiodorus himself revised the work, corrected its faults of style, abridged it, and arranged it into one continuous history of the Church. He then published it for the use of the clergy. * * * It was known as the Tripartite History." In the form therefore in which Cassiodorus of Century VI. gives it, it is no wonder that Section 9 of Eusebius' letter is omitted. For it was not in Socrates whom he was translating into Latin.

Socrates' designed omission of a passage in his Origenist favorite, Eusebius of Caesarea, to hide his Arianism here, would make us more ready to suspect that he has omitted a part of the Synodal Epistle of the First Ecumenical Council because it claims that the Council was guided by the Holy Ghost, and so was infallible in its condemnation, in its Eighth Canon, of the sect of the Cathari, that is the Novatians, to which it is thought Socrates belonged. See what I have said on that matter above, where I give Socrates' and Theodoret's forms of the Synodal Epistle of Nicaea.

Before dismissing the note of Valesius above quoted, I would remark that his inference from Eusebius' words above quoted that he was an Arian, because he believed in the non-eternity of God the Word, is true. For God the Word was not merely *potentially* but *really and actually* in God the Father from all eternity.

appeared to us to coincide with what we ourselves have professed in the Faith above set forth (525).''

Nevertheless the ancients, like St. Justin, the Martyr, Tatian in his Orthodox time, St. Theophilus of Antioch, Tertullian, and Novatian even, and St. Zeno of Verona, held to the doctrine that God the Word was eternally in the Father from all eternity, but was not born out of Him till just before the worlds were made.

Valesius contradicts himself when he says that *act* and *power* are not distinguishable in God, for directly after he shows in effect that God the Father had from all eternity the *power* to create all things, but did not do so, till about six thousand years ago he made the worlds.

Theodoret did not agree with Socrates' notion that Eusebius of Caesarea was a Trinitarian, but held with St. Athanasius, who knew him best, that he was an Arian. Indeed, Theodoret, in Chapter XI., Book I., of his *Ecclesiastical History*, introduced the above Epistle of Eusebius of Caesarea as a sort of *argumentum ad hominem* to the Arians, because, that is, it is testimony to the Nicene Creed from one whom they regarded as of the same mind with themselves. I have translated that place of Theodoret above.

(525). I have translated from the Greek, and have largely agreed with the Oxford translation, but sometimes, for greater clearness and accuracy, have departed from it. In this place I may be allowed to take occasion to warn the young reader to be on his guard against the warped and partisan tendency of a few of the notes in some of the Oxford translations of the Fathers, especially in Dr. John Henry Newman's translation of S. ATHANASIUS' *Treatises against Arianism*, page 417, especially note "g." He went over to Rome not long after that. The virus of the creature-worship of the Roman Communion can be easily discovered by the attentive observer. It is a pity that with much learning in some branches, almost all the Oxford school, including Pusey, Newman and Keble, were so deplorably ignorant of the relative superiority of the decisions of the Universal Church in the Six Ecumenical Synods to the mere *opinions* (as distinguished from the *historical witness*) of individual Fathers, and to the mere local decisions of the Occident. The men of that school with most knowledge on the Ecumenical data were Perceval and Palmer, of Worcester College. Even they, however, are defective in places in regard for some of the decisions of those Six Synods. Perceval, in particular, argues for the right of the local Church of England to set aside some excellent canons approved at Chalcedon, which are in harmony with Scripture, and with the observance of the Church since early and pure times.

The notes referred to above have a tendency, indirectly, to excuse creature-worship. Probably at the time they were written Newman had a tendency towards it. Compare the remarks of Bishop Kaye, of Lincoln, in his *Account of the Council of Nicaea*, Preface, page VI. In reading Newman's writings I have been struck with the fact that from the very first he seems to have been ignorant or forgetful of the plain fact which every catechist of children even ought to know, and that is that the Roman Communion is idolatrous, because it

From glancing at this letter of Eusebius of Caesarea the reader will at once see,

1. That neither Eusebius nor the Council propose to enlarge the Creed of the Roman Church, such as when, after this time, it first clearly appears in history, it is found to be.

2. That if by Faith, *πίστις*, in the second section of this letter, Eusebius means a Creed, it must be that of Caesarea, of which he was Metropolitan, and to which Jerusalem, being an Episcopate in the province

worships images painted, and images graven, crosses, altars, relics and other things, on the plea, like the heathen, of *Relative Service*, the very plea used by the heresiarch Nestorius for his relative bowing to Christ's humanity, and quoted against him in his own words in Act I. of the Third Ecumenical Synod, and made one of the grounds for deposing him; and that the invocation of the Virgin Mary, saints and angels is impliedly anathematized in Anathema VIII. of St. Cyril of Alexandria's XII., approved at Ephesus, and in Anathema IX. of the Fifth Ecumenical Council against the Nestorian worship of the humanity of Christ. For surely if I may not give any separate worship, after the Nestorian fashion to the humanity of Christ, much less may I to any creature less than that perfect humanity, be it the Virgin Mary, or any saint, or any angel, or any archangel, or any other creature animate or inanimate, or to any mere thing, such as a picture, statue, bust, relics, the bread and wine of the Eucharist, or any other mere thing. He seemed from the early times of the Oxford movement to have forgotten the fact taught him by the Homily of his own Church Against Peril of Idolatry, that as God cursed the Ten Tribes and Judah also, with division, with disaster, defeat, and captivity for such sins by the Assyrian and the Babylonian, so he cursed the Christian Israel with the same calamities for the same sins, by the Persian, the Arab, the Tartar and the Turk. In his blind desire for a union with idolatrous Rome he forgot the plainest lessons which God has taught all men; and finally landed in paganism and died the death of the idolater which Holy Writ teaches us is without hope.

Even Palmer, who wrote on the Church, if I recollect aright differed from his own Church in not deeming Rome idolatrous. Nearly the whole of the leaders of the party to which Newman and Keble and Pusey belonged failed to witness for God and the Six Ecumenical Councils on those vital points. Indeed while many of them had some Patristic learning I know of none of them who could be called well versed in the Ecumenical Decisions in those Holy-Ghost-led councils of Universal Christendom. Able as were some of them, as a school they were a woful failure because they built not on the rock of the Ecumenical Decisions, but on their private fancies and private interpretations as to Scripture or the Fathers. Their heresies are antecedently anathematized by the Six Synods, and the Anglican Bishops should anathematize their creature worship and other heresies, and those guilty of them, or be deposed.

of which Caesarea was metropolis, was at that time subject. But he does not use the word *Creed*, but only *Faith*, here.

3. That this *Faith* (πίστις) presented by Eusebius forms, according to his claim above, the ground-work of the Nicene Symbol, that is, of the Creed of the 318.

Indeed, much of the Nicene Creed, outside of its Anathema, may be found, word for word, in that presented by Eusebius of Caesarea. That is apparent from a glance at the Greek and the English of both. I have italicized the parts which are the same in both, and have put in capitals those clauses which the Ecumenical Council added to guard the Consubstantial Faith; for the Arian, Eusebius, had purposely omitted any statement of that tenet. Of those added clauses I will speak further on. Eusebius' statement, part of which *may have been* (I do not say *was*) akin, in some parts, to the Creed of Caesarea and its comprovincial see, Jerusalem, the mother of all Churches, is as follows. For the sake of convenience and comparison and future reference we append, in parallel columns, three other early forms, but only the articles in them which treat of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, because the Nicene has only those three articles and *the Anathema*, which is peculiar to itself.

I.

THE FAITH (ἡ Πίστις) of Eusebius,
Bishop of Caesarea, exhibited at
Nicaea, A. D. 325.

Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἕνα Θεόν, Πατέρα
παντοκράτορα, τὸν τῶν ἀπάντων ὑρατῶν
τε καὶ ἀοράτων ποιητήν.

Καὶ εἰς ἕνα Κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν,
τὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγον, Θεὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ, φῶς
ἐκ φωτός, ζωὴν ἐκ ζωῆς, Υἱὸν Μονογενῆ,
πρωτότοκον πάσης κτίσεως, πρὸ πάντων
τῶν αἰώνων ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς γεγεννημέ-
νον, δι' οὗ καὶ ἐγένετο τὰ πάντα, τὸν
διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν σαρκωθέντα
καὶ ἐν ἀνθρώποις πολιτευσάμενον, καὶ
παθόντα, καὶ ἀναστάντα τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ,
καὶ ἀνελθόντα πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα, καὶ

II.

THE CREED (τὸ Σύμβολον) of the
First Ecumenical Council, held
at Nicaea, A. D. 325.

Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἕνα Θεόν, Πατέρα
παντοκράτορα, πάντων ὑρατῶν τε καὶ
ἀοράτων ποιητήν.

Καὶ εἰς τὸν ἕνα Κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χρισ-
τόν, τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, γεννηθέντα ἐκ
τοῦ Πατρὸς Μονογενῆ, τουτέστιν ἐκ τῆς
οὐσίας τοῦ Πατρὸς, Θεὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ, φῶς
ἐκ φωτός, Θεὸν ἀληθινὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ ἀληθι-
νοῦ, γεννηθέντα, οὐ ποιηθέντα, ὁμοούσι-
ον τῷ Πατρὶ, δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο,
τά τε ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς·
τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, καὶ διὰ
τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν κατελθόντα, καὶ

ζήοντα πάλιν ἐν δόξῃ κρίναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς.

Πιστεύομεν καὶ εἰς τὸ Πνεῦμα Ἅγιον.

σαρκωθέντα, ἐνανθρωπήσαντα, παθόντα, καὶ ἀναστάντα τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ, καὶ ἀνελθόντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς, ἐρχόμενον κρίναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς·

Καὶ εἰς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον.

TRANSLATION.

I.

"Faith" of Eusebius, Bishop of Caesarea, presented at Nicaea, A. D. 325.

1. *We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, the Maker of all visible and of all invisible things.*

2. *And in one Lord, Jesus Anointed, the Word of God, God out of God, Light out of Light, Life out of Life, Sole-Born Son, First Bringer Forth of all creation, born out of the Father before all the worlds, through whom all things were made;*

3. *Who, for our salvation, took on flesh, and lived among men;*

4. *And suffered;*

5. *And rose up on the third day;*

6. *And went up to the Father;*

TRANSLATION.

II.

The Creed of Nicaea, A. D. 325.

1. *We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, Maker of all visible and of all invisible things:*

2. *And in the one Lord, Jesus Anointed, THE SON OF GOD, born out of the Father, Sole-Born, THAT IS OUT OF THE SUBSTANCE OF THE FATHER, God out of God, Light out of Light, VERY GOD OUT OF VERY GOD, BORN, NOT MADE, OF THE SAME SUBSTANCE AS THE FATHER, through whom all things were made, BOTH THOSE IN THE HEAVEN AND THOSE ON THE EARTH;*

3. *Who, for us men, and for our salvation, came down, and took on flesh, [AND] PUT ON A MAN;*

4. *Suffered;*

5. *And rose up on the third day,*

6. *And Went up into the heavens,*

7. *And will come again in glory to judge the living and the dead:*

8. *We believe in one Holy Spirit also.*

7. [*And*] *cometh to judge the living and the dead:*

8. *And [we believe] in the Holy Spirit.*

III.

The Creed of Cyril, of Jerusalem, A. D. 347 or 348.

1. *We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, and of all visible and of all invisible things:*

2. *And in one Lord Jesus Anointed, the Son of God, the Sole-Born, who was born very God out of the Father before all the worlds, through whom all things were made.*

3. *He took on flesh, and put on a man.*

4. *Was crucified and buried.*

5. *Rose up on the third day;*

6. *And went up into the heavens, and sat down at the right hand of the Father;*

7. *And cometh in glory to judge the living and the dead: Of His Kingdom there will be no end.*

8. *And in one Holy Spirit, the Comforter, who spake in the prophets.*

IV.

The Creed of Rome, about A. D. 390.

1. *I believe in God, the Father Almighty.*

2. *And in Jesus Christ, His only Son, our Lord.*

3. *Who was born by the Holy Ghost out of Mary, the Virgin.*

4. *Was crucified under Pontius Pilate, and was buried.*

5. *On the third day He rose again from the dead.*

6. *He went up into the heavens. He sitteth at the right hand of the Father.*

7. *Thence He will come to judge the living and the dead*

8. *And [I believe] in the Holy Spirit.*

The beginning of Eusebius' Formula, and all its ending, both of which, taken together, form about three-fifths of it, are not at all in the Nicene Creed. In the Oxford translation the document is in twenty-nine lines; of which ten only contain anything like the Nicene Creed. This is a great difference at once.

On the other hand, Eusebius' Formula wholly lacks the Anathema of the Nicene Creed, which constitutes, in the Oxford translation, about five lines out of the entire sixteen of that Creed. Consequently the only comparison which we can make between the two documents is between ten lines of the twenty-nine of Eusebius' Formula, and eleven lines of the sixteen of the Nicene Creed. Those two parts treat of the Trinity alone, and contain three great articles.

(1) That on the Father.

(2) That on the Son ; and

(3) That on the Holy Ghost, which is very short in both those documents.

In those two parts of those two documents must we look, therefore, for any verification of Eusebius' claim made in his *Epistle to the Caesareans*, that "*The writing on Faith set forth by*" him *was given forth, with additions to his own words*, by the First Ecumenical Council (526).

If we are asked whether it can be positively determined; whether (1) the Formula presented by Eusebius of Caesarea at Nicaea, or rather the ten lines of it which treat of the Trinity and are most like eleven of the lines of the Nicene Creed, were his own composition;

Or (2), whether he took them from a Creed of Caesarea in Palestine and embodied them in his own *Formula* or *Profession of Faith*;

Or, whether (3), the Church of Caesarea had any thing nearer like a *Creed* than the few questions common in every Church in some form in Baptism and in making a Catechumen ; and

Whether (4), the Fathers at Nicaea really took those parts of

(526). Eusebius of Caesarea's *Epistle to the Caesareans*, Section I, column 537, of Tome XX., of Migne's *Patrologia Graeca* :

'Αναγκάτως διεπεμφόμεθα ὑμῖν πρῶτον μὲν τὴν ἐφ' ἡμῶν προταθείσαν περὶ τῆς πίστεως γραφὴν, ἔπειτα τὴν δευτέραν, ἣν ταῖς ἡμετέραις φωναῖς προσθήκας ἐπιβαλόντες ἐκεδόκασι.

their Creed which are the same as parts of Eusebius of Caesarea's Formula from it, or from the common statements of Oriental *local* Creeds which are now lost ; or whether they composed them themselves;

We reply frankly that we may theorize endlessly, but can not state anything *positively*, because the facts necessary to answer these questions with clearness and *absolute* certainty have perished.

Nevertheless, we know enough to afford probability in certain respects. We will glance at the inquiries above specified in the light of the facts known.

(1.) Is the formula presented by Eusebius, or the first eight articles of it, that is the parts on the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, his own composition; or

(2), Was it the Symbol of Caesarea in Palestine ?

The facts bearing on these points are as follows :

Caesarea, as has been said, was in the same ecclesiastical province as Jerusalem, and under the same Metropolitan (527). Situated so near to each other, founded in the same epoch, conversant with the same circumstances, it seems unlikely that the Caesarean Symbol, if one existed, differed so widely as does this from the Jerusalem Symbol found in the *Catechetical Lectures* of Cyril of the latter Church, about A. D. 347 or 348, only 22 or 23 years after Eusebius offered his formula to the Council. It seems likely, therefore that Eusebius composed some parts of his formula. Nevertheless, as a comparison with the Jerusalem Symbol in Cyril's *Catechetical Lectures* shows, his form seems to have been affected and in places modeled by it or by a Caesarean Symbol like it.

Now as to Question, (3), Whether in A. D. 325 the Church of Caesarea had anything nearer like a Symbol than the few questions, such as those which were common at that time and before, in the ante-Baptismal preparation, or questions of similar purport to them; in other words whether the Church of Caesarea had a *Declarative* Symbol at that epoch ?

Answer. We can not say with *absolute* certainty. The Jerusalem Church had one A. D. 347, 348, and, so far as appears, long before;

(527). See Canon VII. of Nicaea and the remarks of Hammond in his "*Canons of the Church*" on it.

and the 46th Canon of the Council of Laodicea, which is commonly ascribed to about A. D. 364, directs that "*Those who are to be enlightened must learn the Faith (τὴν πίστιν), and on the fifth day of the week repeat [or "tell"] it to the Bishop or Presbyters,*" language which may mean a Declarative Creed, or perhaps the Baptismal Questions, or perhaps nothing more than the substance of Lectures or Instructions. A similar direction is found in Canon 47 of Laodicea. About A. D. 390, Rufinus expresses the belief that the *Declarative* Roman Creed had come down from the Apostles, which is true if its *sense* be meant, but not proven if its *words* be intended, but that belief implies that it had not been composed in his own era but was then ancient. We have written elsewhere on the *Ante-Nicæan Symbols and Confessions*, and hope to publish and must refer the reader to that.

But the language of Canons 46 and 47 of Laodicea in Syria is too late to aid us in determining whether there was a Declarative Creed of the Church of Caesarea in Palestine in A. D. 325. Besides neither of those Canons uses the word *Creed* (σύμβολον), but only "*the faith*" (τὴν πίστιν). Besides in the period of the Arian controversy which was so fertile in new Creeds, we can not say that the Jerusalem Creed of A. D. 347 or 348 remained the same it had been in A. D. 325. And what its form, or indeed that of the Creed of Caesarea in Palestine, was in A. D. 325, is not known. Furthermore, while I believe that each local Church had its own Declarative Creed in A. D. 325, we can not say exactly what their forms were.

We come then (4), to ask whether the Fathers at Nicaea really took those parts of their Creed which are the same as parts of Eusebius' Formula from it, or from the common statements of Oriental local Creeds which are now lost, or whether they composed them themselves, or adopted them into the Creed from their use before among the Orthodox?

Answer.—That they adopted or composed part of them is clear from what Athanasius tells us in his *Epistle to the African Bishops*; that is, such expressions as "*out of the substance of the Father,*" and "*of the same substance as the Father,*" though, as even Eusebius admits, the latter expression was in use before; and, of course, they composed the Anathema at the end of their Creed.

But whether they took the expressions which are the same in the Nicene Creed and in the Profession of Faith of Eusebius of

Caesarea from that *Profession* of Eusebius, or from their own *local Creeds*, or made them up themselves, does not appear from any facts known to us. For though Eusebius of Caesarea states that they did take them from his Formula, their own accounts do not assert it. And it does not seem likely that they would pay much heed to a pronounced and inveterate Arian, like that Eusebius, who really deserved to be deposed. Yet there is, of course, a possibility that his influence with the Emperor Constantine may have induced them to pay some regard to his Formula, and to incorporate some parts of it into their Creed, inasmuch as those parts were probably the same, or nearly the same, as similar clauses in other local Oriental Creeds. No Orthodox writer asserts that the Fathers of the Council made any use of Eusebius' *Profession* in drawing up their Creed. When speaking of the formulating of the Creed they do not even mention it, though, as we shall see, they mention Arian objections; and Ambrose mentions the rejection by the Fathers of a blasphemous Arian epistle of Eusebius of Nicomedia.

The terms used of the Nicene Creed show that it was then *dictated*; for in his epistle to the Caesareans above, it is headed,

"The Faith *dictated* in the Council."

And again in the same epistle afterwards that Creed is called, "*this Faith dictated by them.*" See the Greek in notes above.

St. Athanasius, in Section 3 of his "*Epistle*" to prove "*that the Synod in Nicaea, seeing the unscrupulousness of the Eusebians, set forth fitly and piously its Decisions against the Arian Heresy*" (528), mentions how the Fathers at Nicaea dealt with the pet phrases of the Arians, and incidentally refers to Eusebius of Caesarea's Epistle to the Caesareans. Athanasius compares the Arian tendency to deny Christ's Divinity to that of the Pharisees, who said, "*Why dost thou, being a man, make thyself God?*" (John X., 33); and warns them that like those Jews they will be condemned for "*impiety and lack of instruction*" (529). He adds as follows:

"But let them rather search with a desire to learn, in order that, acknowledging those things of which before they were ignorant, they

(528). Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*, Tome XXV., columns 415, 416.

(529). Id., col. 428; Section 2 of St. Athanasius *On the Decisions of the Nicene Council*.

may wash clean their own impious ears with the water (530) of truth, and with the dogmas of piety. For so also it happened in the Council at Nicaea to the partisans of Eusebius.

"As they were impiously and quarrelsomely contending [against the truth], and were trying to fight against God, the things said by them were full of impiety. But the assembled Bishops (who were in number three hundred, more or less) mildly and man-lovingly asked them to give a reason and pious proofs for those things which they were asserting. But as soon as they once began to speak, they began to condemn themselves, and began to war against each other; and seeing the great difficulty of their own heresy, they remained speechless, and by their own silence confessed the shame which had come on their own wicked opinion. The Bishops, therefore, then negatived (531) the expressions contrived by them, and so set forth against them the sound and ecclesiastical faith (532), and after all had subscribed [it] the partisans of Eusebius (533) also subscribed to those [Orthodox] expressions which now these [Arians] fault; I mean the expressions, '*out of the substance*' (ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας), and the '*of the same substance*' (τῷ ὁμοουσίῳ), and that *the Son of God is neither a creature nor a work, nor of things made, but the Word is an Offspring out of the substance of the Father* (534). And what is wonderful, Eusebius of Caesarea in Palestine, who had denied somewhat the day before, nevertheless afterwards subscribed, and sent a letter to his own Church saying that it is the Faith of the Church and the Tradition of the Fathers, and he showed plainly to all that they were in error before, and were vainly and quarrelsomely striving against the truth. For though he was then ashamed to subscribe (535) to those

(530). Or, "*in the stream*," νάματι.

(531). Greek, ἀνελόντες.

(532). That is, the Nicene Creed.

(533). Eusebius of Nicomedia seems to be meant. He was the chief Arian leader. But Eusebius of Caesarea was one of his partisans.

(534). Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*, Tome XXV., col. 428; St. Athanasius *On the Nicene Decisions*, Section 3: λέγω δὴ τῷ ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας καὶ τῷ ὁμοουσίῳ, καὶ ὅτι μήτε κτίσμα, ἢ ποίημα, μήτε των γεννητῶν ἐστὶν ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ Υἱὸς, ἀλλὰ γέννημα ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐστὶν ὁ Λόγος.

(535). Greek, ἡσχύνθη τότε ταῖταις ταῖς λέξεσι γράψαι Γράφω seems to be used here in the sense of ὑπογράφω. Newman renders "*to adopt these phrases*."

The literal rendering is "*to write in those expressions*," or "*with those*

expressions, and excused himself to the Church as he himself wished, yet he is willing to signify that much plainly, at least by his letter, by not denying the 'of the same substance' and the 'out of the substance' (536). And he suffered something strange. For as he went on to excuse himself, he accused thereby the Arians of not being willing to grant that He was, even before his birth, in flesh, because they had written [the words] 'He was not before He was born' (537). And that even Acacius knows, even though because he fears, he now for a season plays the hypocrite and denies the truth. At any rate, I have subjoined at the end the letter of Eusebius, in order that from it thou mayest know the lack of knowledge of the Christ-fighters, and especially the lack of knowledge of Acacius as regards their own teachers (538)."

That is the letter of Eusebius, just quoted above. Here St. Athanasius makes no mention at all of Eusebius' Formula in a place where we should naturally expect him to, if it had been made the basis of the Nicene Creed.

There are two documents mentioned as presented to the Bishops of the Council, and as rejected by them; and Valesius has supposed that one of them, mentioned by Theodoret as below quoted, is the same as Eusebius of Caesarea's Formula above. They are:

1. Eusebius of Nicomedia's blasphemous Epistle, and
2. An Arian *Instruction* on Faith.

Hermanus, as quoted below, thinks them both the same.

expressions." Neither Liddell and Scott in the sixth edition of their Greek-English Lexicon, nor Sophocles in his Greek Lexicon give *subscribe* as a meaning of γράφω. So that it may be best to render the above Greek, not as in the text above, but in the literal sense above given in this note, "*to write with those expressions,*" that is to use those expressions in his writing. Yet it is difficult to condemn either translation.

(536). Greek, τὸ ὁμοούσιον καὶ τὸ ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας.

(537.) Greek, Οὐκ ἦν ὁ Υἱὸς πρὶν γεννηθῆναι. Athanasius means that it was strange that Eusebius, in excusing himself, should so slander his own fellow heretics as to make them deny that the Logos had an existence before his birth of the Virgin. They admitted that He was before the worlds, but denied that He was eternal.

(538). Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*, Tome XXV., col. 428, 429; Sections 2 and 3 of St. Athanasius *On the Nicene Decisions*.

Let us glance at them and try to form some correct notion as to either of them being Eusebius of Caesarea's Formula above.

Hefele, in his *History of the Christian Councils* (Clark's English translation, Volume I., page 286), states that "*S. Ambrose says expressly that Eusebius of Nicomedia submitted a heterodox writing to the Council*" of Nicaea. I find the place to which Hefele refers in Ambrose's work *on Faith addressed to the Emperor Gratian*, Book III., Chapter XV. (column 639, Tome XVI., of Migne's *Patrologia Latina*). I translate it from the Latin:

"For what other reason is there why they [the Arians] should refuse to say that the Son is of the same substance [ὁμοούσιον] as the Father, except that they are not willing to confess that He is the real Son of the Father? As an author of their own, Eusebius of Nicomedia, shows when he writes in his Epistle:

"*If,*' saith he, '*we say that He is the Son of God, and uncreated, we begin to say that He is of the same substance as the Father.*'"

"When that Epistle was read in the Council of Nicaea, the Fathers put that expression [*of the same substance*'] in their Creed, because they saw that their adversaries feared it, so that with it they cut off the head of an abominable heresy as with a sword drawn by themselves (539)."

On the above, note 89, column 639, of Tome XVI., of Migne's *Patrologia Latina* states:

"It is doubted among learned men what that Epistle of Eusebius of Nicomedia is, of which mention is here made by Ambrose. Hermanus, in Book II. of the *Life of St. Athanasius*, Chapter VIII., after Cardinal Baronius, at the year 325, thinks that it is that Epistle which Theodoret mentions in Book I., Chapter VIII. [of his *Ecclesiastical History*], in Valesius' edition. Indeed, Valesius, on the same

(539). Column 639, Tome XVI., of Migne's *Patrologia Latina*; St. Ambrose, Bishop of Milan's, work *De Fide*, Lib. III., Cap. XV.: Nam quid est aliud, cur ὁμοούσιον Patri nolint Filium dici, nisi quia nolunt Verum Dei Filium confiteri? Sicut auctor ipsorum Eusebius Nicomediensis epistola sua prodidit, scribens: Si verum, inquit, Dei Filium et increatum dicimus ὁμοούσιον cum Pater [Patre?] incipimus confiteri. Haec cum lecta esset epistola in concilio Nicaeno, hoc verbum in tractatu Fidei posuerunt Patres, quia id viderunt adversariis esse formidini; ut tanquam evaginato ab ipsis gladio ipsorum nefandae caput haereseos amputarent.

place, contends that that place of Theodoret is to be understood not of an Epistle of Eusebius of Nicomedia, but of the statement on the Faith which was offered to the Fathers of the Council by Eusebius of Caesarea, and he brings some reasons for that view; which, however, do not seem to be so convincing as to free his opinion from all difficulty. But whatever be the truth as to that matter, it is certain that Ambrose speaks in this place not of a formula or statement of faith, but of an epistle."

The *Epistle* of Eusebius of Nicomedia referred to may be that given by Theodoret in Chapter V. of Book I. of his *Ecclesiastical History*, where, writing to Paulinus, Bishop of Tyre, he strongly contends against the doctrine that the Son is *of the same substance as the Father*, and asserts that He is *a creature and * * * a work*, so far as *His substance* is concerned, and he grounds that view on the Arian perversion of the Septuagint Version of Proverbs, VIII., 22, and after (540). It is true that the exact words of Ambrose's quotation may not be there, but their sense is, and it is not certain that he meant to give the exact words. It was a common thing among the ancients, as, indeed, it is in Holy Writ sometimes, to quote rather *the sense than the exact words* of a passage. This is especially true here and there where a Latin Father is quoting a Greek writer whose works had not all been rendered into Latin. I think it was that Epistle of Eusebius of Nicomedia which, Theodoret, as below quoted, tells us, the Fathers tore up. It does not seem at all probable that it was the *Profession* of Eusebius of Caesarea,

1. Because it is not an "*Epistle*" at all, nor in Epistle form, but is what it purports to be, a *Profession of Faith*:

2. Because no such words as those mentioned by Ambrose in the above quotation are found in it.

I here translate from Theodoret's *Ecclesiastical History*, Book I., Chapter V., the Epistle referred to:

"An Epistle of Eusebius, Bishop of Nicomedia, to Paulinus, Bishop of Tyre.

"To my lord Paulinus, Eusebius wisheth joy in the Lord.

(540). Col. 913, Tome LXXXII., of Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*: Theodoret, Bishop of Cyrus' *Ecclesiastical History*, Book I., Chapter V.

"The zeal of my lord Eusebius (541) for true doctrine is not unknown, but hath reached even to us, and so hath thy silence, my lord. And, as was a natural consequence, we were gladdened respecting my lord Eusebius, but were grieved concerning thee; for we deemed even the silence of such a man [as thou art] to be a loss. Wherefore I exhort thee, inasmuch as thou knowest how unbefitting a thing it is for a sensible man, who hath stirred up his spirit and his mind to write, to hold views which are alien (542) and to be silent as to those views which are true, make a beginning concerning that matter, and profit both thyself and thy hearers, especially because thou art willing to write in accordance with the Scripture and to keep to the leadings of its words and their meanings (543). For we

(541). In Bagster's translation here and in Bohn's we find "Paulinus" wrongly; which is clear from the next mention of Eusebius below. Migne's text here has *Eusebius*, and the *Various Lectures*, which he gives on the same page with it, do not even mention *Paulinus* in this place, or any thing but *Eusebius*. The Eusebius referred to is the noted Bishop of Caesarea in Palestine, the Church historian, who, as Athanasius shows, was a determined Arian.

(542). He means the Orthodox views, which are alien to Arianism.

(543). Here this noted Arian, while professing respect for the *letter*, and the *meaning* of Scripture, departs from both. For he and his party departed from the letter of Scripture by bringing in such non-Scriptural terms, as Athanasius shows, as:

- (1). "Out of nothing."
- (2). "The Son was not before His generation."
- (3). "Once He was not."
- (4). "He is alterable."
- (5). "Pre-existence."
- (6). "At the will."
- (7). "The Father is ineffable and invisible to the Son," and
- (8). "The Son knows not even His own Substance."

(Athanasius' *Treatises Against Arianism*, Oxford translation, pages 1, 30, 133 and 257). On page 133, St. Athanasius says, justly, that when the Arians reject the Nicene statement that "*the Son has come out of the Father's substance*," on their plea, "*this is not written; and we reject these words as unscriptural*;" that "*this is an unblushing excuse in their mouths. For if they think everything must be rejected which is not written, wherefore, when the Arian party invent such a heap of phrases, not from Scripture, as 'Out of nothing;' and, 'The Son was not before His generation;' and, 'Once He was not;' and, 'He is alterable;' and, 'The Father is ineffable and invisible to the Son;' and, 'The Son knows not even His own substance;' and all that Arius has vomited*

have neither heard that there are two ungenerated beings (544), nor that the One ungenerated Being (545) has been separated into Two;

in his light and irreligious Thalia, why do they not speak against these, but rather take their part?"

On page 31, St. Athanasius pertinently asks regarding the Arians:

"Why then, when they have invented on their part unscriptural phrases, for the purposes of irreligion, do they accuse those who are religious in their use of them?"

On page 36, and before, he argues that the Arians themselves had first used terms not in Scripture, and that to teach heresy:

"They set the example, beginning their war against God with words not in Scripture."

And again, on page 257, referring to the Arian citation of certain texts, and their perversion of them to make them favor their denial of the Word's full Divinity, he thus writes of how they used Scripture language in a wrong meaning:

"These passages they brought forward at every term, mistaking their sense, under the idea that they proved that the Word of God was a creature and a work, and one of things made; and thus they deceive the thoughtless, making the language of Scripture their pretence, but instead of the true sense sowing upon it the poison of their own heresy."

The truth is that while an Ecumenical Synod must ever hold to the sense of Scripture, it may, in the case of new heresies, invent or adopt any term or terms which the novelty of the heresy and the needs of the case demand, and it has the Christ-promised aid of the Holy Ghost in doing so. Hefele in his *History of the Christian Councils*, Volume I., Clark's English translation, page 291, note 1, has the following pertinent passage from Volume IV., of Neander's *Church History*:

"The defenders of the *Homousion* could say, It was not necessary to make use of merely Scriptural expressions, but to teach Bible doctrine, although, in other words. New circumstances might render new forms of expression necessary for the development and defence of Biblical truth, and the fear of unbiblical expressions might serve to hinder the refutation of doctrines which were unbiblical in their essence and spirit."

The Anti-Trinitarian sects of our day, like those of Athanasius' time, while carping at expressions which are in the sense of Scripture, nevertheless use many terms which are not in Scripture, and which contradict its sense: so that after all what at bottom they object to is not so much such expressions as "*Of the same substance with the Father*," as the Orthodox and Scriptural sense which they convey.

(544). Here he slurs the Orthodox doctrine that the Logos is *Eternal* God, as though it meant that He was not born out of the Father, but is unborn. He misrepresents if he means to imply that any of the Orthodox held Him to be unborn.

(545). God, the Father.

nor have we learned or believed, my lord, that He hath endured any bodily suffering (546). But the ungenerated (547) is one, and the One who was really made (548) by Him, and not *out of His substance* (549), is another, who does not at all partake of the Nature of the Ungenerated One (550), nor has He come out of His substance (551), but He was made utterly other [than the ungenerated God] in His nature (552) and in His power, though He was made in a perfect likeness of the disposition and the power of Him who has made Him

(546). Here he implies that if God the Word was born out of the impassible Father, then the Father must have suffered in that bringing forth as passible women do in bringing forth mortal sons! The blasphemy of Eusebius' statement is self-evident, for all the Orthodox agree that the Divine Nature is impassible, and hence that neither the Father nor the Logos suffered in that birth before all the worlds by which the Endiathetic Logos, according to St. Justin the Martyr, and St. Theophilus, of Antioch and Tertullian, became Prophoric. Besides in that birth the Logos was not born out of what mortal men are born out of, for the Father is not a woman nor has He the *pudenda* of a woman; for even to imply that, as the wicked Eusebius of Nicomedia here does, is shocking blasphemy. No wonder therefore that when the above Epistle was read to the Fathers of Nicaea, they were horrified at such sacrilegious inuendos against both the Father and the Son, and tore it up. As the ancients held, and as will be shown in the proper place, the Son's birth consisted in His being breathed out of the Father's mouth. But Eusebius of Nicomedia, like his fellow-Arian, Eusebius of Caesarea, and Arius himself, evidently held to Origen's view that God has no body and hence blundered endlessly. Some of the Orthodox held that He has a body, while some others before Origen's condemnation, by the Fifth Ecumenical Synod, were, to some extent, disposed to follow him.

(547). God, the Father.

(548). Here this Arian in effect teaches that the Son is a creature; for if He were "*really made*" He would necessarily be so.

(549). Here we have a plain denial of the Consubstantiality of the Son with the Father.

(550). That is, according to this Arian, He is utterly unlike the Father in Nature, and hence not God at all, but a mere creature, and hence all worship of Him is mere worship of a creature, and so is against Matthew IV., 10.

(551). Here he denies the plain teachings of Christ Himself in John VIII., 42, "*I came out of God;*" and in John XVI., 28, "*I came out of the Father;*" and the consequent truth stated by the Holy Ghost through the Apostle Paul, that the Logos is "*Character of His [the Father's] Substance.*"

(552). Here we find blasphemy repeated and piled on blasphemy; for again this Eusebius makes the Logos to be *made* and of a nature *utterly unlike* the Father.

(553). We have believed that His beginning can not be told in word; no, not even in thought, either by men or by any of those beings who are above men. We have believed it to be incomprehensible. We do not put forth these assertions as our own reasonings; but having learned them from the divine Scripture, we say that He was *created* and *founded*, and was *made*, as respects *His substance*, and that, too, with an unchangeable and ineffable nature, and with His likeness to Him who has made Him, as the Lord Himself says: '*God created me a beginning of His ways, and He founded me before the world, and He brings me forth before all the hills*' (554).

"But if He had come out of Him (555), that is, from Him, as a part of Him (556), or as an outflow from His substance (557), He could not in that case be said to be *created* or *founded* (558); and of

(553). All this stuff still leaves the Eternal Logos a creature and so makes His worship mere Creature-Worship, and hence ends in Creature-Worship and Paganism contrary to Matthew IV., 10. For all the Orthodox held that if He be a creature He can not be worshipped; and that Hebrews I., 6, shows that He is God because he is to be worshipped. See Athanasius and Cyril of Alexandria on that text.

(554). This passage in the Septuagint Version of Proverbs VIII., 22, 23 and 25 was the great stock in trade of the Arian party, and they so perverted it as to make it contradict the express teachings of the New Testament that the Logos has actually come *out of the Father's* substance and is "*Character of His Substance*" (John VIII., 42, and John XVI., 28, and Hebrews I., 3), and hence is no creature.

(555). Greek, *ἐξ αὐτοῦ*. Here he attempts, but weakly and ineffectively, to meet the Orthodox argument from Christ's own clear statement in John XVI., 28, that the Logos has "*come out of the Father*," and hence is "*Character of His Substance*" (Hebrews I., 3).

(556). Greek, *ὡς ἂν μέρος αὐτοῦ*. Tertullian teaches that the Logos is a *Part* of God, as we show elsewhere, and so do St. Justin, the Martyr, and St. Theophilus of Antioch, both of whom were long before Arius and before this Arian Eusebius.

(557). Greek, *ἡ ἐξ ἀπορροίας τῆς οὐσίας*. The Orthodox, following Tertullian, as quoted elsewhere in this work, did not hesitate to use that metaphor to describe the actual birth of the Son out of the Father.

(558). Here again he refers to the Arian pet perversion of the Septuagint of Proverbs VIII., 22, 23 and 25. All the Orthodox met that perversion by starting with the plain teachings of John VIII., 42, *ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐξηλθον*, and John XVI., 28, *ἐξηλθον ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς*, that God the Word has actually *come out of* God the Father; and with the clear assertion of Hebrews I., 3, that He is "*Character of His* [the

that, my lord, thou thyself art surely not ignorant. For that which has come *out of* the Ungenerated one (559) can not be *created* by another or by Him, or *founded* (560), because it would be *ungenerated* from the beginning (561). But if His being called *generated* (562) convey some idea that He was born *out of the Father's substance*, and that He has from that fact the identity of His [the Father's] Nature;

Father's] Substance," Χαράκτηρ τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτοῦ. Then they interpreted Proverbs VIII., 22, 23 and 25, by those clear statements. But some of them applied to Christ's humanity the expressions of the Septuagint of Proverbs VIII., 22, 23, 24 and 25; "*The Lord created me [the] beginning of His ways for His Works. Before the worlds He founded me, in the beginning before He made the earth, and before He made the deeps, before the fountains of the waters came forth, before the mountains were settled, and before all hills he brings Me forth.*"

But others, I think, with far greater wisdom and logic, applied them to the birth of God the Word out of the Father's mouth, just before the worlds were made; by which birth the Logos', as Tertullian teaches as quoted elsewhere, who before had been eternally in the Father, as a Part of the Consubstantial Divinity was *borne forth* out of Him, and by that birth became His Son. For before, though He was the Logos Consubstantial and co-eternal with the Father, He was not born out of Him, and hence, as Tertullian teaches, He was not the Son till that birth occurred, nor was the Father a Father before that birth, though of course he was eternal God, for that birth made him a Father and made the Logos a Son. For every *birth* necessarily makes a Father and a Son. Hence, as the letter of Arius, on page 185 above, to Eusebius, of Nicomedia, shows, the Orthodox could justly say that the uncreated Logos, who had existed before from all eternity, was by that birth *created up* into a Son. Just as we use the terms *created* and *founded* of the giving of new titles to a man who existed before. For instance an English monarch, or his representative created Lord Wellesley, the Duke of Wellington, and his dukedom was *founded* by that monarch. So the Father *created* His co-eternal Logos a Son when He breathed Him forth out of His mouth just before the worlds were made; and so then *founded* not His being, but His Sonship. This seems to me the best way to meet the Arian cavil on those words. And it is amply warranted by the aforesaid two passages from John, and from Hebrews I., 3, and by the expression in the end of that passage of Proverbs VIII., "*He brings me forth.*"

(559). God the Father.

(560). Proverbs VIII., 23, Septuagint.

(561). Greek, ἀγέννητον. Here we see that Eusebius is using this term in the sense of "*unmade*," that is "*uncreated*."

(562). Greek, τὸ γεννητόν. Eusebius uses this term not in its sense of *brought forth*, but of generated in the sense of *made*, that is *produced* or *created*.

we know that the Scripture uses the expression *generated* (563), not of Him alone, but also of things unlike Him in all respects, as regards their nature. For, speaking of men, it says *I have generated* (564) *and exalted sons* (565), *but they have set me aside* (566), and *Thou hast forsaken the God who generated* (567) *thee* (568): and of other things [than men] it says: '*Who brought forth* (569) *the drops of dew ?*' (570) not implying the idea of the coming of their nature out of God's nature, but the production by His will of each one of the things [thus] made. For nothing has come out of His substance; but all things were made by His will, and each as it became good and is. For God [is self-existent]; but those things which are after His likeness are to be made like His Word, whereas the other things have been made according to His [the Son's] own free choice. And all things were made by God through Him, and all things are from God (571). Take these very ideas and elaborate them according to

(563). Greek, τὸ γεννητὸν. Eusebius is here trying to prove that the words in the Septuagint of Proverbs VIII., 25, "Before all hills *He brings Me forth* (γεννᾷ με) are not to be understood in the sense that God the Father *brought forth* the Logos then out of His own substance, but that He *created* Him.

(564). Greek, υἱοὺς ἐγέννησα καὶ ἑψωσα.

(565). Or, "brought up."

(566). Isaiah I., 2, Septuagint.

(567). Θεὸν τὸν γενήσαντά σε.

(568). Dent. XXXII., 18.

(569). Greek, ὁ τεταύς.

(570). Job XXXVIII., 28, Sept.

(571). Greek, as in column 916 of Tome LXXXII., of Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*: Οὐ τὴν φύσιν ἐκ τῆς φύσεως διαγοόμενος, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐφ' ἑκάστῳ τῶν γενομένων ἐκ τοῦ σπλήματος αὐτοῦ γένεσιν. Οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐστιν ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας αὐτοῦ πάντα δὲ βουλήματι αὐτοῦ γινόμενα ἑκαστον ὡς καὶ ἐγένετό ἐστιν. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ θεός· τὰ δὲ πρὸς ὁμοίωτα αὐτοῦ λόγῳ ἰσῶτα ἐσόμενα, τὰ δὲ καθ' ἑκονσιασμὸν γενόμενα. Τὰ δὲ πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ γεόμενα· πάντα δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ.

The last part of this passage seems to be corrupt. The notes on it in Migne tell us that the last *ἐστιν* above is "not in the two Basel [manuscripts or editions] nor in Nicephorus nor in Epiphanius Scholasticus; and that in Nicephorus the words τὰ δὲ—ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ γεόμενα are omitted; and that the first τὰ δὲ are in the *Tripartite History*, but that W. Lowth thinks they should be expunged; and that Stephanus had καθ' οὐσιασμὸν, wrongly, the annotator in Migne thinks. I do not feel sure of that; for if an *οὐ* be supplied, and οὐσίαν αὐτοῦ, instead of οὐσιασμὸν, the sense would be in accordance with the drift of Eusebius' heretical

the grace given to thee by God, and be zealous to write [them] to my lord Alexander (572). For I have believed that if thou wouldst write to Him, thou couldst turn Him. Salute all who are in the Lord" (573).

arguing. For then the reading might be; "*but they are not made of His* [that is the Father's] *substance.*" But as this part of the passage seems corrupt, and as it is uncertain as to what the exact reading is, I leave it.

The drift of all the caviling of Eusebius of Nicomedia here is to show that the *ἐκ* "out of" does not mean "out of" in the following expressions of God the Word, "I come out of God," *ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐξηλθον* (John VIII., 42); and "I come out of the Father," *ἐξηλθον ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς* (John XVI., 28). *Out of* is the common and radical meaning of *ἐκ*, and the Orthodox insisted on it in those two unanswerable texts where Christ himself speaks; which, alas! are mistranslated in every English Version, Protestant as well as Latin, of which I know. If the Arians had translated those passages they could not have rendered them much more defectively, for the idea that God the Word has actually *come out of* His Father's substance, and is hence of it is not in any of our English Versions. Eusebius of Nicomedia's argument in effect is as follows: I do not deny that the general sense of *ἐκ* is "out of," but I can show that in some exceptional cases it can be rendered "of;" and so I would understand it in those texts to make them agree with my notion that the Son did not come "out of" the Father at all, and hence is not really God, but is "of" Him in the sense of being *created* by Him, as men and dew drops are created by Him, and hence that He is a mere creature.

So by proving that *γεννάω*, *to bring forth*, some times means *to make, to create*, he would assert that it must be so understood where the Father says, He *brought forth* the Son, and so He would try to get rid of all proofs for the Divinity of the Son from the Words "*brought forth*" in such a passage as Psalm CIX, 3, Septuagint, where the Father says of the Son, "*Out of my inwards I brought thee forth, before the morning star,*" (*ἐκ γαστρὸς πρὸ ἑωσφορίου ἐγέννησά σε*), that is before it was made as the Orthodox understood it; that is, he would, in such cases, take the exceptional instead of the general senses of those terms. But the Universal Apostolate to whom Christ promised the guiding of the Holy Ghost forever, under the influence of that blessed and infallible Spirit, decided that we must take those terms in their general sense in such passages, and believe that the Logos co-eternal and co-substantial with the Father was actually born *out of* Him "*before all the worlds*" as the Creed of the Second Ecumenical Council has it. For Christ commands us to *hear the Church* (Matt. XVIII., 17), as well as to, "*Take * * * the sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God,*" as a part of "*the whole armor of God*" (Ephesians VI., 13, 17). *And what God hath joined together let no man put asunder.* But on the other hand let us not be deluded into taking any idolatrous utterance of part of the Church, as for instance that of Nicaea, A. D. 787, or that of Trent or any other mere part for the whole, for such utterances contradict the VI. Sole Ecumenical Synod.

(572). Alexander, Bishop of Alexandria.

(573). Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*, Tome 82, col. 913; Theodoret's *Ecclesiastical History*, Book I., Chapter V.

Theodoret, in Chapter VI. of Book I. of his *Ecclesiastical History*, describes the first formal session of the Ecumenical Council in the Emperor Constantine's palace; the address of Eustathius, Bishop of Antioch, to him; the Emperor's reply, in which he urged the importance of following the inspired Scriptures which are so clear, and suggested to the Bishops, as a Son to Fathers, union in truth, the unanimity of the bulk of the Synod on the faith, and the resistance and heresy of the few Arians. On these last, he tells us that they suggested or *dilated* or *recited* what he terms "*An Instruction of Faith*" (πίστεως διδασκαλίαν), and besides gave it to the Council, which the Orthodox Bishops tore up, and then set forth the Nicene Creed instead. I quote this part:

Theodoret's Ecclesiastical History, Book I., Chapter VI.:

"But some few, whom I have mentioned above (574), and in

(574). "*Above*," towards the end of Chapter IV., Book I. of his *Ecclesiastical History*, Theodoret mentions as Arian leaders, Eusebius, Bishop of Caesarea, Theodotus of Laodicea, Paulinus of Tyre, Athanasius of Anazarbus, Gregory of Berytus, and Aetius of Lydda. In the same chapter and in Chapter V. he mentions another, that is Eusebius of Nicomedia. All those Arian Bishops therefore recited that *Instruction of Faith* of which Theodoret speaks, and gave it to the Council. Was that the credal statement of which Eusebius of Caesarea speaks in his Epistle to his Parecians? I think not, for the reasons given above.

Was it then the same as "*the Epistle*" of Eusebius of Nicomedia of which Ambrose writes above, which he says was "*read in the Nicene Council*," and which led the Bishops of the Council to put the expression "*of the same substance*" (ὁμοούσιον) into the Nicene Creed? The last indeed is called by Ambrose "*an Epistle*" (epistola); whereas the writing of all the Arian Bishops is called by Theodoret "*An Instruction of Faith*" (πίστεως διδασκαλίαν), that is, "*An Instruction on Faith*." These two last may, however, have been the same, because Eusebius of Nicomedia's Epistle was meant to be a statement on Faith against the Orthodox doctrine of the co-eternity and consubstantiality of God the Word with the Father, as its whole tenor shows. Besides, towards its end, he exhorts his fellow-Arian, Paulinus of Tyre, to elaborate its heretical teachings and to write them to Alexander, the Orthodox Bishop of Alexandria. The Epistle, which was the offspring of the brain of the great Arian leader Eusebius of Nicomedia, seems to have been generally accepted by his party, and as expressing their common sentiments may well have been the one recited by them and presented to the Council. Besides they were both read and condemned in the same session of the Ecumenical Council. Yet if it was first "*dilated*" in the Council of Nicaea it may well have been different from Eusebius of Nicomedia's Epistle.

But we will speak of that Epistle of Eusebius of Nicomedia, further on. So we will speak further of the *Profession of Faith* of Eusebius of Caesarea.

addition to them, Menophantus of Ephesus, and Patrophilus of Scythopolis, and Theogonius, who was Bishop of Nicaea itself, and Narcissus of Neronias (Neronias is a city of the Second Cilicia, which they now call Irenopolis), and with them Theonas of Marmarica, and Secundus, the Bishop of Ptolemais, in Egypt (575), spoke against the apostolic doctrines by pleading the cause of Arius. And having also dictated (576) *An Instruction on Faith* (577), they besides gave it to the common body [of the Bishops of the Council], which they read, and at once all of them tore it up, and called it bastard and adulterated (578). And a very great clamor having been raised against those [Arians], and all accusing them of betraying piety (579), they feared, and rose up out [of their seats], and then first renounced Arius, though Secundus and Theonas did not. And so that impious man (580) having been taken out of the way, all [the Bishops] in harmony recited (581) the Faith (582) which till now prevails in the Churches, and having confirmed it by their subscriptions, they dissolved the Council" (583).

Theodoret, in the chapter next following the above, that is, in Chapter VII. of Book I. of his *Ecclesiastical History*, goes on to state that those Arians in thus subscribing to the Nicene Creed were insincere; and proceeds to prove it from the testimony of the great Eustathius, the Orthodox Bishop of Antioch, in one of his works, where he is explaining, in an Orthodox manner, the pet passage adduced so often by the Arians, the words in the Septuagint of Proverbs VIII., 22, "*The Lord created me a beginning of his ways for his works.*" Eustathius first describes the assembling of the Ecu-

(575). Or, "*of the Egyptians.*"

(576). Or, "*suggested*" or "*recited*," *ὑπαγορεύσαντες*.

(577). Greek, *πίστεως διδασκαλίαν*.

(578). Greek, *νόθον καὶ κίβδηλον*.

(579). Greek, *τῆς εὐσεβείας*; an expression often used among the ancient Christian Greeks for Orthodox Christianity.

(580). Arius, the heresiarch.

(581). Or, "*dictated*" *ὑπαγορεύσαντες*.

(582). Greek, *πίστιν*. Here we have an instance of the use of *πίστις* in the sense of *Creed*, in effect.

(583). Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*, Tome LXXXII., column 920; Theodoret's *Ecclesiastical History*, Book I., Chapter VI.

menical Council in what was its first formal session, as his context shows, in which it set forth its glorious Creed. And then he comes to describe *the writing* or *letter* (τὸ γράμμα) of Eusebius. I quote this part because it is germane to our inquiry as to the identity of the "*Epistle*" of Eusebius of Nicomedia, which Ambrose says was "*read in the Nicene Council*," and the "*Instruction of*" [that is, "*on*"] "*Faith*," which Theodoret, as above, speaks of as *dilated* or *suggested* or *recited* in the same session, and presented to the Ecumenical Council in the same session. Eustathius writes:

"But at soon as the manner of the faith was searched into, a plain proof, the writing of Eusebius' blasphemy (τὸ γράμμα τῆς Εὐσεβίου βλασφημίας), was put forward. And when it was read before all, it at once caused tremulous misery in those who heard it, on account of its depravity, and it brought incurable shame to its writer (584). And then, inasmuch as the workshop of the partisans of Eusebius was clearly exposed, and the unlawful writing was torn up in the sight of all, some at once, and as a contrivance [of their own], brought forward the pretext of *peace* (585), and silenced all who were wont to speak those things which are best. And the Ariomaniacs, fearing lest perhaps they should be excommunicated (586) in so great a Council, at the same time leaping up renounce and anathematize the forbidden dogma [of Arius], and with their own hands subscribed the writing (τοῖς γράμμασιν), which had been agreed to by all (587). But by twisting about to the fullest extent possible, they kept possession of their sees (588), when they should have been *made to pros-*

(584). Greek, τὸ γράψαντι. It is disputed whether that *writer* was Eusebius of Caesarea or Eusebius of Nicomedia.

(585). The pretenders to peace were evidently Arians, or unwise compromisers if Orthodox.

(586). Or, "*out and out ostracised*," that is, of course, by a formal excommunication. The Greek word here is *ἔξοστρακισθεῖν*.

(587). Greek, συμφώνους γράμμασιν ὑπογράψαντες αὐτοχειρί. That means, of course, the Nicene Creed.

(588). Greek, as in Migne's text, τῶν προεδριῶν; but in his notes he gives τῶν προέδρων. See both in column 921, Tome LXXXII, of Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*. With the former reading, the rendering would be what I have given above. That is the preferable reading, because it makes the best sense.

With the reading τῶν προέδρων the meaning would be that the Arian leaders got hold of the Presidents of the Council, who were probably Hosius of Cordora, Alexander of Alexandria, and Eustathius of Antioch; and, we might suppose,

induced them to spare them. But for that notion there is no sufficient proof; whereas there is for the notion that the Arian leaders turned about in every way to retain their *Episcopates*.

As *πρόεδρος* means *foresitter*, and *προεδρία* means *foreseat*, and as the Bishop in his Cathedral sits before his people, the former Greek word was applied to him, and the second to his office. When Bishops gathered in a Council, the term *πρόεδρος* was applied to their *presidents* as it is by Eusebius of Caesarea in Chapter XIII. of Book III. of his *Life of Constantine*, to the prelates who presided over it.

Migne's text reading, *τῶν προεδριῶν*, that is *the foreseats*, that is *the Episcopates*, is by all means to be retained. That expression might seem to include,

1. A reference to the fact that the *the Episcopate* (*τὴν προεδρίαν*) of the two greatest sees of the East at the time of the First Ecumenical Synod, Alexandria and Antioch, had fallen under Arian control before the death of Eustathius, which the article on him in Smith and Wace's *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, puts about A. D. 337; Antioch by his own unjust deposition and his exile from it about A. D. 331, and Alexandria by the exile from it of St. Athanasius in 336, and the intrusion of Arian influence and power in his place. The great sees of Nicomedia, the Emperor Constantine's residence, and Ephesus, were in the hands of Arian prelates at the time of the Council of Nicaea, A. D. 325. By the death of the Orthodox Alexander, Bishop of Constantinople in A. D. 336, that great see actually became a subject for contention, between the Orthodox the majority evidently, and their Arian opponents, and the intriguing Arian Eusebius of Nicomedia was transferred to it about (A. D. 338, Article "*Paulus* (18)" in Smith and Wace's *Dictionary of Christian Biography*).

Later on the Emperor Constantius tried to force Arianism on the chief sees of the West, and to that end punished and banished Orthodox Bishops, but finally, after all his efforts, failed.

In the last explanation I have taken *προεδριῶν* in the sense of *Presidencies*; or better *Prelateships*, and at first thought it referred to the *chief sees*.

But, 2, since reading Valesius' note on that place, in column 1533, Tome LXXXII. of Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*, and noticing in Sophosles' *Lexicon of Later and Byzantine Greek*, that *προεδρία*, is equivalent to *ἐπισκοπή*, "*the episcopal office or dignity*," of which he gives instances there, as under *πρόεδρος*, he shows that it was used for "*Bishop*," I prefer to translate the Greek here, *τῶν δὲ προεδριῶν διὰ πλείστης ὁσος περιδρομῆς κρατήσαντες* etc., as follows: "*And by twisting about to the greatest possible extent, and [so] holding fast to their episcopates, when they ought to have been deposed, they,*" etc., as above. The fact is, the Arian leaders were, most of them, ready to do almost any thing to retain their own sees and the honors and power which went with them. Witness Eusebius of Nicomedia's cheatings, and those of Eusebius of Caesarea for instance, who signed insincerely and hypocritically the Nicene Creed, to avoid being deposed and excommunicated, and then poisoned the minds of the Emperors of the East against it and against men who, like Eustathius of Antioch and Athanasius of Alexandria, had been chief among its promoters and defenders. And "*cheating*" is one of the meanings given in Liddell and Scott's *Lexicon* to *περιδρομή*. The article on *Eusebius of Nicomedia* in Smith and Wace's *Dictionary of Christian Biography* refers to instances of his intriguing and unscrupulous spirit.

trate themselves (589), and [now] defend—sometimes secretly, sometimes openly—the opinions which were [then] condemned by vote, and lay plots on different pretexts (590). And though they wish to firmly root their weedlike plantings [of heresy], they fear the judges [of it] and shun the inspectors [of it], and in that way they out and out war against the preachers of piety (591). But even so, we believe that godless (592) men have never as yet been able to prevail against the Divinity. For even though they may again acquire power, they shall again also be defeated, as the solemn-voiced prophet Isaiah writes." Theodoret adds: "Those things, therefore, says the great Eustathius" (593).

(589). Greek, *ὅταν αὐτοῖς* [the Arian Bishops] *ὑπόπτῳσιν λαμβάνειν*, literally, "when they should have gotten a prostration," or "a fall," that is *when they should have been made to prostrate themselves* to the Council for pardon, or *when they should have been deposed*.

(590). This looks very much like a reference to the mean and disgraceful tricks and pretext on which the Arian leaders, Eusebius of Nicomedia, and Eusebius of Caesarea, and their partisans had got Eustathius out of the see of Antioch. Theodoret tells of it in Chapter XX., Book I. of his *Ecclesiastical History*. See also on it "Eustathius (3)" in Smith & Wace's *Dictionary of Christian Biography*.

(591). That is, of Orthodox Christianity; for no other than its professors can be called *truly pious*; because piety embraces two divisions;

1. Pious faithfulness in *believing* all the teachings of God's Word as authoritatively interpreted by the Universal Church, East and West, in the Six Orthodox Ecumenical Councils; and

2. Holiness of life. No Arian could be *pious* in the first sense, because he was *impious* in denying the Divinity of the Eternal Logos, and in degrading Him to the rank of creatures, and in favoring Creature-Service contrary to Christ's own prohibition of that error in Matthew IV., 10.

(592). Greek, *ἀθίους*. The Arians were *godless*, that is *without God* as *ἀθίους* means, because they were without Christ our true God (John I., 1, 14; John XX., 28; I. John V., 20); for they really rejected Him as true, that is as real and eternal God, and accepted Him only as *a mere creature*. For unless we receive a doctrine as Scripture reveals it we are impious, because we prefer our own wicked choice (*αἰρεσις*), to the plain revealments of God as set forth in His Holy Word, and authoritatively expounded and settled by that Supreme Court of all Christendom which Christ has established and commanded us to hear, or be accounted "*as a heathen man and a publican*" (Matt. XVIII., 17); that is a Council of his whole Church East and West; that is of that Universal Apostolate with which He has promised to be forever, and to whom He has promised the Spirit forever to guide them into all truth.

(593). Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*, Tome LXXXII, column 921; Theodoret's *Ecclesiastical History*, Book I., Chapter VII.

Valesius, in his notes in columns 1532 and 1533, Tome LXXXII., of Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*, infers from the above quoted language of Eustathius that "*the writing of Eusebius' blasphemy*" (τὸ γράμμα τῆς Εὐσεβίου βλασφημίας) was that Creed of Eusebius of Caesarea of which he speaks in his Epistle to the people of his *Paroecia* as forming the basis which, with *additions*, became the Nicene Creed.

His arguments, in brief, are as follows:

1. That Socrates, in Chapter XXIII. of Book I. of his *Ecclesiastical History*, states that "*Eustathius, the Bishop of Antioch, speaks disparagingly of Eusebius*" of Caesarea as "*falsifying the faith of Nicaea.*"

To this I reply that Socrates' context there shows that the conflict there referred to between Eustathius of Antioch and Eusebius of Caesarea was some time after the Council of Nicaea. It does not prove that the Creed of Eusebius of Caesarea and "*the writing of Eusebius' blasphemy*" are the same; nor that it was not Eusebius of Nicomedia who was the author of said "*writing of Eusebius' blasphemy.*" Theodoret, who uses the latter expression in Chapter VII. of Book I. of his *Ecclesiastical History*, does not specify which *Eusebius* he means, nor do I know how we can tell.

2. That γράμμα may be used in the sense of *Creed*.

That is true, for as it means, *literally*, "*a writing*" of any kind, it may be applied to a *letter*, that is an *epistle*, as it often is, and to a *Creed*; to a *written statement*; or, indeed, to a *writing of any kind*. But that has nothing to do with proving that "*the writing of Eusebius' blasphemy*" (τὸ γράμμα τῆς Εὐσεβίου βλασφημίας) was the Creed presented by Eusebius of Caesarea to the Synod.

I have been inclined to think that Eusebius of Caesarea magnifies his own importance and that of his formulary in his *Letter to his Parecians*; from

1. The utter silence of Athanasius, Eustathius, and all other persons present at the Council of Nicaea, the Orthodox, and the Arians, as to the Creed of Eusebius of Caesarea, being the basis of the Nicene; and,

2. From the dishonesty and deceptiveness apparent in Eusebius of Caesarea's *Epistle to His Parecians*, as for instance in his perverting the Anathema of the Council against *those who say that*

the Son of God was not before He was born, so as to make it an Anathema not against the Arians, who made that anathematized assertion, but of His birth before all the worlds; for Eusebius makes that Anathema apply only against those who said that *He was not before He was born of Mary*, an idea which no Arian even was impious enough to assert; and,

3. From the statement of Ambrose above, and from the silence of Athanasius in his *Epistle to the African Bishops*, as to the Creed of Eusebius of Caesarea being *the basis of the Nicene*, where there was an opportunity for him to mention it.

Indeed, from his *Epistle to his Parecians*, I do not feel sure that his Creed ever came *formally* before all the Bishops of the Council, though it did before some.

It is true that Athanasius quotes Eusebius' *Epistle to the Caesareans*, which contains his assertion as to his Creed being the basis of the Nicene, but Athanasius uses language of it which seems to imply that Eusebius' whole statement was warped, and one-sided. See Sections 2 and 3 of his *Epistle in Defence of the Nicene Decisions*, quoted above.

If we take all the passages above quoted from Eustathius, and Ambrose, and Theodoret together, it seems that the Creed of Nicaea was drawn up by the Council directly after the rejection of the Credal statement of Eusebius of Nicomedia in an Epistle, probably in that to his fellow-Arian, Paulinus, of Tyre, or else one "*dictated*" and made by them then.

Whatever it was, according to Theodoret, Eusebius of Nicomedia, and Eusebius of Caesarea, were among those who presented it to the Council, and saw them tear it up, and were, with the other Arians, compelled by the righteous indignation of the Synod to renounce Arius, and to sign the Orthodox Creed, though Eusebius of Caesarea, as Athanasius attests, refused to subscribe it till next day, but, as he writes, *denied* it at first.

In conclusion I would say as to the three documents mentioned, that is to say:

(A). *The Epistle of Eusebius of Nicomedia* mentioned by Ambrose above:

(B). "*The Writing of Eusebius' blasphemy*" mentioned by Theodore above;

And (C), *the Faith* presented by Eusebius of Caesarea, which he mentions in his *Epistle to his Parecians*;

It is not absolutely clear to my mind whether A and B are the same; or whether B and C are the same, and A different from both; but I think that Eusebius of Caesarea's *Confession* is different from A and B; for A and B are described as blasphemous, which can not justly be asserted of the *Confession* of Eusebius of Caesarea, though it can justly be faulted as very defective because it lacks the test-terms of Nicene Orthodoxy, such as the expression "*of the same substance*," etc., and for that reason, as he tells us in his *Letter to the Caesareans*, the Bishops of the Council added those Orthodox expressions which he there specifies.

From the description given of A and B above, I infer that either they may be the same, or, more likely, that B is of the same general tenor as A, and was drawn up at the Council by the Arian Bishops much in its sense. Both were torn up.

But we come,

SECTION 8.—*To ask what facts have reached us as to who were most active at Nicaea for the expression "OF THE SAME SUBSTANCE" (ὁμοούσιον), and against Arian CREATURE-SERVICE.*

To this I reply that among them was certainly Hosius. For Athanasius, in Section XLII. of his *History of the Arians*, after telling of their persecution of Liberius, Bishop of Rome, and of his fall, comes to speak of their machinations against Hosius. For he writes there as follows:

"The impious men, though they had done such and so great things, considered that they had done nothing so long as the great Hosius had not been put to the proof by their wickedness. For they looked to stretch out their own madness even against so very old a man; and they were not shamed by the fact that he is a Father of the Bishops; nor did they respect the fact that he had been a Confessor [of the Faith in times of persecution], nor did they regard the time of his Episcopate, that he had been sixty years and more in it; but they counted all those facts as nothing, and looked out for their heresy alone. For they are really men who *fear not God nor regard man*

(594). Going, therefore, to Constantius (595), they again made use of such expressions as here follow:

"We have done all things, and have exiled the Bishop of the Romans; and, moreover, we exiled as many Bishops as possible before we did him; and we have filled every place with fear; but so many of thy deeds amount to nothing for us (596), and nothing at all is well finished for us so long as Hosius is let alone. For so long as that man is in his own See, all [other Orthodox Bishops] are in their Churches also. He is enough to persuade all by reason and faith against us. And that man is A LEADER IN SYNODS; and writing is heard every where. AND THAT MAN SET FORTH THE FAITH IN NICAEA, and every where proclaimed that the Arians are heretics. If, therefore, he remains, the exiling of the others was (597) superfluous; for our heresy is being taken out of the way. Begin, therefore, to persecute him also, and spare [him] not, even though he is very old, for our heresy knows not to honor even the white hair of old men" (598).

(594). Luke XVIII., 2.

(595). The Arian Emperor.

(596). Or, *"but thy so great deeds amount to nothing for us."*

(597.) Or, *"has become (γέγονεν) superfluous."*

(598). St. Athanasius' *History of the Arians*, Chapter XLII. (page 212 of Bright's edition of *St. Athanasius' Historical Writings*):

Οὗτος καὶ συνόδων καθηγείται, καὶ γράφων ἀκούεται πανταχοῦ· οὗτος καὶ τὴν ἐν Νικαίᾳ πίστιν ἐξέθετο, καὶ τοὺς Ἀρειανοὺς ἐκέρυξεν αἰρετικούς εἶναι πανταχοῦ.

Compare Socrates, Book III., Chapter VII.

Rev. E. S. Ffoulkes in his article in Smith and Cheetham's *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, on *Nicaea, A. D. 325*, argues with much force against the notion that Hosius was a legate of Rome. He puts his pre-eminence on the ground of his great age and his favor with the Emperor. His remarks are found on page 1390, right hand column, and after in Volume II. of Smith and Cheetham's work. But he has not adduced any proof for his supposition that Eustathius did not address the Emperor Constantine on behalf of the First Ecumenical Council at the commencement of its first formal session; nor for his notion that Eustathius' address to Constantine is spurious. He gives no proof either for his mere unsupported supposition that Hosius was the one who then addressed the Emperor. I prefer the opposite view on all these points; on the first two because there is proof positive for the view that Eustathius, Bishop of Antioch, made that address, and that it is genuine; and on the third, that is on the assertion that Hosius made it, because it contradicts Theodoret's written statement above that it was Eustathius who made it, and because there is nothing but mere unsupported supposition that Hosius performed that function.

Hosius was, I think, one of *the Presidents* to whom Eusebius of Caesarea tells us in Chapter XIII. of Book III. of his *Life of Constantine* (599) that Emperor left the business of the First Ecumenical Council after he had made an opening speech to them. And because of his age, character as a Confessor, and of his intimate relations with that Emperor, he was a leader in other Councils also.

And, what is very pertinent to our topic, Athanasius here represents the Arians as saying of Hosius,

"That man set forth the Faith in Nicaea."

"By that expression they would naturally mean not those parts of the Nicene Creed which are the same as parts of Eusebius of Caesarea's *Profession of Faith*, (for they did not object to them); but those parts of the Nicene Creed which teach the co-eternity and co-substantiality of the Logos with the Father. Hosius, as one of the leaders of the Council, had doubtless especially favored them and moved the Emperor Constantine to favor them. And those facts the Arians would not forget, but voice their anger in the words above; *"That man set forth the Faith in Nicaea:"* that is, they mean, the Nicene Creed.

But Hosius, according to Chapter VII., Book III. of Socrates' *Ecclesiastical History*, had an earlier connection with the words which are used in the test-terms of the Nicene Creed, I mean especially the words *οὐσία*, *substance*, and *ὑπόστασις*, *subsistence*. Socrates who was, as that chapter shows, an Origenist, and who has been thought to be a Novatian also, did not like those words and gives a warped account of the discussion on them in the Council held afterwards at Alexandria in Egypt under St. Athanasius in A. D. 362, where they came up for discussion, and at which was present a noted Latin confessor of the Faith, Eusebius, Bishop of Vercelli in Italy. Socrates states of that Alexandrian Council of A. D. 362, as follows:

"And those who were present in the Council in Alexandria did not permit that matter to pass without examination; I mean the question concerning *"substance"* (*οὐσίας*) and *"subsistence"* (*ὑποστάσεως*). For Hosius, the Bishop of Cordova, in Spain, whom we have mentioned before, when he was sent forth by the Emperor Constantine to squelch the trouble which had then been made by Arius,

(599). See above, page 262, where I have quoted the Greek.

in his eagerness to cast out the dogma of Sabellius the Libyan, raised the question in regard to *substance* and *subsistence* (περὶ οὐσίας καὶ ὑποστάσεως); which itself became the basis of another idle word controversy. But then the Council at Nicaea, which was held after that, did not deem it worth while even to mention (600) that question. But forasmuch as after those things certain persons wished to trifle concerning that matter, therefore they pronounced as follows in that Synod" [at Alexandria, in A. D. 362] "concerning both '*substance*' and '*subsistence*' [οὐσίας τε καὶ ὑποστάσεως]."

Then Socrates gives his own Origenistic account, which differs from Sozomen's as below, and from what Peltier, as below, has adduced from ancient authors; for he (Socrates) represents the Council as inclined to disfavor those terms. Whereas we know that both of them are found in the Nicene Creed, οὐσία twice, ὑπόστασις once, besides δμοούσιον which is compounded of the root of οὐσία, *substance*, and ὁμός, *the same*.

The fact is, the only question mooted in that local Council as to those terms seems to have been as to the propriety of using the expression *Three Hypostases* τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις; and it was ended by all agreeing that those words may be used in the sense of *Three Persons*. The term ὑπόστασις means originally *what stands under* any thing, and finally, as Liddell and Scott in their *Greek-English Lexicon*, show, it came to mean "*The real nature of a thing, as underlying and supporting its outward form and properties*," and so=οὐσία, [Latin] *substantia*." It came to mean *subsistencies* also, that is *existencies*, and in that sense could be used of the *Persons* of the Trinity, for each *Person* exists separately *as a Person*, but unitedly all Three are but one eternal God, and as such have but *one existence*.

Hence one set of the Orthodox using ὑπόστασις in the sense of *subsistence*, that is *existence*, could say, "*There are Three Existences*" (τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις); but they would add, they have but "*one substance*" (μίαν οὐσίαν).

Whereas another set of the Orthodox, who used the word ὑπόστασις in the sense of *substance* would not say, "*There are Three Hypostases*" (τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις), because that affirmation would mean, to them, *Three*

(600). Or, "did not deem it worth while to discuss." Greek, οὐδὲ λόγου ἔξιωσεν.

substances, and would seem to savor of Arianism, for Arius and his partisans, in their letter to Alexander, Bishop of Alexandria, had used that very expression, "*There are Three Hypostases*" (ὥστε τρεῖς εἰς ὑποστάσεις—see page 186 above), which the context there shows they took in the sense of *Three Substances*, and of *unlike substances* at that. But, as has been said, all the Orthodox, who used the expression "*There are Three Hypostases*" (τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις), explained that they meant what one sense of the term ὑποστάσεις admits, *Three Existences* in the sense of *Three Separate Persons* of but one substance; and so the expression was received and has been since used among all the Orthodox.

Sozomen, in Chapter XII., Book V., of his *Ecclesiastical History*, refers to that Council of Alexandria in A. D. 362, and its discussion of those Greek words. And Migne's Peltier's *Diſtionnaire des Conciles* under "*Alexandrie (Concile d') l' an 362,*" gives an account of the controversy on those two terms. The cause of it was that, as has just been stated, some of the Orthodox used the expression, "*There are Three Hypostases*" (τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις), in the sense of *beings*, that is *Persons*. Whereas others used ὑπόστασις in the sense of *substance*, and so asserted but one ὑπόστασις, that is but *one substance* in the Trinity, and were scandalized at the assertion of their brethren that there are *three*. Finally peace was made when those who used the latter expression explained, as has just been said, that they used it in the sense of *Persons* only. That discussion, however, was about thirty-seven years after the Council of Nicaea, and really had special reference to the term ὑπόστασις only or mainly.

Philostorgius the Arian is more definite, for, according to Photius' summary of him, he writes, in Chapters VII. and VIII., Book I., of his *Ecclesiastical History*, as follows:

"Philostorgius says that before the Synod at Nicaea, Alexander, the Bishop of Alexandria, arrived at Nicomedia, and, having fallen in with Hosius of Cordova, and the Bishops, who were with him, he prepared them to confess by Synodical votes that the Son is of the same substance as the Father, and to publicly ex-communicate Arius."

Chapter VIII. "Not long after that, the Synod of Nicaea assembled," etc., (601).

(601). Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*, Tome LXV., column 464; Philostorgius' *Ecclesiastical History*, Book I., Chapter VII., Ὅτι καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἐν Νικαίᾳ συνόδου,

The way then of the matter seems to have been something as follows: The expression "*of the same substance*" as St. Athanasius shows (602), and as Eusebius of Caesarea, in his Epistle to his Flock admits (603), had been used by the ancients. It seems with the expressions "*substance*" (οὐσία), and "*subsistence*" (ὑπόστασις) to have been used in the discussions at Alexandria at the rise of the Arian Controversy; and when Hosius was sent thither by the Emperor Constantine to quiet the dispute, that prelate would naturally become well acquainted with the use of those words there, if he did not know before. And Socrates, as above quoted, tells us that he raised a question as to two of them. And this might be, for Arius and his fellow-heretics in their letter to Alexander, Bishop of Alexandria, had asserted Three unlike *Substencies* (ὑποστάσεις). See it on pages 186, 187, above. Among the *blasphemies of Arius*, on page 203 above, is found a denial of the truth that the Son is of the *same substance* as the Father; and on the same page he denies that his Trinity is of *one substance*. So among the *Blasphemies of Arius* reported by St. Athanasius, on page 208 above, is a denial of the Son's consubstantiality with the Father.

So Arius in his letter to Eusebius of Nicomedia, necessarily by implication denies the consubstantiality of the Son when he makes him a *creature and made out*, not of God, but of *things not existing*. See above 179, 180 and 181.

All these facts and the statements of St. Alexander, Bishop of Alexandria, and of St. Athanasius, show that some time before Nicaea the terms *substance* (οὐσία), *subsistence* (ὑπόστασις), and of *the same substance* (ὁμοούσιον), were on the lips of men on both sides of the controversy; with this difference, however, that when the Arians asserted, as for instance in their Epistle to Alexander of Alexandria, on page 186 above, that *There are Three Substances* (ὑποστάσεις), they

οὗτος τὸν Ἀλεξανδρείας φησὶν Ἀλέξανδρον καταλαβόντα τὴν Νικομήδειαν, καὶ Ὁσίῳ τε τῷ Κωνσταντίνῳ ἐντυχόντα καὶ τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ ἐπισκόποις, συνοδικαῖς ψήφοις ἀνομολογῆσαι παρασκευάσαι ὁμοούσιον τῷ Πατρὶ τὸν Υἱὸν καὶ τὸν Ἀρεῖον ἀποκρῖνέσθαι. [The spelling for Cordova in Philostorgius as above is wrong.—Chrystal.]

Chapter VIII., Μετ' οὗ πολὺν δὲ χρόνον καὶ τὴν ἐν Νικαίᾳ συστῆναι σίνωδον, etc.

(602). See pages 32 and 43 of the Oxford translation of *St. Athanasius' Treatises Against Arianism*.

(603). Id., page 64, where Eusebius of Caesarea speaks.

meant *Three unlike substances*, that is *Three unlike substances*, whereas the Orthodox held that they are *of the same substance* (ὁμοούσιον). In other words the Orthodox were disposed to use the terms "*substance*" (οὐσία) "*subsistence*" (ὑπόστασις), and "*of the same substance*," to express their doctrine of the consubstantiality of the Son with the Father; whereas for that very reason the Arians rejected that Orthodox sense of them.

Hosius would easily learn these facts at Alexandria, and would naturally take the Orthodox side for the use of those terms. On his failure to convince the Arians he returns to Nicomedia, the Emperor Constantine's residence, and advises him to assemble an Ecumenical Council. The Emperor does so. Alexander, Bishop of Alexandria, on his way to it halts for a time at Nicomedia, and confers with Hosius, his friend and the bosom friend of the Emperor Constantine, as to what should be done to resist the heresy that *the Logos is a creature* and its consequent heresy that *He is to be worshipped as a creature*, which was a plain return to the pagan error of *creature-service*. The result of the conference was that they determined to adopt as the watchword of Orthodoxy that the Logos is *of the same substance as the Father*, which cuts up both those Arian heresies by the roots. So we find that when the Council opens the Bishops wish to add that expression to Eusebius of Caesarea's Profession of Faith, and refuse to adopt it without that addition, as Eusebius testifies in his *Epistle to the Caesareans*. The Orthodox Bishops act as though they came to that session thoroughly prepared to demand the adoption of that expression into the formula of the Council, and that every Bishop should subscribe it. Hosius had evidently done away with the evil influence of Eusebius of Nicomedia over the Emperor, at least for the time being, and Constantine seconds the efforts and decision of the Bishops of the Council; and the Creed of Nicaea is drawn up and the expression;

1. "*Of the same substance as the Father*" (ὁμοούσιον τῷ Πατρί); and
2. "*Out of the substance of the Father*" (ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Πατρὸς), are put into it; and, in the Anathema, the Universal Church anathematizes those who say that *the Son of God is out of another subsistence or substance than the Father*, ἐξ ἑτέρας ὑποστάσεως ἢ οὐσίας). Hosius, by his influence over Constantine whom he may have won to favor the faith during his residence in Spain, by his high position in the Council of Nicaea as a Confessor, and as a close friend of Constantine whose

language, as a Latin, he as a Bishop of a Spanish diocese, well knew, as he knew Greek also, and for whom he could therefore be an interpreter to and from the Greek-speaking prelates who formed the great majority of the Council; Hosius, in all these ways could well have it said of him by the Arians,

"That man set forth the Faith in Nicaea" (604).

(604). The learned French Latin, Tillemont, has some good remarks on Hosius in his *Memoires pour Servir a l'Histoire Ecclesiastique des Six Premiers Siecles*, Tome VII. (Paris, A. D. 1706), page 300 and after. On page 311, he thinks that the view that at Nicaea he was a legate of Pope Saint Sylvester is not well authorized.

Ffoulkes, in his article on "*Nicaea*," pages 1390, 1391, Volume II., of Smith and Cheetham's *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, brings some important facts to explain Hosius' prominence at Nicaea and against the notion that he was a legate of Rome. He holds that "*the order in which Bishops should sit at General Councils*" was "*as yet undetermined by rule*," and so that "*he who was the most ancient would be placed first*," and he cites Eusebius and others in proof; and hence argues that on that ground his pre-eminence in the Council is to be accounted for. Another reason for it, he holds, was the fact that he had been a Confessor in the time of Maximian.

Ffoulkes adds that, "There is proof from Eusebius of Hosius having acted for Constantine several times before (E. H. X. 6; Vit. C. II., 63; Comp. Soc. I., 7), but no contemporary proof whatever of his having ever acted for Pope Sylvester. * * *

"Up to the last quarter of the 5th century—notwithstanding all that had been written on the Council by St. Athanasius, and other fathers, by the one Latin and three Greek ecclesiastical historians who followed Eusebius, all also that had been cited from it by the Councils of Ephesus, Chalcedon, and other places—not a word had been said, or a hint dropped, of Hosius having represented anybody there but himself. In A. D. 476, or thereabouts, the statement that Pope Sylvester was represented there by him, as well as by his own true [two?] presbyters, was adventured on by Gelasius of Cyzicus, a writer of the poorest credit, who makes Constantinople the seat of empire when the Council met, and Rufinus, the historian, one of those present; and to this statement Bishop Hefele gravely calls upon us to assent still (*Introd.*, pp. 36-41 and 46)."

From the way in which Eusebius speaks of Hosius and of the legates of Rome, in Chapter VII., Book III. of his *Life of Constantine*, I infer that Hosius was not a legate of Rome. I quote his words; after mentioning the nations of Asia and of Africa, who were represented by Bishops, he comes to specify those people of Europe who had Bishops present, and writes:

"And Thracians, and Macedonians, and Achaeans, and Epirotes met [with the rest] and those who dwelt still farther away than they, and of the Spaniards themselves the very celebrated one was co-sitting along with the many; and though the prelate of the imperial city was absent by reason of old age, never-

I do not here make much of the testimony of the inaccurate Gelasius of Cyzicus. Yet it is noteworthy that even he makes for the view that the great Hosius led the way towards the adoption by the Council of the expression "*of the same substance.*"

For in his *Acts of the Nicene Council*, Book II., Chapter XVI., he reports the Bishops at Nicaea as answering by the mouth of Hosius, Bishop of Cordova, a philosopher who took the side of Arius, and the noticeable thing is that Hosius is represented as setting forth the doctrine of the Consubstantiality in his response. He speaks of the Son as *ὁμοούσιος τῷ Πατρί*, that is as "*of the same substance with the Father;*" and in the same reply he addresses his opponent thus: "One must understand, therefore, O Philosopher, that the Father and the Son as to the substance of their Divinity are one, as also the same Son in the Gospels cries: '*I and the Father are one;*' to whom he said, '*Let us make man in our image, after our likeness.*'" Afterwards it seemed good to the assembled Fathers to insert the doctrine of the Consubstantiality into their Definition or Symbol. See Gelasius of Cyzicus' *Acts of the Nicene Council*, Book II., Chapter XXIV. It is after the answers of Hosius and others on different points that the philosopher

theless presbyters of his were present and filled his place," (*αὐτῶν τε πάντων ὁ πᾶν βιώμενος εἰς ἣν τοῖς πολλοῖς ἅμα συνεδρεῖων τῆς δὲ γε βασιλευσῆς πόλεως ὁ μὲν προεστὼς ἰστέρι δια γῆρας, πρεσβύτερος δὲ αὐτοῦ παρόντες τὴν αὐτοῦ τάξιν ἐπλήρουν*). I quote the Greek from column 1061, Tome XX., of Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*. Here the way in which Hosius is mentioned and presbyters of Rome, seems to imply that Hosius did not represent Rome but Spain, and that the only representatives of "*the prelate of the imperial city,*" Rome, were those spoken of as "*presbyters of his.*"

A note here in column 1061, Tome XX., of Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*, on the words "*the prelate of the imperial city,*" tells us that Gelasius of Cyzicus believed that they meant the Bishop of Constantinople, and that Nicetas, in his *Treasure-House of the Orthodox Faith*, Book V., Chapter VI., followed him; and Nicetas adds that Metrophanes was Bishop of Constantinople at that time; and that Epiphanius Scholasticus, in Book II. of his *Tripartite History*, says the same. But the annotator, in Migne, well remarks;

"But that explanation can not be endured. For Constantinople had not yet been dedicated, nor had it been decorated with the title '*imperial city*' when the Council congregated in the city of Nicaea. And so those words of Eusebius must necessarily be understood of the Bishop of the city of Rome; which Sozomen confirms in Book I., Chapter XVI., where the name of Julius has wrongly crept into the text for Sylvester; and Theodoret confirms it in Book I., Chapter VII."

here mentioned declares his belief in the doctrine of the Trinity, and after that again that the Council by a Synodical Act puts forth the doctrine "*of the same substance.*" See Gelasius of Cyzicus' *Acts of the Nicene Council*, Book II., Chapters XXII., XXIII and XXIV. But scholars do not give much credit to such things in Gelasius as rely on his authority alone. And so I therefore dismiss his witness with the remark that the proof above given for the belief that Hosius was very active for the adoption at Nicaea of the expression "*of the same substance*" is ample without Gelasius, and that that fact was so well known even in Gelasius' day that he voices it in the above tale, whether it be fiction or truth, or both mingled together.

Before closing on Hosius, I would add that the Christ-hating pagan historian Zosimus, in his *Six Books of New History*, written in the fifth century, likes to have his fling at prominent Christians; and among other things tells a yarn about Constantine, the Emperor, having been troubled about his having put to death his son Crispus for illicit intercourse with his stepmother, Fausta, and of his putting her to death afterwards, because his own mother, Helena, who, I should add, was a Christian, was grieved at her grandson's death. According to the *Historic Commentary* of Reitemeier on that matter, Zosimus has blundered as to times and events, (*Reitemeieri Commentarius Historicus*, pages 354, 355, of the edition of Zosimus, Bonnae, 1837.)

But anent Hosius, it may be well to notice what Zosimus says of an Egyptian, who had been supposed, by some, to be Hosius. Zosimus writes, in his Book II., Chapter XXIX., that while Constantine was troubled for his execution of his son and wife,

"A certain Egyptian having come out of Spain into Rome, and having become well acquainted with the women in the palace, and having met with Constantine, out and out affirmed that the doctrine of the Christians can expiate every sin, and has this promise, namely that if the impious share it they at once become free from every sin: and Constantine having most readily received that doctrine, and having renounced his hereditary [pagan] opinions, and having become a sharer of those which the Egyptian communicated to him, he made a beginning of 'his new regard for Christianity by holding the [pagan] diviners art in suspicion' (Bekker's Zosimus, page 95).

Reitemeier as above, and Sozomen in his *Ecclesiastical History*, Book I., Chapter III., and Evagrius in his *Ecclesiastical History*, Book III., Chapters XL. and XLI., as well as Gibbon, have censured the unfairness and mistaken assertions of Zosimus.

Reitemeier, as above, refers to the fact that years before Constantine had seen the vision in the sky which converted him, and that the heathen Zosimus takes no notice of his strong regard for Christianity till he began to enact laws against divination and openly to deride paganism and to think of founding another Rome in the East, as he tells us he did after the Egyptian came to Rome. Zosimus' story would imply that Constantine then first opposed paganism, and so became hated by the Roman Senate and people. So we see, Zosimus blunders in not knowing that Constantine was a pronounced favorer of Christianity long years before the execution of Crispus and Fausta.

Yet may there not be some truth in his lies? May not the Egyptian who came from Spain, by whose influence he frowned publicly on pagan soothsayers, and openly derided pagan rites, be Hosius of Cordova, and may he not have seen the Emperor's Christian mother in the palace, and so been introduced to her son and moved him to good? I think so. He may have been an Egyptian by birth or descent, who early went to Spain and became one in heart and tongue with the Latin-speaking Christians of that land.

Zosimus evidently blunders as to what was said to Constantine by the "*Egyptian from Spain*" of whom he writes; for the Christians of the fourth century, like their predecessors, held that baptism is "*for the remission of sins*" (Acts II., 38, and XXII., 16); and their Bishops were willing to die for that tenet as a part of the faith, but not for the heretical notion that to believe in the Christian religion without being baptized can save a man. And as Constantine was not baptized till just before his death in A. D. 337 (605), we may be sure that if the "*Egyptian from Spain*" was Hosius, he would not have deceived Constantine by telling him that he was a Christian without baptism. But one who did not know the facts as to Constantine's baptism would naturally get the idea from Zosimus' words

(605). Eusebius of Caesarea, in Chapters LXL, LXII., LXIII. and LXIV., of Book IV., of his *Life of Constantine* shows that he was first made a catechumen in his last sickness at Helenopolis, and that after that he received baptism at Nicomedia and died there.

at he was baptized into the Christian Church before he left Rome found a new capital on the Bosphorus. Indeed, that may have been Zosimus' idea. But on that matter, as on others, where Christianity is concerned, he knew so little of facts, and was so full of bitter pagan prejudice that he constantly went astray (606). Constantine had openly favored the Church as early as A. D. 311 and 312, where we find his name in edicts which tolerate them, and blunt the teeth of persecution. We find the Donatists appealing to him to decide between them and the Catholics, and in response, in A. D. 314, he summons Bishops of his jurisdiction at Arles in Gaul, where Spain was presented. For it was then in Constantine's jurisdiction. And it is certainly a possible thing that, when in that land, he visited Cordova, which was then one of its most important cities, and with his sympathies for Christianity, became well acquainted with its zealous and able Bishop, Hosius, so that he probably knew him years before the time when he visited Rome, and is spoken of by Zosimus, I think, the "*Egyptian from Spain*" who visited the women in the palace at Rome (607, 608). Why may he not have met Helena, the Em-

(606). Professor Milligan has a good article on "*Zosimus*" in the last volume of Smith and Wace's *Dictionary of Christian Biography*.

(607). See page 638, Vol. I., of Smith and Wace's *Dictionary of Christian Biography* for the dates of those events.

(608). Argles, in his article on *Helena*, page 882, Volume II., of Smith and Wace's *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, expresses the view that Helena became a Christian through her son Constantine. But,

1. That inference is opposed to the common view of the ancients:

2. The passage to which Argles refers as proof for that statement, that Constantine converted her to the Christian Faith (Chapter XLVII., Book III., of Eusebius' *Life of Constantine*), does not say that, but only that he rendered her more devout worshipper of God. She was, I think, a Christian before, but became a more devout Christian by his influence. I give a literal translation of the passage below. In the chapters before, Eusebius has just spoken of her magnificence in building churches, etc., which probably, as they required large means, she had not sufficient money to do, and hence drew from her imperial treasury, and then he mentions her death as follows:

"The mother of the Emperor was therefore perfected, having become worthy of unforgettable remembrance, both on account of her dear to God acts and of the eminent and admirable son who was born of her; who deserves to be blessed in addition to all his other good traits for his dutifulness towards his mother: for he made her so God-fearing when she was not before, that it seemed that she had been instructed by the common Saviour from the first." The Greek, as in

peror's mother, then, and before in Spain, when he was ruler there? The precise and definite details on these matters indeed are not well known, but the facts, which we do know, look that way.

And of Alexander, Bishop of Alexandria, the Synodal Epistle states that

"*He was both a master and a sharer in the things which have been done.*"

And the same is true of that distinguished prelate of Antioch of whom Christian antiquity speaks as "*the great Eustathius*" (609), whose zeal for the Consubstantiality of the Son with the Father, and against the Arian creature-service is clear from his address to the Emperor Constantine at the very beginning of the first formal session of the Council (610). Facundus, Bishop of Ermiana or Hermiana, in the province of Byzacena in Africa in the sixth century, in his *Defence of the Three Chapters*, which is addressed to the Emperor Justinian, Book VIII., Chapter IV., speaks of him as "*the blessed Eustathius*" [an error for "*Eustathius*"] "*Bishop of the city of Antioch, who was for the right faith in the Nicene Council*" (611).

And, in the same work, Book XI., Chapter I., Facundus terms him.

"*The blessed Eustathius*" [that is, *Eustathius*] "*Bishop of Antioch who was first in the Nicene Council*" (612).

Column 1108, of Tome XX., of Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*, of part of the above is as follows: ὃν πρὸς τοῖς ἅπασιν, καὶ τῆς εἰς τὴν γειναμένην δοῖας μακαρίσειν ἄξιον, οἷον μὲν αὐτὴν θεοσεβῆ καταστήσαντα, οὐκ οὔσαν πρότερον, ὡς αὐτῷ [but the common reading is not αὐτῷ but αὐτὸ, a note in Migne here tells us, and I prefer it] δόκειν ἐκ πρώτης τῷ κοινῷ Σωτῆρι μεμαθητεῦσθαι.

(609). Theodoret's *Ecclesiastical History*, Book I., Chapter VI. See the quotation on page 273 above from it.

(610.) See it translated on pages 276, 277 above.

(611). Facundi episc. Hermianensis *Pro Defensione Trium Capitul*, lib. VIII., cap. IV. (col. 719, Tome LXVII., of Migne's *Patrologia Latina*); et dies nos deficiet percurrentes beatum Eustachium Antiochiae civitatis episcopum, qui fuit pro recta fide in Nicaeno Concilio, etc.

(612). Facundus, Id., lib. XI., cap. 1. (column 795, Tome LXVII., of Migne's *Patrologia Latina*); Nam beatus Eustachius Antiochenus episcopus, qui primus in Nicaeno concilio fuit, sexto adversus Arianos libro, de eo quod ait Dominus; *Nemo scit diem illum* (Matt. XXIV., 36); *Dicamus*, inquit, etc. A note in the same column of Migne tells us that "*Eustachium*," in this note, should be "*Eustathium*."

I am aware that the honor of speaking for the First Ecumenical Council to the Emperor Constantine has been ascribed by a few, beginning with Theodore of Mopsuestia, to Alexander Bishop of Alexandria. Let us see how that matter stands:

Nicetas Choniata, of the thirteenth century, was Bishop of Maronea, and afterwards became Bishop of Thessalonica. He has left a work entitled "*Thesaurus*" [or "*Treasury*"] "*of the Orthodox Faith*." Book V., Chapter VII., of it refers to the First Ecumenical Council; and states that "Eusebius [of Caesarea] in the Third Book of his *Life of Constantine*, testifies that he himself first spoke in the Synod." This is an error. Sozomen in the following century, as shown above, makes that assertion. Eusebius of Caesarea does not specify the name of the first speaker. Next Nicetas refers to Theodoret's statement, quoted above, that the Bishop who replied to the opening address of the Emperor Constantine was Eustathius, Bishop of Antioch. Then he adds:

"But as Theodore of Mopsuestia writes, that honor" [of speaking first in that Council] "has been ascribed to Alexander the Pontiff of Alexandria besides, on the ground that he was the leader and cause of the assembling of the Synod. He adds that that prelate narrated in the session of the Council all things in order as they had occurred, and that after many speeches besides had been delivered on this side and on that, the Bishops came to an agreement among themselves, and pronounced the Son to be *ὁμοούσιον* to the Father, that is of exactly the same substance with Him (613)."

I judge from the above that there is no clear proof that Theodore of Mopsuestia had any documentary evidence for the idea that Alexander, Bishop of Alexandria, was the prelate who replied to the Emperor; but that he inferred that he was from the fact that he was the first in rank of all the Bishops present, and that Eusebius of Caesarea in Chapter XI., of Book III., of his *Life of Constantine*, without specifying his name, states that it was "*the Bishop who occupied the chief*

(613). Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*, Tome CXXXIX., col. 1367; Nicaetæ Choniatae, *Thesauri Orthodoxae Fidei*, lib. V., cap. VII. The original Greek is not there given, but only the Latin translation. I have Englished the latter. It runs as follows: Ut autem Theodorus Mopsuestiaeus scribit, Alexandro Alexandrini Pontifici id honoris ultro delatum est, quippe qui Synodi cogendae dux et auctor extitisset. Hunc in Synodi consessu omnia ut se habebant ordine narrasse videtur.

place in the right division of the assembly," as Bagster's translation has it. But such an inference does not amount to much against,

1. The plain statement of Theodore that it was Eustathius of Antioch; and,
2. The fact that we have still preserved to us Eustathius' Oration on that occasion.

These three great prelates stand chief in the Council as the leading formulators of the deathless Creed of Nicaea, the wording of which we must believe was made with the Christ-promised assistance of the Holy Ghost, who is to be with the sound Universal Apostolate forever to guide them into all truth.

But time would fail to tell the merits of the rest of the 318 Orthodox Bishops who were champions for Christ's Divinity, and against Arian Creature-Worship; and to record the shame of such of them as, like Eusebius of Nicomedia and Eusebius of Caesarea, opposed. I must leave that to the historian and the biographer. The fame of some of them lives in letters of living light; others, it may be equally meritorious and equally active for the truth of God against hydra-headed Arianism, had their modest worth enshrined in the hearts which they fitted by their sound and holy teachings for heaven; and there those whose merits are detailed by biographers and by historians, and those whose are not, abide with those whom under God they saved, with Christ in endless joy and triumph; for he never fails to remember the merits of his servants, who have manfully contended for his faith and died in it at the last; for he giveth liberally and upbraideth not. But if any among them did not continue steadfast to the end, and lost his crown in the fiery Arian persecutions which afterwards arose, for him must we grieve; and take heed lest we also fall.

As nearly all the Apostolic sees mentioned in the New Testament were represented by sound Bishops (Rome by presbyters), in the First Ecumenical Council, we may be sure that the sense of the Scriptures which had been transmitted and preached in their Churches from the beginning on the vital theme of Christ's Divinity was enshrined by them in its blessed and glorious Creed, and that every thing in that Symbol is an embodiment of Scriptural faith held to from the first; so that that noble Document is indeed *Apostolic* in the highest and fullest sense.

We come, now,

9. *To mention the most notable terms which are found in THE CREED OF THE FIRST ECUMENICAL COUNCIL, but are not in the PROFESSION OF FAITH presented by Eusebius of Caesarea; and to note the reason for them.*

Eusebius, in his letter to his people, speaking of the eight articles (614) which compose that part of the Nicene Creed before the anathematism, dwells only on the following expressions as liable to question:

1. "OUT OF the substance of the Father," ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Πατρὸς.
2. "Of the same substance as the Father," ὁμοούσιον τῷ Πατρὶ; and
3. "Born, not made," Γεννηθέντα, οὐ ποιηθέντα.

He does not openly reject the terms, but inquires regarding them, how they were meant. Indeed, he confesses in this very document,

1. *In regard to the truth of the term ὁμοούσιον, that "on examination there are grounds for saying, that the Son is of one substance with the Father" (615); and*
2. *In regard to the authority for its use: "We were aware that even among the ancients, some learned and illustrious Bishops and Writers have used the terms 'Of the same substance,' in their theological teaching concerning the Father and Son" (616).*

And 3, he admitted the expression "*not made*," though whether he held to the full Orthodox sense, either of that expression or of the terms expressing Consubstantiality, has been justly doubted (617). He professes, however, in this Epistle, to have received them and the Anathema.

(614). That is the three great themes of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, which logically make three great articles; though for the sake of convenient comparison with the Western Creed called the Apostles', we divide the second article, that is that on the Son into six, and so we make eight; counting that on the Father Article 1, that on the Son Articles 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7; and that on the Holy Ghost Article 8.

(615). Oxford translation of ST. ATHANASIUS' *Treatises Against Arianism*, page 63.

(616). *Id.*, page 64.

(617). See *id.*, notes on pp. 62 and 63.

These three expressions in the eight articles—that is the articles before the Anathema (618) seemed to the mind of Eusebius the more notable and distinctive of the additions to his own formula.

As to the Anathematism, he remarks on the expressions:

1. "Out of nothing" (619).
2. "Once He was not" (620).
3. "Before He was born, He was not" (221).

All these expressions of the Nicæan Anathema coincide in condemning the heresy that the Son is not eternal.

All the six *expressions* above noted, as well as the *doctrine* which they contain are lacking in the paper of Eusebius.

The first two of the six guard the doctrine of the Consubstantiality.

The third forbids any man to deem the Son a creature, as does the fourth also.

The last two make Him eternal, and therefore co-eternal with the Father.

None of those terms came from Eusebius of Caesarea, for as an Arian he was naturally opposed to them, and never in his heart really received them.

Athanasius, in his *Epistle to the African Bishops*, and in sections 19 and 20 of his *Epistle in Defence of the Nicene Decisions*, shows how difficult it was for the Orthodox to frame sound test-expressions which the Arians could not explain away. For instance, in section 19 of his *Epistle in Defence of the Nicene Decisions*, he shows that the Orthodox said that the Son had *come out* of God, *ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ* which is

(618). Perhaps it would be better to say the three great articles before the Anathema, that is:

1. The article on the Father;
2. The article on the Son; and
3. The article on the Holy Ghost; though, in writing on the so-called Apostles' Creed, men, in the Middle Ages, often divided the articles on the Trinity in it into eight—perhaps originally from their belief in the legend that each of the Apostles made one article of the present twelve of that Creed.

(619). Greek, *ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων ἐγένετο*.

(620). Greek, *ἦν ποτε ὅτε οὐκ ἦν*.

(621). Greek, *πρὶν γεννηθῆναι οὐκ ἦν*.

in accordance with Christ's own statement in John VIII., 42, but the Arians explained it to mean *out of God* in the sense of "*of God*," that is in the same sense as men are *of God*, that is that He did not come out of His Substance, but was a mere creature from outside of Him. Then the Fathers, to make their meaning clearer and the sense stronger, set forth the expression "*out of the substance of the Father*" (622), and put it into the Creed. And with the same intent they put forth their affirmations of Orthodoxy in the three expressions above, in the part of the Creed before the Anathema, and their negations of all the Arian assertions that Christ is a creature, and of their creature-worship which is based on them, in the Anathema, in the three clauses there forbidden.

Eusebius mentions only three additional clauses of the part of the Nicene Creed before its Anathema. In fact there are eleven. Let us examine.

On pages 68-73, above, are found the parts of *the Nicene Creed* before its Anathema, and side by side with them the parts of Eusebius of Caesarea's *Profession of Faith* which treat on the same articles, that is those on the Trinity. On comparing them we see that in

Article 2, the order of the clauses which contain the same wording is different; for instance, in Eusebius' *Profession* "*God out of God*" precedes, "*Born out of the Father*," whereas the reverse is the case in the *Nicene Creed*.

Besides, the *Nicene Creed* has the following words, which are not in Eusebius' *Profession*:

- (A). "*Son*," before "*of God*."
- (B). "*That is out of the substance of the Father*."
- (C). "*Very God out of very God*."
- (D). "*Born, not made*."
- (E). "*Of the same substance as the Father*;" and
- (F). "*Both those in the heaven and those on the earth*."

In Article 3, the *Nicene* has

- (G). "*For us men and*," and
- (H). "*Came down and*;" and

(622). Greek, ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Πατρὸς.

(I). "The words "*and put on a man*," which are ~~not~~ in Eusebius' *Profession*.

In Article 6, the *Nicene* has

(J). "*Into the heavens*," which are not in Eusebius' *Profession*.

In Article 7, The *Nicene* has

(K). The present "*cometh*," whereas Eusebius' *Profession* has the future tense.

We come now,

SECTION 10. *To mention the chief things in Eusebius of Caesarea's*
PROFESSION OF FAITH, *which are not in the Nicene Creed, and*
to ask why they were omitted by the Fathers of the Council.

The following are the omissions:

(A). The first six lines of Eusebius' *Profession*, on pages 59 and 60 of the Oxford translation of St. Athanasius' *Treatises Against Arianism*, and part of line 16, and the whole of the end of it, comprising the rest of line 16 and all of lines 17 to 29, inclusive. That leaves but ten lines of the 29 to be considered, that is lines 7-16. In those ten there are the following omissions:

(B). The term "*Word*" (*Λόγον*) is omitted in line 9, in the expression "*The Word of God*;" and the Nicene Creed has instead, "*The Son of God*." The order of the Greek words differs; the Profession of Eusebius having, τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ Λόγον; the Nicene Creed having, τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ.

(C). "*Life out of Life*" is omitted in line 10.

(D). "*First Brought Forth of every creature*," as Eusebius of Caesarea, with his Arian feelings, intended it to be understood, is omitted in line 11.

(E). "The words, "*Before all the worlds born out of the Father*," in lines 11 and 12, are omitted. Hahn punctuates as I give this clause. Newman punctuates so as to make, "*Before all the worlds*," a clause which may be taken with the clause just preceding, in which case this place would read, "*First Brought Forth of every creature, before all the worlds*."

(F). "*And lived among men*" is omitted in line 13.

The clause,

(G). "*And went up TO THE FATHER*," in line 14, is in the Nicene Creed, "*And went up INTO THE HEAVENS*."

(H). "Again" is omitted in line 15. "In Glory" given in Newman's translation, on page 60 of his *St. Athanasius' Treatises Against Arianism* is not in Hahn's *Bibliothek der Symbole*, page 186.

(I). In line 16, the word "one" is omitted before "Holy Ghost."

Now as to why these omissions and changes were made.

We can only surmise the reasons.

The reason for omitting the beginning and the end, comprising all mentioned under "A" above, may well have been their *personal* character, and the fact that the *person* there professing his faith was an Arian. The language as referring, to some extent, to Caesarea, and as depicting the experience and belief of an Arian leader was not fit for a Universal Creed.

I know of no sufficient reason for the change mentioned in "B."

The clause mentioned under "C" is not specially needed to defend the Divinity of the Son after the strong clauses for that tenet found in that place in the Nicene Creed.

As to "D," the words "*First Brought Forth of every creature*" were used by Eusebius in the Arian sense to which he held, and probably to teach Arianism; and the Council justly refused to embody them in the Creed in that sense.

Eusebius of Caesarea, like the rest of the Arians, would go so far as to teach that the Word was *created before all the worlds*, and may have intended to have that place read as has been said, "*First Brought Forth of every creature before all the worlds*," though it is not absolutely certain, for he would take the words following *ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς γεγεννημένον* in the sense of "*created by the Father*," which, though forced and unnatural, was what the Arians meant by that Greek expression.

These remarks cover D and E.

As to "F," the words, "*And lived among men*" are not so pertinent as others in the Nicene Creed to prove the Divinity of Christ.

As to "G," the reason for preferring "*into the heavens*" to the expression "*to the Father*" is not clear to me; nor is the omission of "*again*" in "H," except that it is not necessary to teach the resurrection, for "*rose up*" teaches that doctrine without it.

Nor do I know why in "I," "*one*" should be omitted before "Holy Ghost."

Some of these variations look very much as though the Bishops, in drawing up the Creed of Nicaea, took but little notice of Eusebius' *Profession*.

From the foregoing data I do not feel sure that Eusebius of Caesarea's Formula, was taken as the basis of the Nicene Creed, though certain parts of it are so much like the Nicene Creed that they may have influenced its wording.

SECTION II. *Who wrote THE SYMBOL of the 318 of Nicaea ?*

Basil the Great, Archbishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, says that

"*The blessed Hermogenes * * * wrote the great and irrefragable Creed in the Great Synod*" (623). "*The Great Synod*" here meant is Nicaea, that being a common title of it among the ancients. "*The Great and irrefragable Creed*" is its Symbol.

Hermogenes was Basil the Great's predecessor in the Archbishopial See of Caesarea.

In another passage our Basil refers to Hermogenes' connection with the Symbol of the 318. For he mentions:

"*Hermogenes, who was diametrically hostile to the evil belief of Arius, as the very Creed pronounced by that man at the beginning at Nicaea shows*" (624).

(623). Basil the Great, Archbishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, edit. Gaume, Paris, 1839, Tom. III., page 249, says that Hermogenes wrote the Nicene Creed, that is, not the Constantinopolitan, but that of the 318. Thus writing to Innocent, a Bishop (Epist. 81), who had asked St. Basil, of Caesarea to succeed him in his See at his (Innocent's) death, St. Basil declines, but recommends an approved presbyter instead, in these words. "Ἰνα οὐκ μὴ εἰσέλθω εἰς κρίσιν μετὰ σοῦ, ἀλλὰ μάλλον κοινωνῶν σε εὖρω τῆς ἀπολογίας μου, τῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, περιβλεψάμενος ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου τοῦ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν, ἐξελεξάμεν τὸ τιμωτάτον σκεῖος τὸν ἐκγονὸν τοῦ μακαρίου Ἑρμογένοιο, τὸν τὴν μεγάλην καὶ ἀρήκτον Πίστιν γράψαντος ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ συνόδῳ.

I translate,

"In order, therefore, that I may not enter into judgment with thee, but may rather find thee a sharer in my defence before Christ, I have looked about in the co-session of the presbytery in the city, and have chosen out the most precious vessel, the descendant of the blessed Hermogenes, who wrote the great and irrefragable Faith in the Great Council."

The allusion here, according to Gaume's *Index* under *Nicaea*, is to the Nicene Faith. That is clear.

(624). The following refers to Hermogenes, Bishop of Caesarea, in Cappadocia. It is in Gaume's edition of Basil, Paris, 1839, Tome III., page 552. St.

But Leontius was bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia at that time. Hermogenes did not succeed him until some time after. He was in sub-episcopal orders at that time.

Hermogenes then wrote the Creed of the 318 at Nicaea, but whether that means that he wrote the first copy of it at the suggestion of his own Bishop, and the other Orthodox prelates, or whether it means only that he wrote a copy of that original, I know not. In Section 3 of St. Athanasius' *Letter in Defence of the Nicene Definition*, γράψαι with the dative may, be used possibly in the sense of *subscribe*, though I do not find that meaning given for γράφω in the Sixth Edition of Liddell and Scott's Greek Lexicon, nor in that of Sophocles, which makes against that sense. But we have the accusative here, so that *subscribe* may not be so fit a rendering here, nor perhaps permissible. If it were, we might understand merely that Hermogenes *subscribed* to the Nicene Creed.

Basil, speaking of the changeling, Eustathius, Bishop of Sebaste, and others, states that Eustathius was an Arian, but professed Orthodoxy when he came to Hermogenes, of Caesarea. Basil writes of Eustathius and his companions,

"They were following Arius from the beginning; they changed when they were with Hermogenes, who was diametrically hostile to the evil belief of Arius, as the very Creed pronounced by that man at the beginning at Nicaea shows. After Hermogenes fell asleep, they [Eustathius and his friends] changed again and went over to Eusebius, a man who was the head of the Arian ring," etc. Then Basil goes on to describe their changes further. The article of Venables, on *Eustathius of Sebaste*, in Smith and Wace's *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, gives a sorry account of that changeling's variations. Basil the Great, as above, begins his account of Eustathius and his friends as follows:

"Hermogenes was Basil the Great's predecessor in the Archiepiscopal See."

'Αρείω κατηγορούθουν τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς μετέθεντο πρὸς Ἑρμογένην, τὸν κατὰ διάμετρον ἐχθρὸν ὄντα τῆς Ἀρείου κακοδοξίας, ὡς ὅλοι αὐτῇ ἡ πίστις ἢ κατὰ Νίκαιαν παρ' ἐκείνου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐκφυγηθεῖσα ἐξ ἀρχῆς. Ἐκοιμήθη Ἑρμογένης, καὶ πάλιν μετέστησαν πρὸς Εὐσέβιον, ἄνδρα κορυφαῖον τοῦ κατὰ Ἀρείον κύκλου, ὡς οἱ πειραθέντες φασίν.

Le Quien gives the order of succession in the Archiepiscopate of Caesarea, in Cappadocia, about this time, thus:

- V. Leontius.
- VI. Eulalius.
- VII. Hermogenes.
- VIII. Dianoeus.
- IX. Eusebius.

X. Basil the Great. See his *Oriens Christianus*, Tome I., pp. 370-373. Caesarea of Cappadocia is marked as in the patriarchate of Constantinople. But the patriarchal power of Constantinople did not exist over Cappadocia at the

Basil elsewhere calls him "*The most blessed Bishop Hermogenes of Caesarea*," and in the context shows that Hermogenes was a maintainer of that Nicene faith or Creed which he had written, so that when the Arian changeling, Eustathius of Sebasteia, went to him, "*he judged him for his unbelief*," and it was not till Eustathius "*gave*" Hermogenes "*a confession of sound faith*" that he gave him ordination (625). And during Hermogenes' life time Eustathius seems to have held to the faith, but fell away after his death (626).

I would add that the See of Caesarea, in Cappadocia, was, probably, founded by an Apostle, and was adorned by two great Bishops, St. Firmilian, and St. Basil the Great, the latter one of the greatest doctors of the Eastern Church. Firmilian was one of the most eminent prelates of the third century, and was on the side of Cyprian of

date of Nicaea, nor by *Canon* in the days of Hermogenes or Basil the Great of Hermogenes, the successor of Eulalius, Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, Tome I, p. 371, thus writes: "Eulalius excepit Hermogenes, quem Basilius epistola 70 *beatissimum Caesareae episcopum* vocat, τῷ μακαριωτάτῳ ἐπισκόπῳ Ἑρμογένῃ Καισαρείας. Hunc epistola rursum 84 hostem e diametro exstitisse ait perversae sententiae Arii, τὸν κατὰ διάμετρον ἐχθρὸν τῆς Ἀρείου κακοδοξίας.

Huic Eustathius ille Sebastenus, de quo mox dicebam, cum suis, Nicaenae fidei professionem primum obtulit, statim vero ab ejusdem Hermogenis obitu Eusebio se Constantinopolitano, olim Nicomediensi dedit. Ad Dominum igitur Hermogenes migravit ante annum 341 quo Eusebius ille Arianorum princeps interiiit: imo certe ante hunc annum 341 quo Hermogenis successor Dianoeus Antiocheno Eusebiana factione celebri Concilio interfuit, Athanasium proscripsit et Gregorium Cappadocem Alexandrinae ecclesiae episcopum cum Eusebianis designavit:

Gelasius, of Cyzicus, represents, in his second book, Leontius, of Caesarea, passim, as taking part in the Council of Nicaea. The name of Leontius is among the subscriptions to the Synod of Nicaea.

(625). Basil the Great, Archbishop of Caesarea, in Cappadocia, (same edit. of Gaume, t. iii., p. 588, *Epist.* 263). The following is the whole passage on the same page in Gaume, Tome III.: 'Ἐστὶ τοίνυν εἰς τῶν πολλῶν ἡμῖν κατασκευάζοντων λήπην, Εὐστάθιος ὁ ἐκ τῆς Σεβαστείας τῆς κατὰ τὴν μικρὰν Ἀρμενίαν' ὅς πάλαι μαθητευθεὶς τῷ Ἀρείῳ, καὶ ὅτε ἤκμαζεν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας, τὰς πονηρὰς κατὰ τοῦ Μονογενοῦς συνταθεὶς βλασφημίας, ἀκολουθῶν ἐκείνῳ, καὶ τοῖς γνησιωτάτοις αὐτοῦ τῶν μαθητῶν ἐναρθούμενος ἐπειδὴ ἐπαγγέλθεν εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ, τῷ μακαριωτάτῳ ἐπισκόπῳ Ἑρμογένῃ τῷ Καισαρείας, κρίνοντι αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῇ κακοδοξίᾳ, ὁμολογίαν ἔδωκε πίστεως ὑγιούς. Καὶ οὕτω τὴν χειροτονίαν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δεκάμενος, [δέξάμενος] κ. τ. λ.

(626). See the facts and references noted in Venable's article, "*Eustathius of Sebaste*," right hand column, page 384 of Volume II. of Smith and Wace's *Dictionary of Christian Biography*.

Carthage, in the latter's dispute with Rome as to the validity of heretical baptism. He deemed it invalid. It is claimed that its first Bishop was St. Primianus, better known by the name of Longinus, the soldier who pierced the Saviour's side with a spear.

Le Quien, in his *Oriens Christianus*, Tome I., pages 353-355, gives his opinion as follows: (I translate his Latin),

"And so, inasmuch as Caesarea was a very large and a very rich city, there was, therefore, in it, from the first, a very numerous Church, which was founded by Peter the first of the Apostles. Indeed, we are allowed to gather that fact from his First Epistle; for he addressed it to the elect sojourners of the Dispersion in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, etc. For surely Jerome and others, as well as the Acts of St. Basil, Bishop of Amasea in Pontus, which John Bolland has published under the twenty-sixth day of April, [all] testify that all those regions, as far as to the Black Sea, were traversed by him [Peter] to propagate the Gospel in them. In those Acts [just mentioned] it is also asserted that Peter set out from Antioch and preached Christ at Amasea, and there appointed Nicetius Bishop; and then, with his brother Andrew, he labored for some time at Sinope in Helenopontus. But it is not at all likely that in his preaching in those regions of Pontus he failed to do so in the central provinces [of it], and especially in the city of Caesarea. And certainly he was wont to teach Christ's Faith at that time to the Jews especially, who were scattered here and there in those parts, but he did not at all pass by the Gentiles, to whom all the Apostles were sent as well. Wherefore, I do not doubt that the first Bishop of Caesarea was appointed by him, whom we will show in its own place hereafter, to have been the very centurion of that cohort which led the Lord to his suffering, and fastened him to the cross.

"However, John Chrysostom, in his *Homily XX. on the Epistle to the Romans*, asserts that Paul, the Apostle to the Gentiles, had his own parts also in the Pontic regions, as he had in converting those of Asia to the Faith. Aye, Theodoret, who habitually quotes him [Chrysostom], says, on the same Epistle:

"'And he [Paul] filled with the doctrine [of Christianity], both the Eastern and the Pontic parts, and in addition to them the parts of Asia and Thrace.' So far as pertains to the city of Caesarea, Luke, the

Evangelist, is a reliable witness to prove that he [Paul] left Ephesus and went to it, where there was then a flourishing Christian Church. *For he sent out from Ephesus and went down to Caesarea, and went up and saluted the Church, and went down to Antioch.*

“Moreover, Basil the Great, who was himself the Archbishop of Caesarea, in his 291st Epistle, which is addressed ‘*to the Bishops of the Pontic Diocese,*’ called them to a Council in his city to celebrate the anniversary day of Saints Eupychius, Damas and other martyrs; and said that they were summoned by his Church through his own voice, because they were its proper ornament and honor, ‘*The Church reminds you, its own ornament, and invites you by our voice.*’ That language is surely a sufficient proof that the churches of Pontus were dependent on Caesarea as their first see and their head.”

The Caesarea, in the quotation from Acts XVIII., 22, above, is generally thought to mean not Caesarea in Cappadocia, but Caesarea in Palestine. But, however that may be, as it seems certain that Caesarea in Cappadocia was founded by an Apostle, either Peter or Paul, probably by Peter; if Hermogenes, who wrote the Nicene Creed, quoted any part of its local creed in it we may well deem its doctrine to have come down from the Apostles there, as it certainly has elsewhere.

But,

SECTION 12. *We come to show the Scripturalness of the Creed of Nicaea.*

All the sense of it, and nearly every word of it is taken from Holy Scripture; so that it is entirely Scriptural; and so differs very much from many later Professions, Confessions, and heretical Creeds. And it is passing strange that the heretics who are so zealous for their errors which are neither in the *sense* nor the *words* of Scripture do not see that. They are constantly faulting the two Ecumenical Creeds or unscripturalness when they will not take the pains to examine how Scriptural they are, nor how Anti-Scriptural their own erring assertions are. In another volume on Nicaea we show how thoroughly the words and the sense of the Nicene Creed agree with those of God's Word, from which the Father's of the Council took them. There is no room in this volume.

SECTION 13. *On the inconsistent and hypocritical course of the Arian party in signing and afterwards rejecting those terms of the Nicene Creed which teach the Consubstantiality of the Son with the Father; and in pleading that they rejected them because they are not in Scripture, while they used terms which are not in Scripture to express their heresy.*

On this matter I have spoken above in note 521, on page 345, on the blasphemous Epistle of Eusebius of Nicomedia. Asking my kindly reader to turn to that first, I will add what here follows:

Though Eusebius of Caesarea had assented with his lips to the test terms of the Nicene Creed with the design of explaining them away at the first favorable opportunity, as he did in his *Letter to his flock*; and though, for a season, some other Arians admitted them in words and explained away their sense, St. Athanasius shows that other Arians afterwards grew weary of such hypocrisy, and on the insincere plea that they are not in Scripture, wholly rejected them. In reply to these last he shows how they differed from the course of Eusebius of Caesarea, on that matter, while at the same time they professed to respect him; and how, moreover, they used expressions not in Scripture to set forth their heresies, and that, therefore, their plea for Scripture terms was inconsistent, and a mere excuse to avoid confessing the truth. For Athanasius, in Section 37 of his work *on the Council of Ariminum and on that of Seleucia*, witnesses that some of the Arians had "accepted, many times, the term 'substance' as good, especially on the ground of the letter of Eusebius" of Caesarea, to his flock, though afterwards the Arians blamed "those before themselves for using such terms," on the ground that they are not in Scripture, whereas, as Athanasius shows just before that, those later Arians were constantly using expressions on Christ which are not in Scripture, and so they used terms not in Holy Writ on the Father, and on the Trinity. For instance, they said of the Father that He is "ungenerated" which, though true, is not in Scripture. They said that the Logos is not of the Father's "substance" (*οὐσίας*), which is neither true, nor in Scripture. They said "*there are three subsistences* (*τρεῖς εἰς αὐτὸν ὑποστάσεις*), which expression is not in Scripture, nor is their sense of it there, that is that, "*There are Three unlike substances.*" Nor are any of the Arian expressions, which are con-

demned in the Anathema at the end of the Nicene Creed, in Scripture either in words or in sense. I mean the expressions,

1. "*There was once when the Son of God was not;*"
2. "*He was not before He was born;*"
3. "*He was made out of non-existing things*" [that is out of nothing];
4. "*He is of another subsistence or substance*" [than the Father];
5. "*He is a creature;*"
6. "*He is mutable;*"
7. "*He is alterable.*"

The fact is that the appeal for the use of Scripture terms alone, in the mouths of the Arians, was the veriest inconsistency, as it always is in the mouths of all other Anti-Trinitarian heretics now, for they constantly use terms not in Scripture to state their heresies and their differences from the Orthodox; and the very necessities of their heretical position compel them so to do. This is true of all heretics, both of those who worship creatures and idolatry by invoking the Virgin Mary, Saints, and angels, or who bow to or kiss images, painted or graven, or relics, or worship the Eucharist before its consecration or after its consecration; and of those who, on the other hand, infidelize by denying the Trinity, the Divinity of the Logos, the doctrine of the Atonement by Christ's saving blood, the doctrine of one baptism for the remission of sins, the due authority of the One, Holy, Universal and Apostolic Church, and of its Christ-commissioned ministry, and of everlasting punishment, and other Scripture truths.

Therefore, St. Athanasius ably retorts upon them their use of non-Scriptural, aye Anti-Scriptural terms to set forth their heresies, and then adds of the Arian leaders, Acacius and others, as follows:

"And when Acacius and Eudoxius and Patrophilus say such things [that is pretend to use scripture terms alone], why are they not worthy of all condemnation? For, whereas, they themselves use in their writings terms not in Scripture, and have often admitted as good the expression '*of the substance*' (τῆς οὐσίας), and [that] especially because of the *Epistle* of Eusebius, they now fault those before themselves for using such expressions. And, moreover, while they themselves have said that "*The Son is God out of God* (θεὸν ἐκ θεοῦ) and

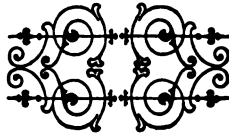
'Living Word,' and 'unvarying Image of the substance (τῆς οὐσίας) of the Father; they now fault those who said at Nicaea [the Son has come],

" 'Out of the substance' (ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας) [of the Father];

"And, 'He who was brought forth is of the same substance (ὁμοούσιον) as He who brought Him forth.' But what wonder is it if they fight against those before themselves, and against their own Fathers, when they themselves oppose each other and conflict with each other's expressions?" The Greek is on pages 287, 288 of Bright's St. Athanasius' *Historical Writings*.

No consistent Arian could sign the Nicene Creed as Eusebius of Caesarea had done; and he did so only to save his position and honors.

Yet there were Semi-Arians, who, as Athanasius shows in Section 41, of his work *on the Council of Ariminum in Italy and that of Seleucia in Isauria*, objected to the expression "of the same substance," but nevertheless held to the doctrine embodied in it. Athanasius mentions Basil of Ancyra as one of that kind. See there on page 138 of the Oxford translation.



NICÆA, A. D. 325:

THE FIRST ECUMENICAL COUNCIL.

ITS GENUINE REMAINS.

CHAPTER VIII.

ITS CANONS.

Only four of the Six Ecumenical Councils have ~~made~~ any Canons. They are :

- I. NICÆA, A. D. 325, which ~~made~~ 20 Canons.
- II. I. CONSTANTINOPLE, A. D. 381, which made 7 Canons.
- III. EPHESUS, A. D. 431, which made 8 Canons; and
- IV. CHALCEDON, A. D. 451, which made 30 Canons.

Neither the Fifth Ecumenical Council nor the Sixth made any Canons.

The Canons of the first four Ecumenical Synods are vastly important, for they contain precious and necessary Doctrine and Rite; and nearly all of Ecumenical Discipline is enshrined in them. That Discipline guards and enforces the saving Doctrines of the whole Church, and without it, they can not be maintained as they should be; nor can there be any settled and sure *Ecumenical law* and order. If the Ecumenical Canons are trampled under foot, more or less anarchy comes in as the result, and different local churches, in their sense of the need of order, have substituted mere local and contra-

dictory laws for them, which lack Ecumenical Authority, and lead to endless bickerings, and sometimes to schisms and heresies. All experience shows that. But we show that more fully in a special Essay *On the Authority of the Canons of the First Four Ecumenical Councils* in another volume. In another volume on Nicaea we purpose, if God will, to annotate its Canons more at length. The size of this volume and the amount of our notes, forbid it to be done here.

The Greek of the Nicene Canons here given is from Tome II. of Ralle and Potle's *Syntagma*, Athens, A. D. 1852.

The English translation mainly accords with that, though we have compared Bruns' and Lambert's Greek texts. Bruns' *Canones* were published at Berlin, A. D. 1839, and Lambert's *Codex Canonum Ecclesiae Universae* in London; I judge from his Preface, in 1868. The date is not on his title page. I will speak of different readings, of any importance, when in another volume I come to annotate these Canons.



CANONS.

OF THE HOLY FIRST ECUMENICAL SYNOD, WHICH
WAS HELD AT NICAEA IN BITHYNIA, IN
THE YEAR OF OUR LORD, 325.

CANON I.

PERSONS CASTRATED OF THEIR OWN FREE WILL NOT TO
BE CLERICS.

Εἴ τις ἐν νόσῳ ὑπὸ ἰατρῶν ἐχειρουργήθῃ, ἢ ὑπὸ βαρβάρων ἐξετμήθῃ, οὗτος μενέτω ἐν τῷ κλήρῳ. Εἰ δέ τις ὑγιαίνων ἑαυτὸν ἐξέτεμε, τοῦτον καὶ ἐν τῷ κλήρῳ ἐξεταζόμενον, πεπαῦσθαι προσήκει· καὶ ἐκ τοῦ δεῦρο, μηδένα τῶν τοιούτων χρῆναι προάγεσθαι. Ὡσπερ δὲ τοῦτο πρόδηλον, ὅτι περὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδεύοντων τὸ πρᾶγμα, καὶ τολμώντων ἑαυτοὺς ἐκτέμνειν εἴρηται· οὕτως, εἴ τινες ὑπὸ βαρβάρων, ἢ δειποτῶν εὐνουχίσθησαν, εὐρίσκοιντο δὲ ἄλλως ἄξιοι, τοὺς τοιούτους εἰς κλῆρον προσίεται ὁ κανὼν.

CANON II.

NEWLY BAPTIZED PERSONS NOT TO BE ORDAINED.

Ἐπειδὴ πολλὰ, ἤτοι ὑπὸ ἀνάγκης, ἢ ἄλλως ἐπειγομένων τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἐγένετο παρὰ τὸν κανόνα τὸν ἐκκλησιαστικόν, ὥσπερ ἀνθρώπους ἀπὸ ἐθνικοῦ δίου ἄρτι προσελθόντας τῇ πίστει, καὶ ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ κατηχηθέντας, εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὸ πνευματικὸν λουτρὸν ἄγειν, καὶ ἅμα τῷ βαπτισθῆναι προάγειν εἰς ἐπισκοπὴν, ἢ εἰς πρεσβυτέριον, καλῶς ἔδουξεν ἔχειν, τοῦ λοιποῦ μηδὲν τοιοῦτο γίνεσθαι· καὶ γὰρ καὶ χρόνου δεῖ τῷ κατηχουμένῳ, καὶ μετὰ τὸ βάπτισμα, δοκιμασίας πλείονος. Σαφὲς γὰρ τὸ ἀποστολικὸν γράμμα, τὸ λέγον· Μὴ νεόφυτον, ἵνα μὴ τυφωθεῖς εἰς κρίμα ἐμπίσης, καὶ παγίδα τοῦ διαβόλου. Εἰ δὲ, προΐοντος τοῦ χρόνου, ψυχικόν τι ἀμάρτημα

CANONS
OF THE HOLY FIRST ECUMENICAL SYNOD, WHICH
WAS HELD AT NICAEA IN BITHYNIA, IN
THE YEAR OF OUR LORD, 325.

CANON I.

PERSONS CASTRATED OF THEIR OWN FREE WILL NOT TO
BE CLERICS.

If any one has had an operation performed upon him in sickness by physicians, or has been castrated by barbarians, let him remain in the clericate. But if any one in health has castrated himself, it is becoming that when detected, even though he be in the clericate, that he cease [from ministering]; and from this time forth no such person may be promoted: But as it is manifest beforehand that this is said of those who contrive that thing on purpose, and who dare to castrate themselves, so [on the other hand], if any have been made eunuchs by barbarians, or by [their] masters, and are found otherwise worthy; the rule (627) admits such among the clergy.

CANON II.

NEWLY BAPTIZED PERSONS NOT TO BE ORDAINED.

Forasmuch as, either from necessity, or otherwise by the pressure brought to bear by [different] men, many things have been done contrary to the ecclesiastical rule, so that men who have just come from a heathen life to the faith, and have been catechized (628) for a little time, have been straightway led to the spiritual bath, and at the same time that they were baptized (629) were promoted to the episcopate or to the presbyterate; it has seemed good that hereafter no such thing take place; for the catechumen needs time (630), and

(627). Or "*the canon*," ὁ κανών.

(628). That is "*instructed*."

(629). Literally, "*dipped*."

(630). That is, to be fully instructed in the Christian Faith.

εὐρεθείη περὶ τὸ πρόσωπον, καὶ ἐλέγχοιτο ὑπὸ δύο, ἢ τριῶν μαρτύρων, πεπαύσθαι
ὁ τοιοῦτος τοῦ κλήρου. Ὁ δὲ παρὰ ταῦτα ποιῶν, ὡς ὑπεναντία τῇ μεγάλῃ συν-
όδῳ φρασυνόμενος, αὐτὸς κινδυνεύσει περὶ τὸν κλῆρον.

CANON III.

NO CLERIC TO HAVE A SYNISACT WOMAN—EXCEPTIONS.

Ἀπηγόρευσε καθόλου ἡ μεγάλη σύνοδος, μήτε ἐπίσκοπον, μήτε πρεσβυτέρον,
μήτε διακόνον, μήτε ὅλως τινὲ τῶν ἐν κλήρῳ, ἐξεῖναι συνείσακτον ἔχειν, πλὴν εἰ
μὴ ἄρα μητέρα, ἢ ἀδελφὴν, ἢ θείαν, ἢ ἂ μόνον πρόσωπα πᾶσαν ὑποφίαν διακρί-
ψεν.

CANON IV.

RULE AS TO THE APPOINTMENT AND ORDINATION OF BISHOPS;
POWER OF THE METROPOLITAN.

Ἐπίσκοπον προσήκει μάλιστα μὲν ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν ἐν τῇ ἐπαρχίᾳ καθίστασ-
θαι· εἰ δὲ δυσχερὲς εἴη τὸ τοιοῦτον, ἢ διὰ κατεπείγουσαν ἀνάγκην, ἢ διὰ μῆκος
ὁδοῦ, ἐξ ἁπαντος τρεῖς ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συναγομένους, συμφήφων γινομένων καὶ
τῶν ἀπόντων, καὶ συντιθεμένων διὰ γραμμάτων, τότε τὴν χειροτονίαν ποιεῖσθαι·
τὸ δὲ κύριον τῶν γινομένων δίδοσθαι καθ' ἑκάστην ἐπαρχίαν τῷ μητροπολίτῃ.

after the baptism (631) there is need of more probation, for the apostolic written statement is clear, which says, "*Not one newly planted* (632), *lest being lifted up with pride he fall into condemnation, and a snare of the devil*" (633). But if, as time goes on, some soulish (634) sin be found about the person, and if it be proved by two or three witnesses, let such a one cease from the Clericate. But he who acts contrary to these things (635) will himself hazard his own position in the Clericate as acting audaciously in opposition to the Great Synod.

CANON III.

NO CLERIC TO HAVE A SYNISACT WOMAN—EXCEPTIONS.

The Great Synod has wholly forbidden that it should be allowed either to Bishop, or to Presbyter, or to Deacon, or to any one at all of those who are in the Clericate to have a co-in-led woman except a mother, or a sister, or an aunt, or such persons alone as have escaped all suspicion.

CANON IV.

RULE AS TO THE APPOINTMENT AND ORDINATION OF BISHOPS;
POWER OF THE METROPOLITAN.

It is especially fitting that a Bishop be appointed by all the Bishops who are in the Province. But if such a thing be difficult, owing either to urgent necessity, or to the length of the way, it is becoming that at least three be gathered to the same place, the absent Bishops also giving their votes and expressing their agreement by letters; then the ordination is to be performed. But the ratifying of the things done in each Province is to be given to the Metropolitan.

(631). Literally, "*after the dipping.*"

(632). The Greek, *νεόφυτον*, of I. Tim., III., 6, has this meaning. Compare also, Rom. VI., 5, and Titus III., 5. The primitive immersion has a symbol of planting, Rom. VI., 5; and of a new birth out of the womb of the water, Titus III., 5. The reference is to that mode here. The common mode of baptism in A. D. 325, and indeed for the first 1200 years of the Christian era was by trine immersion in all Churches, as it is in the Greek Church till this hour, and as it was in the Church of England till the last half of the sixteenth century.

(633). I. Tim., III., 6.

(634). That is, some sin of the fallen human soul, that is, some *animal* sin.

(635). That is, the enactments of the above canon.

CANON V.

RIGHT AND POWER OF EACH BISHOP TO DISCIPLINE HIS CLERGY
AND LAITY—THEIR RIGHT TO APPEAL TO THE SYNOD OF
THEIR PROVINCE FROM THEIR OWN BISHOP'S
DECISION—IT MUST MEET TWICE A
YEAR TO RECEIVE SUCH AP-
PEALS AND TO DECIDE
SUCH CASES.

Ἡερὶ τῶν ἀκοινωνήτων γενομένων, εἴτε τῶν ἐν κλήρῳ, εἴτε τῶν ἐν λαϊκῷ τάγματι, ὑπὸ τῶν καθ' ἑκάστην ἐπαρχίαν ἐπισκόπων, κρατεῖται ἡ γνώμη, κατὰ τὸν κανόνα τὸν διαγορεύοντα, τοὺς ὑφ' ἑτέρων ἀποβληθέντας ὑφ' ἑτέρων μὴ προσίστασθαι. Ἐξετάζεσθω δὲ, μὴ μικροψυχία, ἢ φιλονεικία, ἢ τινι τοιαύτῃ ἀηδία τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, ἀπυσυνάγωγοι γένηνται. Ἵνα οὖν τοῦτο τὴν πρέπουσαν ἐξέτασιν λαμβάνοι, καλῶς ἔχειν ἔδουξεν, ἑκάστου ἐνιαυτοῦ, καθ' ἑκάστην ἐπαρχίαν δις τοῦ ἔτους συνόδους γίνεσθαι ἵνα κοινῇ πάντων τῶν ἐπισκόπων τῆς ἐπαρχίας ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συναγομένων, τὰ τοιαῦτα ζητήματα ἐξετάζηται, καὶ οὕτως οἱ ὁμολογουμένως προσκεκρουκότες τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, κατὰ λόγον ἀκοινώνητοι παρὰ πᾶσιν εἶναι δόξωσι, μέχρις ἂν τῷ κοινῷ τῶν ἐπισκόπων δόξῃ τὴν φιλανθρωποτέραν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἐκθέσθαι ψῆφον. Αἱ δὲ σύνοδοι γινέσθωσαν, μία μὲν πρὸ τῆς Τεσσαρακοστῆς, ἵνα πάσης μικροψυχίας ἀναιρουμένης, τὸ δῶρον καθαρὸν προσφέρῃται τῷ θεῷ· δευτέρα δὲ, περὶ τὸν τοῦ μετοπώρου καιρὸν.

CANON VI.

THE PRIVILEGES AND RIGHTS OF METROPOLITANS AND OF PROVINCES.

Τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἔθη κρατεῖτο, τὰ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, καὶ Λιβύῃ καὶ Πενταπόλει, ὥστε τὸν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ἐπίσκοπον πάντων τούτων ἔχειν τὴν ἐξουσίαν· ἐπειδὴ καὶ τῷ ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐπισκόπῳ τοῦτο σύνηθές ἐστιν. Ὅμοίως δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν, καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις ἐπαρχίαις, τὰ πρεσβεῖα σώζεσθαι ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις. Καθόλου

CANON V.

RIGHT AND POWER OF EACH BISHOP TO DISCIPLINE HIS CLERGY
AND LAITY—THEIR RIGHT TO APPEAL TO THE SYNOD OF
THEIR PROVINCE FROM THEIR OWN BISHOP'S
DECISION—IT MUST MEET TWICE A
YEAR TO RECEIVE SUCH AP-
PEALS AND TO DECIDE
SUCH CASES.

In regard to those who have become excommunicate, whether they be in the Clericate or of lay rank, by the Bishops in each province, let the judgment prevail in accordance with the rule, which declares that those who have been cast off by some be not admitted by others. But let inquiry be made, whether they have not become unchurched, through [some] littleness of soul or contentiousness, or some such unpleasantness on the part of the Bishop. In order therefore that this thing may receive due examination, it seemed good that there should be two Synods each year in each province, so that, by the common consent of all the Bishops of the Province, being gathered in the same place in common assembly, such questions may be examined into, and so those who have confessedly offended against the Bishop may appear with reason to be excommunicate with all, until it may seem good to the common body of the Bishops to give a milder vote on their behalf. And let the Synods take place, one before Tassaracost (636), in order that all littleness of soul being removed, the gift may be offered pure to God; and let the second be about the time of the end of autumn.

CANON VI.

THE PRIVILEGES AND RIGHTS OF METROPOLITANS AND OF PROVINCES.

Let the ancient customs prevail which are in Egypt, and in Libya, and in Pentapolis, so that the Bishop of Alexandria shall have the authority over all those places, since also that thing is customary to the Bishop in Rome. And likewise in Antioch, and in the other

(636). That is Lent, which, however, was then not so long as now. See Bingham's *Antiquities*, Book XXI., Chapter I.

δὲ πρόδηλον ἐκείνο· ὅτι, εἴ τις χωρὶς γνώμης τοῦ μητροπολίτου γένοιτο ἐπίσκοπος, τὸν τοιοῦτον ἡ μεγάλη σύνοδος ὤρισε μὴ δεῖν εἶναι ἐπίσκοπον. Ἐὰν μέντοι τῇ κοινῇ πάντων ψήφῳ, εὐλόγῳ οὕσῃ, καὶ κατὰ κανόνα ἐκκλησιαστικόν, δύο, ἢ τρεῖς δι' οἰκίαν φιλονεικίαν ἀντιλέγωσι, κρατέτω ἡ τῶν πλειόνων ψήφος

CANON VII.

THE RANK OF THE BISHOP OF JERUSALEM UNDER HIS METROPOLITAN IN HIS PROVINCES.

Ἐπειδὴ συνήθεια κεράτησε, καὶ παράδοσις ἀρχαία, ὥστε τὸν ἐν Αἰλίᾳ ἐπίσκοπον τιμᾶσθαι, ἐχέτω τὴν ἀκολουθίαν τῆς τιμῆς· τῇ μητροπόλει σωζομένου τοῦ οἰκείου ἀξιώματος.

CANON VIII.

HOW THE NOVATIANS, THAT IS THE CATHARISTS, ARE TO BE RECEIVED.

Περὶ τῶν ὀνομαζόντων μὲν ἑαυτοὺς Καθαροὺς ποτε, προσερχομένων δὲ τῇ καθολικῇ καὶ ἀποστολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἔδοξε τῇ ἁγίᾳ καὶ μεγάλῃ συνόδῳ ὥστε χειροθετουμένους αὐτοὺς, μένειν οὕτως ἐν τῷ κλήρῳ. Πρὸ πάντων δὲ τοῦτο ὁμολογῆσαι αὐτοὺς ἐγγράφως προσήκει, ὅτι συνθήσονται καὶ ἀκολουθήσουσι τοῖς τῆς καθολικῆς καὶ ἀποστολικῆς ἐκκλησίας δόγμασι· τουτέστι, καὶ διγάμοις κοινωνεῖν καὶ τοῖς ἐν τῷ διωγμῷ παροπεπτωκόσιν, ἐφ' ὧν καὶ χρόνος τέτακται, καὶ καιρὸς ὤριστα· ὥστε αὐτοὺς ἀκολουθεῖν ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς δόγμασι τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας. Ἐνθα μὲν οὖν πάντες, εἴτε ἐν χώμαϊς, εἴτε ἐν πόλεσιν, αὐτοὶ μόνοι εὐρίσκοντο χειροτονηθέντες, οἱ εὐρισκόμενοι ἐν τῷ κλήρῳ, ἔσονται ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ σχήματι. Εἰ δὲ τοῦ τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐποσκόπου, ἢ πρεσβυτέρου ὄντος, προσέρχονται τινες, πρόδηλον, ὡς ὁ μὲν ἐπίσκοπος τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἔξει τὸ ἀξίωμα τοῦ ἐπισκόπου· ὁ δὲ ὀνομαζόμενος παρὰ τοῖς λεγομένοις Καθαροῖς ἐπίσκοπος, τὴν τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου

provinces, the privileges are to be preserved to the churches. But it is universally clear, beforehand, that if any one should become a Bishop, without the consent of the Metropolitan, the Great Synod has decreed that such a one ought not to be a Bishop. If, however, two or three, through their own quarrelsomeness, speak against the common vote of all the Bishops it being reasonable and in accordance with ecclesiastical rule, let the vote of the majority prevail.

CANON VII.

THE RANK OF THE BISHOP OF JERUSALEM UNDER HIS METROPOLITAN IN HIS PROVINCE.

Forasmuch as a custom and an ancient tradition have prevailed of honoring the Bishop of Aelia, let him have the second place of honor, the proper dignity being preserved to the metropolis.

CANONS VIII.

HOW THE NOVATIANS, THAT IS THE CATHARISTS, ARE TO BE RECEIVED.

In regard to those once calling themselves *Pure Ones*, but [now] coming to the Universal and Apostolic Church, it has seemed good to the Holy and Great Synod that they receive a laying on of hands, and so remain in the Clericate. But before all things, it is becoming that they agree in writing that they will adhere to and will follow the decrees of the Universal and Apostolic Church; that is *to say*, that they will commune both with digamists and with those who have fallen away in the persecution regarding whom a time has been appointed and a period has been decreed; and that they will follow in all things the decrees of the Universal Church. Wherever, therefore, whether in villages or in cities, all who are found ordained are of themselves alone, those found in the Clericate shall be in the same positions. But if some of them come [to the Faith] where there is a Bishop or a presbyter of the Universal Church, it is clearly understood beforehand that the Bishop of the Church shall have the dignity of the Bishop, but he who is named Bishop among those termed *Pure Ones* shall have the honor of the presbyter, unless, indeed, it may seem good to the Bishop that he (637) share the honor of the

(637). That is, the Novatian Bishop.

τιμὴν ἔξει· πλὴν εἰ μὴ ἄρα δοκοίη τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, τῆς τιμῆς τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτὸν μετέχειν. Εἰ δὲ τοῦτο αὐτῷ μὴ ἀρέσκει, ἐπινοήσῃ τόπον ἢ χωρεπισκόπου, ἢ πρεσβυτέρου, ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐν τῷ κλήρῳ ὁλως δοκεῖν εἶναι· ἵνα μὴ ἐν τῇ πόλει δύο ἐπίσκοποι ᾖσιν.

CANON IX.

THE ORDINATION OF UNEXAMINED, IMMORAL OR UNBELIEVING PERSONS TO THE PRESBYTERATE IS MADE NULL AND VOID.

Εἰ τινες ἀνεξετάστως προήχθησαν πρεσβύτεροι, ἢ ἀνακρινόμενοι ὁμολόγησαν τὰ ἁμαρτήματα αὐτοῖς, καὶ, ὁμολογησάντων αὐτῶν, παρὰ κανόνα κινούμενοι οἱ ἄνθρωποι τοῖς τοιοῦτοις χεῖρα ἐπιτεθείλασι, τούτους ὁ κανὼν οὐ προσίεται τὸ γὰρ ἀνεπίληπτον ἐκδικεῖ ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία.

CANON X.

THE ORDINATION OF THOSE WHO HAVE FALLEN INTO IDOLATRY OR DENIAL OF CHRIST IN TIME OF PERSECUTION, ETC., FORBIDDEN AND MADE NULL AND VOID.

"Ὅσοι προεχειρίσθησαν τῶν παραπεπτωκότων, κατ' ἔγνωσαν, ἢ καὶ προειδότες τῶν προχειρισμένων, τοῦτο οὐ προκρίνει τῷ κανόνι τῷ ἐκκλησιαστικῷ γνωσθέντες γὰρ, καθαιροῦνται.

CANON XI.

HOW LAICS, WHO FELL INTO CREATURE-SERVICE OR DENIAL OF CHRIST WITHOUT NECESSITY, LOSS OF PROPERTY, OR DANGER, IN THE PERSECUTION BY LICINIUS, THE PAGAN, ARE TO BE READMITTED TO THE EUCCHARIST.

Περὶ τῶν παραδάντων χωρὶς ἀνάγκης, ἢ χωρὶς ἀφαιρέσεως ὑπαρχόντων, ἢ χωρὶς κινδύνου, ἢ τινος τοιούτου, ὃ γέγονεν ἐπὶ τῆς τυραννίδος Λικινίου, ἔδοξε τῇ.

name of *Bishop*; but if that be not pleasing to him, he shall provide for him the place of a country Bishop (638), or of a presbyter, in order that he may, by all means, seem to be in the Clericate; and in order that there may not be two Bishops in the city.

CANON IX.

THE ORDINATION OF UNEXAMINED, IMMORAL, OR UNBELIEVING PERSONS TO THE PRESBYTERATE IS MADE NULL AND VOID.

If any persons have been promoted to be presbyters without examination, or if, while being examined, they have confessed their sins, and after they have [thus] confessed, men have, nevertheless, been moved to act against rule, and have laid hands on them, the rule does not admit those persons. For the Universal Church justifies [only] what is irreproachable.

CANON X.

THE ORDINATION OF THOSE WHO HAVE FALLEN INTO IDOLATRY OR DENIAL OF CHRIST IN TIME OF PERSECUTION, ETC., FORBIDDEN AND MADE NULL AND VOID.

All those who have fallen away [from the faith], and have [nevertheless] been promoted in ignorance [of their fault], or even if those who promoted them knew beforehand [of their sins], that works no prejudice to the church rule; for when they are discovered they are deposed.

CANON XI.

HOW LAICS, WHO FELL INTO CREATURE-SERVICE OR DENIAL OF CHRIST WITHOUT NECESSITY, LOSS OF PROPERTY, OR DANGER, IN THE PERSECUTION BY LICINIUS, THE PAGAN, ARE TO BE READMITTED TO THE EUCCHARIST.

In regard to those who transgressed, without necessity, or without loss of goods, or without danger or without any such thing, as it

(638). That is, of a *Chorepiscopus*; Greek, *χωρεπισκόπου*.

συνόδῳ, εἰ καὶ ἀνάξιοι ἦσαν φιλανθρωπίας, ὁμῶς χρηστεύσασθαι εἰς αὐτούς. Ὅσοι οὖν γνησίως μεταμέλονται, τρία ἔτη ἐν ἀπροωμένοις ποιήσουσιν, ὥς πιστοὶ, καὶ ἑπτὰ ἔτη ὑποπεσοῦνται· δύο δὲ ἔτη χωρὶς προσφορᾶς κοινωνήσουσι τῷ λαῷ τῶν προσευχῶν.

CANON XII.

HOW THOSE CHRISTIANS WHO APOSTATIZED TO IDOLATRY AND ENTERED THE MILITARY SERVICE OF LICINIUS THE PAGAN ENEMY OF CHRIST AND OF CHRISTIANS, ARE TO BE RECEIVED.

Οἱ δὲ προσκληθέντες μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς χάριτος, καὶ τὴν πρώτην ὁρμὴν ἐνδειξάμενοι, καὶ ἀποθέμενοι τὰς ζώνας, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπὶ τὸν οἰκεῖον ἔμετον ἀναδραμόντες, ὥς κύνες, ὥς τινὰς καὶ ἀργύρια προέσθαι, καὶ βενεφικίῳ κατορθῶσαι τὸ ἀναστρατεύσασθαι· οὗτοι δέκα ἔτη ὑποπιπτέτωσαν, μετὰ τὸν τῆς τριετοῦς ἀπορίας χρόνον. Ἐφ' ἅπασιν δὲ τούτοις, προσήκει ἐξετάζειν τὴν προαίρεσιν καὶ τὸ εἶδος τῆς μετανοίας. Ὅσοι μὲν γὰρ φόβῳ, καὶ δάκρυσι, καὶ ὑπομονῇ, καὶ ἀγαθοεργίαις, τὴν ἐπιστροφὴν ἔργῳ, καὶ οὐ σχήματι, ἐπιδείκνυνται, οὗτοι πληρώσαντες τὸν χρόνον τὸν ὠρισμένον τῆς ἀποάσεως, εἰκότως τῶν εὐχῶν κοινωνήσουσι, μετὰ τοῦ ἐξεῖναι τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ φιλανθρωπότερόν τι περὶ αὐτῶν βουλευσασθαι. Ὅσοι δὲ ἀδιαφόρως ἦνεγκαν, καὶ τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ εἰσιέναι εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἀρκεῖν ἑαυτοῖς ᾗγήσαντο πρὸς τὴν ἐπιστροφὴν, ἐξ ἅπαντος πληρούτωσαν τὸν χρόνον.

happened under the tyranny of Licinius, it has seemed good to the Synod, although they were unworthy of clemency, nevertheless, to be merciful to them. As many, therefore, of the Faithful, as sincerely repent, shall spend three years among the Hearers, and shall prostrate themselves seven years, and shall take part with the Laity in the prayers alone, without [partaking of the] offering (639), for two years.

CANON XII.

HOW THOSE CHRISTIANS WHO APOSTATIZED TO IDOLATRY AND
ENTERED THE MILITARY SERVICE OF LICINIUS THE
PAGAN ENEMY OF CHRIST AND OF CHRIS-
TIAN, ARE TO BE RECEIVED.

As to those who were called by grace, and displayed the first ardor [of a Christian], and put off their belts, but afterwards, like dogs, ran back to their own vomit, as some have even expended money and have reinstated themselves in the army by favors; let them prostrate themselves for ten years after the time of the three years during which they have been Hearers; and in all those *years* it behooves to examine the sincerity, and the manner of their repentance; for as many as show forth their conversion by fear and by tears, and by patience, and by good works, in deed and not in [mere] pretence, those after they have fulfilled the time appointed for the Hearers shall, with reason, share in the prayers; and, besides, it is permitted to the Bishop to give some milder determination regarding them. But as many as have borne their sentence with indifference, and have supposed that the appearance of going into the Church suffices for their conversion, let them by all means fulfil the time.

639. That is, without the Lord's Supper.

CANON XIII.

THE EUCHARIST TO BE GIVEN TO THOSE UNDERGOING PUBLIC
PENANCE IF THEY ARE DYING; BUT IF THEY RECOVER
THEY MUST BE AMONG THE HEARERS TILL THE
TIME OF THEIR PENANCE EXPIRES—
THE EUCHARIST TO BE GIVEN
TO OTHERS WHEN IN
DANGER OF
DEATH.

Περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐξοδευόντων, ὁ παλαιὸς καὶ κανονικὸς νόμος φυλαχθήσεται καὶ νῦν, ὥστε, εἴ τις ἐξοδεύοι, τοῦ τελευταίου καὶ ἀναγκαιοτάτου ἐφοδίου μὴ ἀποστερεῖσθαι. Εἰ δὲ ἀπογνωσθεῖς, καὶ κοινωνίας τυχῶν, πάλιν ἐν τοῖς ζῶσιν ἐξετασθῇ, μετὰ τῶν κοινωνούντων τῆς εὐχῆς μόνῃς ἔστω. Καθόλου δὲ, καὶ περὶ παντὸς οὐτινοσοῦν ἐξοδεύοντος, αἰτοῦντος τοῦ μετασχεῖν εὐχαριστίας, ὁ ἐπίσκοπος μετὰ δοκιμασίας μεταδιδότω τῆς προσφορᾶς.

CANON XIV.

HOW CATECHUMENS WHO FELL AWAY IN THE PAGAN LICINIUS'
PERSECUTION ARE TO BE RECEIVED TO THE CATECHUMENATE.

Περὶ τῶν κατηχομένων, καὶ παραπεσόντων, ἔδοξε τῇ ἀγίᾳ καὶ μεγάλῃ συνόδῳ, ὥστε, τριῶν ἔτων αὐτοὺς ἀχρωμένους μόνον, μετὰ ταῦτα εὐχεσθαι μετὰ τῶν κατηχομένων.

CANON XV.

TRANSLATIONS OF BISHOPS, PRESBYTERS, AND DEACONS FOR-
BIDDEN.

Διὰ τὸν πολλὸν τάραχον, καὶ τὰς στάσεις τὰς γινομένας, ἔδοξε παντάπασι περιαιρεθῆναι τὴν συνήθειαν, τὴν παρὰ τὸν ἀποστολικὸν κανόνα εὐρεθεῖσαν ἐν τισὶ

CANON XIII.

THE EUCHARIST TO BE GIVEN TO THOSE UNDERGOING PUBLIC
PENANCE IF THEY ARE DYING; BUT IF THEY RECOVER
THEY MUST BE AMONG THE HEARERS TILL THE
TIME OF THEIR PENANCE EXPIRES—
THE EUCHARIST TO BE GIVEN
TO OTHERS WHEN IN
DANGER OF
DEATH.

In regard to those about to depart from this life, the ancient and canonical law shall be observed even now, so that, if any one be about to depart this life, he shall not be deprived of the last and most necessary provision for the journey, but if any one has been despaired of and has happened to receive communion again, *and* is again found among the living, let him be among those who take part in prayer only. And so in regard to every one, whoever it be, who is about to depart this life, and who asks to partake of the Thanksgiving let the Bishop, by all means, with [due] examination, give him the offering (640).

CANON XIV.

HOW CATECHUMENS WHO FELL AWAY IN THE PAGAN LICINTUS' PERSECUTION ARE TO BE RECEIVED TO THE CATECHUMENATE.

In regard to those who were Catechumens and fell away, it has seemed good to the Holy and Great Synod, that they shall be Hearers only for three years, and after that shall pray among the Catechumens.

CANON XV.

TRANSLATIONS OF BISHOPS, PRESBYTERS, AND DEACONS FORBIDDEN.

On account of the great trouble and of the tumults which are made, it has seemed good that the custom should be wholly done

(640). By "The Thanksgiving" here is meant the Eucharist, that is the Lord's Supper. By "The Offering," we understand the bread and wine of the Lord's Supper. On the expression "The Thanksgiving," compare Luke XXII., 19; Matt. XXVI., 27, and Mark XIV., 23.

μέρεσιν, ὥστε ἀπὸ πόλεως εἰς πόλιν μὴ μεταβαίνειν, μήτε ἐπίσκοπον, μήτε πρεσβύτερον, μήτε διάκονον. Εἰ δέ τις, μετὰ τὸν τῆς ἁγίας καὶ μεγάλης συνόδου δρον, τοιούτῳ τινὶ ἐπιχειρήσειεν ἢ ἐπιδοίῃ αὐτὸν πράγματι τοιούτῳ, ἀκυρωθῆσεται ἐξ ἁπαντος τὸ κατασκευάσμα, καὶ ἀποκατασταθήσεται τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἐν ᾗ ὁ ἐπίσκοπος, ἢ ὁ πρεσβύτερος χειροτονήθη.

CANON XVI.

NO PRESBYTER OR DEACON TO REMOVE FROM HIS OWN DIOCESE;
PENALTY FOR SO DOING—NO BISHOP TO ORDAIN A LAY-
MAN WHO BELONGS TO ANOTHER BISHOP'S DIO-
CESE; SUCH ORDINATIONS ARE INVALID.

Ὅσοι ριψοκινδύνως, μήτε τὸν φόβον τοῦ θεοῦ πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ἔχοντες, μήτε τὸν ἐκκλησιαστικὸν κανόνα εἰδότες, ἀναχωρήσωσι τῆς ἰδίας ἐκκλησίας, πρεσβύτεροι, ἢ διάκονοι, ἢ ὅλως ἐν τῷ κανόνι ἐξεταζόμενοι, οὗτοι οὐδαμῶς δεκτοὶ ὀφείλουσιν εἶναι ἐν ἑτέρᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ· ἀλλὰ πᾶσαν αὐτοῖς ἀνάγκην ἐπάγεσθαι χορῇ, ἀσπρέφειν εἰς τὰς αὐτῶν παροικίας· ἢ, ἐπιμένοντας, ἀκοινωνήτους εἶναι προσήκει. Εἰ δέ καὶ τολμήσειε τις ὑφαρπάσαι τὸν τῷ ἑτέρῳ διαφέροντα, καὶ χειροτονῆσαι ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ ἐκκλησίᾳ, μὴ συγκατατιθεμένου τοῦ ἰδίου ἐπισκόπου. οὐ ἀνεχώρησεν ὁ ἐν τῷ κανόνι ἐξεταζόμενος, ἄκυρος ἔστω ἡ χειροτονία.

CANON XVII.

THE CLERICS NOT TO FOLLOW USURY AND BASE GAIN, UNDER
PAIN OF LOSING THEIR CLERICATE—THE SAME PENALTY
VISITED ON THEM FOR CONTRIVING ANY THING
ELSE FOR THE SAKE OF BASE GAIN.

Ἐπειδὴ πολλοὶ ἐν τῷ κανόνι ἐξεταζόμενοι, τὴν πλεονεξίαν, καὶ τὴν αἰσχροκέρδειαν διώκοντες, ἐπελάβοντο τοῦ θείου γράμματος λέγοντος· Τὸ ἀργύριον αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἔδωκεν ἐπὶ τόκῳ, καὶ δανείζοντες, ἑκατοστὰς ἀπαιτοῦσιν ἰδικαίως τὴν ἁγίαν καὶ μεγάλην σύνοδον, ὥς εἰ τις εὐρεθείη μετὰ τὸν δρον τοῦτον τόκους λαμβάνων,

away, which, contrary to the rule, has been found in certain places, so that neither Bishop nor Presbyter, nor Deacon, may remove from city to city. But if any one, after the decree of the Holy and Great Synod, shall attempt any such thing, or shall lend himself to such a thing, what has been effected shall be utterly invalid, and he shall be put back into the Church in which he was ordained Bishop or Presbyter.

CANON XVI.

NO PRESBYTER OR DEACON TO REMOVE FROM HIS OWN DIOCESE;
PENALTY FOR SO DOING—NO BISHOP TO ORDAIN A LAY-
MAN WHO BELONGS TO ANOTHER BISHOP'S DIO-
CESE; SUCH ORDINATIONS ARE INVALID.

Whatever Presbyters, or Deacons, or whoever at all who are found in the list of the Clergy, shall, audaciously, neither having the fear of God before their eyes, nor knowing the ecclesiastical rule, withdraw from their own Church, those ought, by no means, to be received in another Church, but every necessity must be laid upon them to return to their own paroecias; or, if they remain, it is fitting that they be without communion. And, moreover, if any one should dare, underhandedly, to take any one who belongs to another, and to ordain him in his own Church without the assent of the proper Bishop from whom he has withdrawn, who is in the [regular] list of the clergy, let the ordination be invalid.

CANON XVII.

THE CLERICS NOT TO FOLLOW USURY AND BASE GAIN, UNDER
PAIN OF LOSING THEIR CLERICATE—THE SAME PENALTY
VISITED ON THEM FOR CONTRIVING ANY THING
ELSE FOR THE SAKE OF BASE GAIN.

Inasmuch as many who are found in the list of the Clergy, in their pursuit of covetousness and base gain, have forgotten the godly writing which says: "*He hath not given his money upon usury*" (641); and in lending demand usury at the rate of one per cent. a

(641). Psalm XV., 5; XIV., 5, Sept.

ἐκ μεταχειρίσεως, ἢ ἄλλως μετερχόμενος τὸ πρᾶγμα, ἢ ἡμιολίας ἀπαιτῶν, ἢ ὅλως ἑτερόν τι ἐπινοῶν αἰσχροῦ κέρδους ἕνεκα, καθαιρεθήσεται τοῦ κλήρου, καὶ ἀλλότριος τοῦ κανόνος ἔσται.

CANON XVIII.

DEACONS REBUKED FOR ASSUMING THE FUNCTIONS AND PECULIAR PRIVILEGES OF BISHOPS AND PRESBYTERS—THEIR PUNISHMENT IF THEY DO NOT OBEY THIS CANON.

Ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν καὶ μεγάλην σύνοδον, ὅτι ἐν τισι τόποις καὶ πόλεσι, τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις τὴν εὐχαριστίαν οἱ διάκονοι διδῶσιν ὅπερ οὔτε ὁ κανὼν, οὔτε ἡ συνήθεια παρέδωκε, τοὺς ἐξουσίαν μὴ ἔχοντας προσφέρειν, τοῖς προσφέρουσι διδύναι τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ. Κάκεινο δὲ ἐγνωρίσθη, ὅτι ἤδη τινὲς τῶν διακόνων καὶ πρὸ τῶν ἐπισκόπων τῆς εὐχαριστίας ἀπτονται. Ταῦτα οὖν πάντα περιηγήσθω, καὶ ἐμμενέτωσαν οἱ διάκονοι τοῖς ἰδίοις μέτροις, εἰδότες, ὅτι, τοῦ μὲν ἐπισκόπου ὑπηρετᾷ εἰσὶ, τῶν δὲ πρεσβυτέρων ἐλάττους. Λαμβανέτωσαν δὲ κατὰ τὴν τάξιν τὴν εὐχαριστίαν μετὰ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους, ἢ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου μεταδιδόντος αὐτοῖς, ἢ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου. Ἀλλὰ μὴδὲ καθῆσθαι ἐν μέσῳ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἐξέστω τοῖς διακόνουσ· παρὰ κανόνα γάρ, καὶ παρὰ τάξιν ἐστὶ τὸ γινόμενον. Εἰ δέ τις μὴ θέλοι πειθαρχεῖν καὶ μετὰ τούτους τοὺς δρους, πεπαύσθω τῆς διακονίας.

month (642); the Holy and Great Synod has deemed it right that if any one be found, after this Decree, taking usury by secret manipulation, or otherwise pursuing the matter, or asking half-wholes (643), or, contriving anything else at all for the sake of base gain, he shall be deposed from the Clericate, and shall be an alien to the list [of the Clergy].

CANON XVIII.

DEACONS REBUKED FOR ASSUMING THE FUNCTIONS AND PECULIAR PRIVILEGES OF BISHOPS AND PRESBYTERS—THEIR PUNISHMENT IF THEY DO NOT OBEY THIS CANON.

It has come to the knowledge of the Holy and Great Synod that in certain places and cities the Deacons give the Thanksgiving (τὴν εὐχαριστίαν) (644), to the Presbyters; a thing which neither the rule nor the custom has handed down, [that is to say] that those who have no authority to offer should give the body of Christ to those who do offer. And moreover it has been ascertained that already some of the Deacons touch the Thanksgiving (τῆς εὐχαριστίας) (645), even before the Bishops. Let all those things, therefore, be done away; and let the Deacons remain within their own measures, [as] knowing that they are indeed ministers of the Bishop, but [nevertheless], that they are inferior to the Presbyters; and let them receive the Thanksgiving (τὴν εὐχαριστίαν), in their own order after the Presbyters, either the Bishop or the Presbyter giving it to them. But let it not be permitted to the Deacons to sit in the midst of the Presbyters, for such an occurrence is contrary to rule and contrary to order. But if any one is not willing to obey even after these decisions, let him cease from the Deaconship.

(642). See on the above Bingham's *Antiquities*, Book VI., Chapter II., Section 6.

(643). This is explained by some to mean the whole and half as much again. See Bingham as in the note last above.

(644). That is the Eucharist. See a note on Canon XIII., above.

(645). Ibid.

CANON XIX.

HOW THE PAULIANISTS, CLERICAL, AND LAY, ARE TO BE RECEIVED
WHEN THEY COME TO THE UNIVERSAL CHURCH.

Περὶ τῶν Παυλιανισάντων, εἴτα προσφυγόντων τῇ Καθολικῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ, δὲρος ἐκτέθεται ἀναβαπτίζεσθαι αὐτοὺς ἐξάπαντος. Εἰ δέ τινες ἐν τῷ παρεληλυθότι χρόνῳ, ἐν τῷ κλήρῳ ἐξητάσθησαν, εἰ μὲν ἄμεμπτοι καὶ ἀνεπίληπτοι φανεῖν ἀναβαπτισθέντες, χειροτονείσθωσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ τῆς Καθολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἐπισκόπου. Εἰ δὲ ἡ ἀνάκρισις ἀνεπιτηδεῖους αὐτοὺς εὐρίσκει, καθαιρεῖσθαι αὐτοὺς προσήκει. Ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν διακονισῶν, καὶ ὅλως περὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ κλήρῳ ἐξεταζομένων, ὁ αὐτὸς τύπος παραφυλαχθήσεται. Ἐμνήσθημεν δὲ τῶν διακονισῶν τῶν ἐν τῷ σχήματι ἐξετασθειῶν, ἐπεὶ μὴδὲ χειροθεσίαν τινα ἔχουσιν, ὥστε ἐξάπαντος ἐν τοῖς λαϊκοῖς αὐτὰς ἐξετάζεσθαι.

CANON XX.

WHEN WE MUST ALL PRAY STANDING.

Ἐπειδὴ τινὲς εἰσιν ἐν τῇ Κυριακῇ γόνυ κλίνοντες, καὶ ἐν ταῖς τῆς Πεντηκοστῆς ἡμέραις ὑπὲρ τοῦ πάντα ἐν πάσῃ παροικίᾳ ὁμοίως παραφυλάττεσθαι, ἐστῶτας ἔδοξε τῇ ἁγίᾳ συνόδῳ τὰς εὐχὰς ἀποδιδόναι τῷ θεῷ.

CANON XIX.

HOW THE PAULIANISTS, CLERICAL AND LAY, ARE TO BE RECEIVED
WHEN THEY COME TO THE UNIVERSAL CHURCH.

In regard to those who were once Paulianists but afterwards fled to the Universal Church, a decree has been set forth that they are, by all means, to be rebaptized. But if some of them, in time past, have been reckoned among the Clergy, if they seem blameless and irreproachable, let them, after they are rebaptized, be ordained by the Bishop of the Universal Church. But if the examination should find them unfit they ought to be deposed. And in like manner in regard to the Deaconesses, and in short in regard to all reckoned on the roll of their Clergy, the same type of proceeding shall be observed. But we have made mention of Deaconesses who are counted [by us as] such in dress [or "in rank" only], because they have no laying on of hands, so that they are, by all means, to be reckoned among the Laics.

CANON XX.

WHEN WE MUST ALL PRAY STANDING.

Inasmuch as there are some who bend the knee on the Lord's Day, and in the days of the Pentecost; in order that all things may be observed alike in every Parecia, it has seemed good to the Holy Synod that men should pray standing to God [at those times].

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ERRATA AND EMENDATIONS AND ADDITIONS.

Page 8, line 39, read "2," not "i," before "How."

Page 16, on "Copyright Law," in line 3 from the bottom, add in a note at the foot of the page: "I am glad to say that since the above was written Congress has passed an international copyright law, but it will do few authors any good, for it is made in the interest of the publisher and the paper manufacturer, rather than to help poor authors, who are not rich enough to publish on both sides of the water, as it demands in order to be profited by it."

Page 18, line 9, after "give," read "in another Nicene volume," and omit "at the end of this volume."

Page 24, line 1 of note, read "II," not "π."

Page 25, line 16, read "baptized," not "baptised."

Page 25, line 24, add apostrophe after "apostles."

Page 25, in line 29, put "2."

Page 39, line 15, read "clerics," not clericks."

Page 42, line 32, read "2," not "II."

Page 43, line 14, read "World-Councils."

Page 50, heading, read "II.," not "I."

Page 52, line 1 of note 34, read "adoramus," not "adaramus."

Page 53, line 35, put quotation marks before "the."

Page 53, line 6, read "troisième," not "troisième."

Page 57, line 16, put colon after "cross."

Page 60, line 29, read "ἐπιφάνιος," not "ἐπιφ."

Page 61, line 20, read "see," not "See."

Page 66, heading, read "II.," not "I."

Page 72, line 15, read "inconsistent," not "inconsistent."

Page 76, heading, read "II.," not "I."

Page 78, line 14, read "Syrian," not "Syrain."

Page 89, line 26, read "Symbols," not "Symbol."

Page 90, line 1, read "obey," not "oey."

Page 90, line 2, put apostrophe after "Nestorians."

- Page 95, line 7, read "Basel," not "Basil."
- Page 148, line last but one, read "Symbols," not "Symbol."
- Page 159, line 25, put a comma after "prevail," not a period.
- Pages 163 to 203, in the headings, read "*Nicaea, A. D. 325: Arius and his heresies*," instead of "*Account of the Six Ecumenical Councils*."
- Page 164, line 27, instead of "Arius and his Heresies," read "Arius' own Account of his Heresy, and the Accounts of it by his Partisans."
- Page 165, line 19, read "virtue," not "virture."
- Page 168, line 7, omit the last "e" in "heresey."
- Page 176, line 29, after "Arius' own Account of his Heresies," add "and the Accounts of his Partisans."
- Page 179, note 191, line 15, read "γεννηθέντα," not "γενθέντα."
- Page 181, line 14, before "Paulinus," insert "was bishop of Laodicea."
- Page 182, line 4, put "(γεννηθέντα)" directly after "born."
- Page 182, line 14, read "fellow-heretics."
- Page 182, line 17, read "Testament," not "Testement."
- Page 184, last line of note 207, insert a comma after "used," and another after "Dictionary."
- Page 185, line 1 of note 208, change capital "θ" to small "θ."
- Page 188, line 23, add: "Indeed, I judge that all after 'Gaius' is an addition, for the letter professes, according to its heading, to be from presbyters and deacons only. See the heading on page 184 above."
- Page 189, read "Cyprian," not "Cypian."
- Page 189, insert comma after "Septuagint."
- Page 190, last line, read "any," not "that."
- Page 191, lines 12 and 13, omit, "though Arius after his malignant fashion of misrepresenting," and insert, instead, "for that seems to be Arius' clear reference, and meaning when he."
- Page 193, in line 20, read "ἀπο," not "ἀπὸ."
- Page 212, line 16, read "understand," not "understood."
- Page 213, line 7 from foot, read "Constantius'," not "Constantine's."
- Page 217, line 6, strike out comma after "God."
- Page 217, line 12, read "tyrannized," not "tyranized."

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- Page 218, line 1, read "2," not "II."
 Page 222, line 30, read "3," not "2."
 Page 223, line 26, read "rejecting," not "rejectiny."
 Page 225, line 23, read "Matt.," not "John."
 Page 227, note 297, insert a period before "Αλλά."
 Page 229, read "Nicaea, A. D. 325: Arius and his Heresies," instead of "Account of the Six Ecumenical Councils."
 Page 230, line 26, insert quotation marks after "created."
 Page 232, line 2, read "Man," not "Men."
 Page 233, line 26, put "or" in Roman.
 Page 233, line 5, put "shipper" in Italics.
 Page 234, line 17, read "bowed," not "bound."
 Page 237, line 8, read "contrary," not "contary."
 Page 237, note 344, line 1, omit last "i" in "Alexandriai's."
 Page 240, lines 26 and 27, put in small capitals "Therefore" to "bowed to" inclusive.
 Page 241, line 27, insert "in" before "speaking;" and "they mentioned" after "speaking," and omit "remembered" in line 28.
 Page 243, line 9, put quotation marks after "Holy Ghost."
 Page 245, line 11, read "creature," not "creation."
 Page 247, heading, read "Nicaea, A. D. 325: Arius and his Heresies," instead of "Account of the Six Ecumenical Councils."
 Page 247, line 6, read "Eunomians," not "Eunomiaus."
 Page 247, line 25, omit the last "a" in "Cagliaria," so that it shall read "Cagliari."
 Page 250, remove comma before "impiam."
 Page 255, line 26, put comma after "itself."
 Page 255, line 28, read "forbid," not "forbids."
 Page 256, line 14, insert after "that," "in Acts XV."
 Page 259, line 26, read "ἀπανταχόθεν," not "ἀπανταχόθεν."
 Page 264, line 7, read "Roman," not "Romam."
 Page 264, line 23, remove the comma after "Hefele" and put it after "Creed."
 Page 269, line 10, read "free," not "freed."
 Page 279, note 441, read "chapter," not "chaper."
 Page 281 to 304, read "Its Synodal Epistle," instead of "Its Genuine Utterances."
 Page 281, line 20, read "IX.," not "9."

283, line 30, insert comma after "Ariomaniacs."

285, after "Church" in line 285, add "As the number of communicants increases there should be several Dioceses, that is Patriarchates, and several Patriarchs, but one should be chief, and each Patriarchate should have its Patriarchal Council; but there should be a National Council of all the Patriarchates in which the chief Patriarch, that is the Patriarch of the first see, be it the capital, Washington, or New York, the largest city, should preside, and that National Council would be the Court of Final Appeal, except to the Orthodox Episcopate of the Universal Church, East and West, gathered in their local Councils; or, failing agreement there, in an Ecumenical Council, as of yore."

Page 287, line 20, read "Crusé," not "Cruse."

Page 287, line 21, read "perusal," not "persusal."

Page 288, line 27, remove punctuation mark after "Alexandria's."

Page 289, last line of text, read "Britain," not "Britian."

Page 292, first line of note 458, change "above" to "below."

Page 297, line 4, change "him" into "Roman."

Page 299, line 22, read "Graeca," not "Gracea."

Page 300, line 35, put the Greek in parentheses.

Page 310, line 1, read "Definition," not "def."

Page 312, line 33, read "editions," not "additions."

Page 313, line 27, put parenthesis after "man."

Page 316, note, line 37, read "that," not "of."

Page 316, note, line 38, after the parentheses insert "says."

Page 317, lines 8 and 9 of note 472, put brackets where the parentheses are.

Page 320, line 5, put colon after "Cagliari."

Page 329, line 19, put quotation marks after "Nicaea."

Page 340, note 503, line 2, read "Book," not "Books."

Page 349, note 525, line 15, insert comma after "Perceval," and remove comma after "Palmer."

Page 369, line 15 of note 574, change last letter of "Instruction" to "n."

Page 372, line 31, read "Sophocles," not "Sophosles."

Page 378, line 10, omit quotation marks.

Page 380, line 28, insert comma after "him."

- Page 385, line 25, read "has," not "had."
- Page 385, last line, put apostrophe after "diviner" before "s," and quotation marks after "suspicion."
- Page 391, line 2, put "Section" before "9."
- Page 400, line 5, put double quotation marks before "Moreover."
- Page 400, line 6, put single quotation mark before "to."
- Page 400, line 7, put single quotation mark after "Diocese."
- Page 400, lines 10 and 11, put single quotation mark before "The," and one after "voice."
- Page 400, line 13, put double quotation marks after "head."
- Page 400, line 23, put "Section" before "12."
- Page 401, line 7, omit "a," and after "note" insert "521, on page 345."
- Page 401, line 8, omit "under head 7."
- Page 401, lines 12 and 13, put "letter to his flock" in Roman.
- Page 412, line 7, omit "s" in "Provinces."
- Page 413, line 14, omit "s" in "canons."
- Page 417, line 9, omit "Christians."
- Page 417, line 14, omit "of a Christian," and the brackets.
- Page 417, lines 17 and 18, omit "during which they have been hearers," and read instead "of the hearing."
- Page 417, line 22, read, "hearing," not "Hearers."
- On page 181, line 15, "Berea" in Bohn's translation, is his translator's mistake for "*Berytus*."



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INDEX II.

INDEX TO TEXTS OF HOLY SCRIPTURE.

REMARKS.

The Creed of Nicaea is almost wholly in *the exact words* of Scripture and wholly in its *sense*. That will be shown at length in another volume of this set on Nicaea, where a comparison is made between the two. Both the Ecumenical Creeds, that of the First Council, and that of the Second, are preëminently Scriptural; and so are of supreme authority as being couched in inspired language, as well as being the utterances of that Universal Christ-commissioned Apostolate to whom He has promised His Holy Spirit to guide them into all truth (1) and which is to abide with them in teaching (and in defining and in ruling which are parts of teaching), to the end of the world (2). The Holy Spirit guided them into the truth in their two meetings or Councils at Jerusalem of which we read in Acts XI. and XV., and in the Six Ecumenical Councils thereafter; and by His aid they drew up the two Ecumenical Creeds, all their Definitions on them and on the Faith, and all such of their Canons as were received and approved by the whole Apostolate, East and West. And because the Decisions of the Six Councils of the whole Christian world were put forth with the promised help and guidance of the Holy Ghost, therefore he who contravenes and rejects them is to be counted by us "*as a heathen man and a publican*" (Matt. XVIII., 17). For, led by the Spirit of God, the Christian Church is "*the pillar and ground of the truth*" (I. Tim. III., 15); and whatsoever its Apostolate binds on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever they loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven (Matt. XVIII., 18).

(1). John XIV., 16, 17; John XV., 26; John XVI., 13.

(2). Matt. XXVIII., 19, 20.

The Synodal Epistle of Nicaea imitates Scripture language, more or less, as do the Canons also, but the direct quotations of texts are found only in Canon II., where I. Timothy III., 6, is cited, and in Canon XVII., where Psalm XV., 5 (Psalm XIV., 5, Septuagint), is quoted. Yet the expression in Canon XII. about *dogs returning to their own vomit*, is a plain imitation of the language of Proverbs XXVI., 11, and II. Peter II., 22; and the expression *Eucharist* (3), that is *Thanksgiving*, applied to the Lord's Supper in Canons XIII. and XVIII., is plainly derived from the statement that the Lord gave thanks for the leavened bread (4) (*ἄpros*), and the wine in that sacred rite (5).

The texts most relied on by the Orthodox for the Divinity of the Logos and for his consubstantiality and coeternity with the Father were John VIII., 42, "*I came out of God.*"

John XVI., 28, "*I came out of the Father,*" and

Hebrews I., 3, "*Character of His Substance.*" Hence we find them so often quoted below and elsewhere.

It is to be very much regretted that all of them are sadly mis-translated in our common King James' Version.

I hope to revise that Version soon, if means be given me to publish it.

St. Athanasius in his *Treatises Against Arianism* treats of several texts and refutes the Arian perversion of them; but I ought to add that Newman's translation does not always clearly bring out St. Athanasius' meaning, because he unwisely follows our inaccurate English Common Version of some of them. See under them all below also, and the Scripture Indexes to Athanasius' works, those to Epiphanius, and those to the other Orthodox champions.

The texts oftenest perverted by the Arians, and most relied on by them were the Septuagint of Proverbs VIII., 22, and Colossians I., 15. Others will be found mentioned in Athanasius' *Treatises*, where he refutes their perversions of them.

(3). Greek, *Εὐχαριστία*.

(4). Greek, *εὐχαριστήσας*, Matt. XXVI., 27; Mark XIV., 23; Luke XXII., 19; and I. Cor. XI., 24.

(5). See the texts referred to in the note last above.

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- II. PETER.
- I., 17; page 233, text,
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I. JOHN.

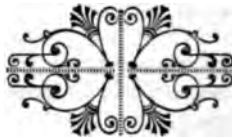
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521.
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and note 324.



INDEX III.

INDEX TO GREEK WORDS AND GREEK EXPRESSIONS.

For the chief distinctively Orthodox terms, see in the *General Index* under "*Orthodox test-terms.*" A part of them are specified below. The rest are found as above.

See, for the terms and expressions used by the Arians to state their heresies, under "*Arian test-terms.*"

A

ἀγεννητογενής, *born without being made*; page 179, note 191.

ἀγεννητογενής, *born without being created*; page 179, note 191.

ἀγέννητος, *unmade*; page 229, note 306.

ἀγέννητος, *uncreated*; page 202, note 231; page 343, note 514; page 366, note 561.

ἀδέως, *without fear*; page 302, note 471.

ἀειγενής, *always born*; page 179, note 191.

ἄζυμα, *unleavened wafers, unleavened things*; pages 31, 36, 57, 125.

ἀθεότης, *Atheism, being without God*; page 226, note 297; the term is applied by Athanasius to the Arians, *ibid.*

ἄθετοι, *Atheists, that is, being without God*; note 502 on page 373.

αἵρεσιν, *heresy, applied to Arian creature-worship*; page 218, note 268.

αἰωνίων, page 184, note 207. See there for its meaning.

ἀλλοιωτόν, *convertible*; page 306.

ἀναθεματίζει ἡ Καθολικὴ Ἐκκλησία, *the Universal Church anathematizes, that is curses*; page 306.

ἀναλλοιώτος, *not convertible into anything else*; page 180.

ἀνθρωπολατρεία, *giving service, that is worship, to a Man*; St. Athanasius condemns it as *creature-worship* and contrary to Scripture; page 233, top.

- ἀνθρωπολατρεῖν, *to serve*, that is *to worship a Man*; page 233.
 ἀνθρωπολάτρης, *Man-Service*, that is, *Man-worship*, that is, *worshipping a Man*; page 233.
 ἀνθρωποφαγία, *eating a Man*, that is, *Man-eating*, that is *cannibalism*, charged by St. Cyril of Alexandria on Nestorius as the necessary result of his error of the actual eating of Christ's human body in the Eucharist; page 50.
 ἀπεικάζοντες, *likening*; page 242, note 362.
 ἀνθρώπων αἰρετικῶν ἀκαταχέτων, *uncatechized heretical men*; page 180, note 194.
 ἀπὸ, *from*, how it differs from *ἐκ*, *out of*; page 193.
 ἀπὸ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, *from the Son*; page 33.
 Ἀρειομανίται, *Ariomaniacs*, that is, *Arian maniacs*; page 226, note 297.
 ἄρτος, *leavened bread*; pages 31, 57, 125.
 ἄρχει αὐτοῦ, *He began Him*, or *He rules Him*; page 187, note 218.
 ἀρχή, *origin, originator*, μίαν ἀρχήν, *one originator*; page 226, note 293; τρεῖς ἀρχάς, *three originators*; page 226, note 292: Arian senses.
 ἀρχὴ αὐτοῦ, *His Originator*; page 187, note 217: Arian sense.
 ἀρχήν, *beginning*; page 277. The Orthodox taught that the Father is the *source* (τὴν ἀρχήν) of the Logos and the Holy Ghost, but not that He made them. They had always been in Him before they came out of Him.
 ἀρχιεπίσκοπος, *Archbishop, or Chief Bishop*; page 173, note 168.
 ἀρχιερεὺς, *High Priest*; page 168, text, and note 148; 273, text, and note 428.
 ἀρχιερεῖσιν, *High Priesthood*, that is, *the episcopate*; page 168, text, and note 148.
 ἀσεβοῦσιν, *they are impious*; page 227, note 297, where St. Athanasius charges the Arians with impiety for asserting that God the Word is a creature, and so with falling into the sins of polytheism and creature-worship. See the text of pages 226, 227, 228 and 229 on that.
 ἀφ' οὗ γέγονεν, *from when He was made*; page 208, note 257.

Γ

- γεννηθῆναι, *made*; page 309.
 γενητός, *made*, cannot be said of God; page 243. Γεννητός, *born*, may be used of the birth of God the Word, *ibid.* Eusebius of Caesarea, the Arian, uses γενητός in the sense of *created*; page 343, note 513. Γενητός used in the sense of *made*, and *created*, on page 229, note 306, and on page 358, note 534.
 γεννάω, *to bring forth*; passive, *to be born*; page 179, note 191; pages 181, 182, 306, 309, 322; 343, note 512; 344, note 517; page 367, notes 563, 564, 567. See also πρὶν, etc., below.
 γεννητός, *generated, born*; page 202, note 231; page 243, note 369; page 366, note 562, and page 367, note 563.
 γράφω, page 397; *to write (to subscribe ?)*, page 397.

Δ

δι' αὐτοῦ, *through Him*; page 237, note 342.
 δόξας, *dignities, glories*; page 186, note 212.
 δούλοι, *servants, slaves*; note 329, page 235.
 δνάς, *Duad*; page 204, note 239.

Ε

ἐν εἶδος Θεότητος, *one kind of Divinity*; note 297, page 226.
 εἰδώλοις, "idols," that is, "images;" page 242, note 362.
 εἰδωλόλατραι, *idolaters*, that is, *image-worshippers*, applied to the Arians because they worshipped a mere *created* Christ; page 238, note 350; compare page 242, note 362, where Athanasius calls that Arian idolatry *blasphemy against themselves*; that is to their own harm.
 εἰκόνα, *likeness*, used for Nebuchadnezzar's graven image; page 242, note 362.

In the passages of Scripture following which speak of the Logos as born *out of* (ἐκ) the Father the Orthodox took ἐκ in that first and radical sense, and so insisted, in accordance with Hebrews I., 3, *Character of his Substance*, that as born out of Him He was "of the same substance as the Father" (ὁμοούσιον τῷ Πατρὶ). Their credal utterances below were based on that understanding and hence they insisted that the Word is co-eternal with the Father and very God, and as being God is therefore to be worshipped. Besides they proved, as for instance in passages quoted from Athanasius above, that bowing, prostration, prayer and sacrifice, which are acts of religious service, were given to the Logos in Scripture, and that as by Christ's law in Matt., IV., 10, no act of religious service may be given to any creature, therefore He must be God.

The Arians, as we see in the passages above quoted from their leaders Arius himself and Eusebius of Nicomedia, cavilled endlessly against that natural sense of those texts, insisted that He did not come out of the substance of the Father, but was created; and yet, though a creature, is to be deemed a God other than the Father, and, as being only a mere creature, inferior to Him; and, moreover, is to be worshipped by bowing, etc.; and hence they landed, on their own showing, in creature-service and in polytheism.

ἐκ, "out of," how it differs from ἀπὸ, "from," page 193. See also under ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ, and ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ.

- ἐκ γαστρός πρὸ Ἑωσφόρου ἐγέννησά σε, "*I brought thee forth out of the insides before the morning star;*" page 187, note 220; page 193; 368, note 571.
- ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐξῆλθον, "*I came out of God;*" John VIII., 42; page 187, note 219; 193; page 365, note 558; page 368, note 571.
- ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἦν ἰσότης, *He has existed from God,* page 204, note 243.
- ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Πατρὸς, "*out of the substance of the Father;*" pages 306, 382, 403.
- ἐξῆλθον ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς, "*I came out of the Father;*" John XVI., 28; page 187, note 219; 193; page 365, note 558; page 368, note 571.
- ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς, "*out of the Father;*" page 343, note 515.
- ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς γεγεννησθαι, "*born out of the Father;*" page 343, note 512; τὸν ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς γεννηθέντα πρὸ πάντων τῶν αἰώνων, "*who was born out of the Father before all the worlds;*" page 83.
- ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, "*out of the Son;*" page 33.
- ἐν τῇ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ, "*in the name of Jesus;*" page 235, note 330.
- ἐξ ἀπορροίας τῆς οὐσίας, "*outflow from His substance;*" page 365, note 557.
- ἐξ αὐτοῦ, "*out of Him;*" page 187, note 219; page 246, note 387; page 365, note 555; compare δι' αὐτοῦ, page 246, note 389.
- ἐξ ἑτέρας ὑποστάσεως ἢ οὐσίας, "*out of another subsistence or substance;*" page 382.
- ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων, "*out of things not existing;*" that is, "*out of nothing;*" page 207, notes 249, 250; page 346, note 523; page 392, note 619.
- ἐξ ὑποκείμενου τινός, οὐδὲ, "*nor out of any previously existing thing;*" page 181, note 201.
- ἐκκαλοῦμεθα, "*we invoke;*" page 239, note 350.
- ἐπιφάνια, "*Christmas;*" and "*Epiphany;*" that is, "*showing;*" page 60.
- ἐπιφάνιος, "*manifest;*" "*shown;*" page 60.
- ἐκτροπευδής, "*difference of kind;*" page 226, note 297.

H

- ἡγήσατο, "*led;*" "*was a leader;*" page 262.
- ἡμιφάριον, "*a half pharos;*" page 166, note 140.
- ἡμιφόριον, "*a half pharos;*" page 166, note 140.
- ἦν ποτε ὅτε οὐκ ἦν, "*there was once when He was not;*" page 207, note 251; page 346, note 523; page 392, note 620.

Θ

- θεὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ, "*God out of God;*" pages 306, 307, 402.
- θεὸς, πλήρης μονογενής, "*full God, sole generated;*" note 198, page 180.
- θεοτόκος, "*Bringer forth of God;*" pages 47, 156.
- Θεοφάνια, "*The God showing;*" "*Theophany;*" that is, "*Epiphany;*" and also "*Christmas;*" page 60.

I

Ἱερὰ Κατήχησις, "*Sacred Instruction*;" page 59.

Ἱερὰ Σύνοψις, "*Sacred Synopsis*" or "*Sacred Compendium*;" page 32.

K

καθολικὴν καὶ ἀποστολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν, "*Universal and Apostolic Church*;" pages 52, 306, 307, 313, 314, 315, 319; compare for Latin translations pages 320, 321, and 324.

κατορθώμασι, "*rightings*;" page 299, note 468.

κοινῇ ψήφῳ, "*by a common vote*;" page 303.

κοινωνός, "*sharer*;" page 278, text, and note 439.

κολοβίων and κολόβιον, "*an undergarment with short sleeves*;" page 166, note 141.

κτίζω, "*I build, I create*;" pages 277 and 191; page 365, note 558; and in the *Index to Texts of Scripture*. See under Proverbs VIII., 22.

κτίσις, "*creation*," "*creature*;" page 277, note 435; κτίσει δουλεύοντες, "*serving a creature*;" page 237, note 343; compare page 243, note 369, and page 243, note 362; page 244, note 371; and page 245, notes 373, 374.

κτίσμα, "*creature*;" page 226, note 297; page 229, note 306; page 222, note 268; page 230, note 307; page 234, note 322; page 236, note 341; page 342, note 510; page 344, note 517; note 534, page 358.

κτισματολατρεία, "*creature-service*," that is, "*creature-worship*;" page 232; called a "*heresy*," by St. Athanasius, page 218, note 268; and "*alien and not from the Fathers*," *ibid.*

κτίστης, "*Creator*;" page 277, note 435.

κτιστολάτρης, "*creature-server*," that is, "*creature-worshipper*;" page 277, note 435; compare page 240, note 356.

κτιστός, page 240, note 356, and page 242, note 362; page 244, note 371; pages 306, 307, 309, 313, 314, 315, 319, 321, 322, 324.

κύριος, "*Lord*," "*Master*;" page 278, text, and notes 438 and 439.

Λ

λατρεία, "*service, worship*;" page 218, and note 268; "*creature-service*" called "*heresy*," *ibid.*

λατρεύω, "*I serve*," "*I worship*;" page 228, note 302, five times; and page 229, note 306.

λαγίοις, τοῖς Οὐρανοῖς, "*the divine Oracles*," page 168, note 149.

τὸν Λόγον τοῦ Πατρὸς, "*the Word of the Father*;" page 277, note 435. See under οὐσία below.

ὁ Λόγος Ἐνδιάθετος, "*the Word within*" [the Father], pages 17, 83, 179, note 191.

ὁ Λόγος Προφορικὸς, "*the Word borne forth*" [out of the Father]; page 17, 83, 179, note 191.

M

- μαθήσει, "*lesson*," page 329, note 480.
 μεμετρημένον, "*measured*," page 275, note 432.
 μέρος αὐτοῦ, "*part of Him*," note 556, page 365.
 μέρος αὐτοῦ ὁμοούσιον, "*a same substance, Part of Him*," page 187, note 222.
 μετοχῇ, "*by communion*," "*by participation*," page 208, note 255; 227, note 297.
 Μήτηρ τοῦ Θεοῦ, "*Mother of God*," page 47, 48.
 Μονάς, "*Monad*," page 204, note 239.
 Μονογενής, "*Sole-Born*," page 204, note 240; page 277, note 435.
 μυστηριον, "*mystery*," page 297, note 465.
 μυστικώτερα, *more mystic*, or *more regular*; page 297, note 465.

N

- νέοφυτον, *newly planted*; page 409, text, and note 632.

O

- ὁμοούσιος, *of the same substance*; page 203, notes 233 and 237; pages 276, 306, 320; 322, twice; pages 337, 340; 341, notes 504 and 507; page 342, text, and note 509; 343; 344, notes 516, 517; page 358, note 534; page 360, text, and note 539; pages 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, and 403. See under οὐσία.
 ὁμοούσιον τῷ Πατρὶ, *of the same substance as the Father*, page 203, note 237; pages 343; 344, note 517; pages 382, 383, 384, 385. See under οὐσία below. See also under ὁμοούσιος.
 ὁμοουσιότητος, *consubstantiality, same substanceness*; page 277, note 435.
 Ὅν ποιηθέντα, *not made*; page 179, note 191; pages 182, 306, and 344, note 517.
 οἷα ἦν πρὶν ποιηθῆναι, *He was not before He was made*; page 222, note 288. See πρὶν in this Greek Index. See under ποίω and πρὶν.
 οὐσία, *substance*, page 226, note 297; page 344, note 517; page 358, note 534. See Ἐκ and Ἐξ; note 571 on page 367; 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 401, 402, 403. On page 226, note 297, and on pages 227, 228, and 229, Athanasius rebukes Arius for making the Logos a creature, and for asserting that the Holy Ghost was made out of nothing, and so denying their consubstantiality with the Father; and for falling, as a consequence, into the sins of polytheism and creature-worship. See under ὁμοούσιον τῷ Πατρὶ and ὁμοούσιος.

II

- πάντων ὁρατῶν τε καὶ ἀοράτων ποιητὴν, *Maker of all visible and of all invisible things*; page 306; page 51, note 34 and note "a."
 πάπας, *Father, Pope*; page 184, note 205. It was formerly applied to all Bishops.
 παπᾶς, *Father*; applied to Presbyters, page 184, note 205.

- παρουκία, *diocese*; page 298, note 466; 338, note 498.
 Πατρός, ἀπὸ τοῦ, *from the Father*; page 32.
 περιδρομή, *twisting about*; note 588 on page 372.
 πηδάλιον, *rudder*; page 24, note 4; 31; 90, note 70.
 πιστεῖω and Πιστεύομεν, *I believe, and we believe*; pages 25, 306; 339, note 500; 351.
 πίστις, *faith*; page 329, note 480, twice; page 341, note 508; page 344, note 518;
 page 345, note 520; page 370, note 582; compare note 577 on the same page.
 Πνεῦμα, *Spirit*; page 246, note 383, and pages 226 and 227, text, and note
 297; Arius denied that the Holy Ghost is of the same substance as the
 Father, for he asserted that He was made out of nothing; hence, according
 to Arius, the Spirit did not come out of His eternal substance, but is a
 mere creature. So he taught that the Trinity are three different sub-
 stances. See under "*Arius*," and "*Hypostases*," where 203, 204, should
 be read instead of "214;" and page 186, text and notes. Hence, as
 Athanasius teaches, he ended in making three Gods, and so in polytheism
 and in creature-worship. See pages 226, 227, 228, 229, and the notes there,
 and under "*Arius*" and "*Hypostases*," in the *General Index*
 ποιέω, see under οὐ and οὐκ.
 ποῖημα, *work*; pages 344, note 517, and page 358, note 534.
 πολυθεότης, *polytheism*; page 226, note 297. St. Athanasius charges the Arians
 with it, *ibid*, text and note.
 πρὶν γεννηθῆναι οὐκ ἦν, *Before He was born He was not*; page 84; 207, note 252;
 page 392, note 621.
 προβαλεῖς, *emitter*; page 190.
 προβολή, *emission, issue*; page 187, note 222, 188, 189.
 προεδρία, *foreseat, presidency, prelacy*; page 273, note 427, and note 588 on pages
 371 and 372.
 πρόεδρος, *Foresitter, President, Bishop*; page 262, note 421; 263; 273, note 427;
 pages 274, 279, and 371, note 588.
 προσκυνέω, *I bow, I worship*; page 228, note 302, six times; page 234, note 322,
 323, 324; 235, note 334; page 236, note 341; page 240, note 356, and page
 243, note 369; page 245, notes 373, 374.
 προσκυνητός, *to be bowed to, to be worshipped*; page 240, note 356; and page 242,
 note 362; page 244, note 371; 325.
 Πρωτόκοκς πάσης κτίσεως, page 337; 339, note 501. For the meaning, see both of
 those places; and compare on κτίσεως, page 366, note 558.

Σ

- συλλουκιανιστά, *fellow-Lucianist*; page 181, note 202.
 σύμβολον τῶν Ἀποστόλων, *Symbol of the Apostles*, that is, the so-called *Apostles'*
Creed; page 27, note 8.
 συναγνητός, *co-unmade*; page 186, note 215.

συναγέννητος, *co-ungenerated*; page 186, note 215.

συνέδριον: ἐν συνέδριῳ, page 185, note 210.

σὺν ὁδὸν οἰκουμένην, *Ecumenical Council*, that is a *Council of the whole Christian World*; page 259.

Σύνοψις Ἱερά, *Sacred Compendium, Sacred Synopsis*; page 32.

συνυποστήσαντος, page 186, note 212. See also ὑποστήσαντα below. For the meaning see note 212.

T

τεκνοποίησας, for the meaning see note 232; page 203, note 232.

τρέπτόν, *mutable*; pages 306, 322.

Υ

ὑπαγορεύσαντες, *suggested, dilated, recited*; notes 576, 581, on page 370.

ὑπόστασις, *subsistence, substance*; page 186, note 214; page 203, note 233; page 218, note 271; page 344, note 517; pages 378, 379, 380. Τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις, 379, 380, 381, 382, 401.

ὑποστήσαντα, page 185, note. See also συνυποστήσαντος above. For the meaning see note 208 on page 185.

Φ

φύρις, *mixture*; page 242, note 360.

φύσις, *nature*; page 242, note 360; page 343, note 514.

Χ

χαρακτήρ τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτοῦ, *Character of His Substance*; Hebrews I., 3; page 203, note 233; page 218, note 271; page 365 and 366, note 558.

χάρις, *favor, grace*; page 238, notes 347, 348.

χριστοτόκος, *Bringer Forth of the Anointed One*; 156.

χρόνος: πρὸ χρόνων καὶ πρὸ αἰώνων κτισθέντα, *created before times and before worlds*, page 185, note 211. πρὸ χρόνων αἰώνων, *before world-times*, page 186, note 211.

FOR A GRATEFUL AND ETERNAL REMEMBRANCE
OF A MIRACLE OF GOD'S MERCY IN SAVING
THE BULK OF THE PAGES OF THIS VOLUME
OF THE FIRST ECUMENICAL COUNCIL
FROM UTTER DESTRUCTION.

As far back as 1861, I could see the importance of the Six Sole Synods of the Undivided Church on matters of Church Authority. For in my "*History of the Modes of Christian Baptism*," published in that year, I find that I have mentioned them as authoritative. About A. D. 1864, I had seen so much idolatrous and creature-worshipping Romanizing on the one hand, and of infidelizing on the other among some of the clergy and especially among some of those of the Anglican Communion, (not one of twenty of whom thoroughly understood them), and the consequent ruin of their souls and the souls of such as they idolatrized or infidelized, that I determined to do the good work of translating them for the general good. I hoped by so doing to do away with the misrepresentations put forth by errorists regarding them, and to show that their decisions are all good and that the observance of them would be a blessing. So I toiled in season, out of season, early and late, in cold and heat, on my chosen task through long years, till I had broken myself down by my labors in nervous prostration. I had translated all the Decisions of the whole Six, and everything of the first Three, but could not publish for lack of funds. But in my sickness and its deep misery, I found friends in Bishop Potter, of New York; Rev. Dr. Morgan Dix, of Trinity Church, New York; and Rev. Dr. J. H. Hopkins, and those whose names appear on the list in this volume of subscribers to the Fund to Publish the Six Ecumenical Councils, for they furnished me means to begin to print. From June, 1890, to March, 1891, I had proceeded with the work of printing, correcting proof, etc., had expended for the work part of my own very small means, and all that had been given me up to a certain date; and felt joyful at the success of my work for Christ, and His Church and People, and so at last the 425 pages of the main body of my Volume I. of Nicaea had all been finished and set up, and electrotyped, and Doan & Pilson, of Jersey City, N. J., my printers, had sent the plates, with about \$68 dollars' worth of paper to print them on, to the *Argus* Newspaper and Job office, 44 Montgomery St., in that city. I had paid about \$350 on the plates, one-half of their total cost, and the \$68 for the

paper. And now, after my long years of toil in translating and writing, I hoped that I should soon see the first volume on Nicaea in print, and that it might interest scholars and lead them to publish other volumes of this set, which have been ready for the press for a long time and waiting for a publisher.

The plates had been sent to the *Argus* office in the week ending Saturday, March 21, 1891, and on that Saturday, about 10.30 at night I was in Hoboken, and then started to walk to my home in Jersey City, corner of Grove and York Streets. On the way, about 11 P. M., I noticed a fire eastward, down toward the Hudson River, lighting up the sky under the low-lying, raining clouds. About the corner of Fourth or Fifth Street, on Grove, I asked a groceryman whom I saw putting in his stuff preparatory to closing, where the fire was. He told me that it was said to be the *Argus* office. I thought of my plates, and anxiously asked two others, whom I met further on, one or both of whom had been near the fire, and one of them told me that it was the *Argus*, and he expressed his sympathy for me at what he deemed the certain loss of my plates. But I still believed that God would not suffer them to be destroyed, went home, knelt down, and prayed God the Father for Christ's sake to save them and added the words "*by miracle if necessary*," for I knew that nothing but a miracle could save them in that great flame. My prayer was short and in substance, or in exact words as follows:

"Heavenly Father thou seest that I have been working for Thee and the good of thy Church these many years in translating the Utterances of thy Church in the Six Ecumenical Councils; and the peril in which my work now is, plates and paper, from fire. I pray thee to save them, by miracle, if necessary, for Christ's sake. Amen."

The plates were in seven wooden boxes, 64 in each of the first six boxes, and 41 in the last. They were on the fourth floor, one of the most flame-swept and most utterly destroyed in the whole building. I did not know when I uttered my prayer that part of them had already been destroyed by the flames. The first box full, 64, had been put on the press, 500 copies of each had been printed, and the 64 had been returned and put into their own box. The second box had been opened, and 500 copies of the first 16 pages, that is pages 65 to 80 inclusive, had been printed, and they had been returned, and pages 81 to 96 inclusive had been put on the press in their place, and pages 97 to 128 inclusive were out of the box on the marble imposing stone to be used on the press, when the 16 pages, 81 to 96 inclu-

sive, on the press were returned. The flames on the fourth floor had burnt up the opened box which had contained plates 65 to 128 inclusive, and the 48 pages of that 64, which were on the marble slab. It was about 40 by 36 inches, and about 3 inches thick. The only ones saved out of that box were the 16 which were on the press, which was on the second floor, where the fire had raged around them and above them and had injured the press itself, but happily had not destroyed them.

And God had answered my prayer regarding all the rest of the 425 plates, though I did not know it until Monday, March 23, 1891, after things had got cool; then I learned how God had answered my prayer and wrought a miracle. Mr. Doan had before gone up the burnt stairs running from the third floor to the fourth, and looked and saw the fire smoldering and did not see the boxes, but deemed it unsafe to go on the fragment of the fourth floor which was all that was left of it. On Monday morning about 10 o'clock, Mr. Compton, who had charge of the fourth floor, and of the work on it and who therefore knew where my plates were, with Mr. Delavan, the book-keeper for the *Argus*, and Mr. Pilson, went up on what remained of it, though none of them had expected to find the plates safe. For everything about was a scene of ruin. The roof and the fifth floor had fallen and so had the bulk of the fourth. And on the fourth, and about where my plates had been, everything was burnt down; but on the fragment of the fourth which yet remained and which was yet covered with the burnt stuff which had fallen on it when the roof and the fifth floor came down, and with the stuff burnt on the fourth itself, they saw on the floor the large marble slab or table which is termed *the imposing stone*, which was covered with the remains of burnt wood, etc. On its being lifted, it broke into pieces, for it had been cracked and destroyed by the fierce flame which had raged over, under, and around it; but under it the searchers found the 6 boxes which contained 361 of my plates. The 6 boxes had all been on fire and were all more or less burned on the tops and sides; some of them, indeed all of them so much so that there was not a perfect one among them. Therefore the finders took the plates out of them at once. The 6 were charred wood, and in places the fire had burned through some or all of them to the edge of the plates, one of which had been slightly touched by it. But it had a bad mistake on it and should have been corrected; and it has been. The others, 360, came out unscathed by the raging flame, as the three Hebrew children came out of the fiery furnace (Daniel III., 1-30). How were they preserved?

I answer that after the whole six boxes were on fire on their tops and sides, the wooden legs of the heavy marble slab, which were on fire, gave way and it fell over them all completely covering them and quenching the flames which it struck, and when the firemen threw water on the flames it extinguished the rest. Had the legs given away differently the slab would have been pitched in another direction and the boxes and their contents would have all been destroyed. The 48 plates and the open box from which they had been taken were utterly ruined. No trace of that box could be found. It, with the 48 plates taken out of it, had been on top of the imposing stone, not under it. And so fierce and hot had been the flames that the leaden amalgam backing to the 48 destroyed copper faced plates had run into one or two masses together, and even some of the copper had been burnt away, and drops of the melted glass from the skylight had fallen upon the copper of one of the two lumps of burnt plates when they were hot and remained imbedded in them. I have preserved one of them as a proof of the power of the heat where all my plates but 16 were and of the miracle of God's mercy in preserving the 361 in boxes right near the burnt 48. Underneath the marble slab and the 6 boxes the fire on the floor below had burned holes through the fourth floor, and here and there right near the plates; and about two or three feet beyond them the whole floor had been burnt and had fallen. Nothing right near my plates had been saved. There were ten or fifteen thousand dollars' worth of plates in the building, but nearly all were utterly destroyed. Only a few odd plates could be found.

Of my paper over two-thirds were saved and usable, though part of the other third had been injured, some of it by fire, the rest by water. And though I had no insurance on the matter lost, kind friends have told me that they would give me something and the printers have offered to bear another part of the loss, so that all the damage will be fully repaired.

Surely God, who inspired the Bishops at Nicaea to draw up its Creed, has, by miracle, saved its reproduction in my hands. Surely Christ, the Great Head of the Universal Church, who helped Athanasius and his other Orthodox servants in their long and hard struggle against the rage of the powerful Arian Emperors, Constantius and Valens, and the whole unbelieving and creature-serving Arian party, and gave victory to his work in their hands, will if we are faithful, help us against the unbelieving and the creature-serving of our day, and give final victory to His holy and saving work for the Christian faith in our hands. Seeing this miracle, we may all, with the best of reason, thank God and take courage.

TO ALL CHRISTIAN SCHOLARS.

NOTE WELL THE MOST IMPORTANT AND MOST AUTHORITATIVE
CHRISTIAN DOCUMENTS NEXT TO THE SCRIPTURES NOW
TRANSLATED IN FULL FOR THE FIRST TIME.

A TRANSLATION INTO ENGLISH OF THE Six Ecumenical Councils,

THE SOLE UTTERANCES OF THE WHOLE CHURCH BEFORE
ITS DIVISION INTO EAST AND WEST IN THE
NINTH CENTURY.

TRANSLATED BY JAMES CHRYSTAL, M. A.,
AND OTHERS.

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The following facts should be remembered :

1. These documents, being the utterances of the undivided Church, stand next in authority to the Bible itself.

2. The great bulk of the Christian world, Reformed and Unreformed, professes to respect their doctrines; indeed they are embodied, to a greater or less extent, in the formularies of all who profess to be Trinitarians.

3. There can be no union among the separated parts of Christendom, unless on the basis of their doctrine, discipline and rite.

4. Their decisions are perfectly sound, for they teach scriptural truth without idolatry and without infidelity.

5. The need of a translation of them all into English has long been felt by scholars, but the great extent of the work has deterred men from undertaking it. Not one-tenth of the matter in them has been rendered into English.

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be done by its circulation. Every one's aid is therefore earnestly solicited, for the greater the number of workers the greater the strengthening of the faith which saves. Copious General Indexes, with Indexes of Holy Scripture and of Greek words and Greek Expressions will accompany the volumes, each in its proper place.

The first volume of Nicaea is now ready. It contains all the undoubted remains of the Synod in Greek and English; that is its Creed, its Synodal Epistle and its XX. Canons. Besides it gives a translation of Arius' own statements, those of his partisan, Eusebius of Nicomedia, and others of his heresy; and, on the other hand, fourteen passages from St. Athanasius and six from St. Epiphanius against his errors, and other quotations from other Orthodox writers.

The work is divided into eight Chapters; the first two of which show how the Six Ecumenical Councils are regarded in the East, that is, in the Greek Church, and among the Nestorians, and among the Monophysites; and in the West, that is, in the Latin Communion, and among the larger Divisions of the Reformed, that is among the Anglicans, the Lutherans, and the Presbyterians or Reformed, as they are also termed. The Third Chapter contains a full account of the Heresies of Arius; the Fourth treats of the Council itself; the Fifth of Documents before the Council, but bearing on it; the Sixth on the Synodal Epistle; the Seventh on the Creed, and the Eighth on the Canons. The volume is made more convenient and useful and valuable by a full Table of Contents in front, and three Indexes at the end, namely: 1. A General Index; 2. An Index to Scripture Texts referred to; and 3. An Index to Greek Words and Greek Expressions found in it.

The volume is printed on good stout paper, which, differently from much of the poor stuff sometimes put in books, allows of ink being used for the scholars' notes in the margin. The pages are wider than the English edition of the Oxford Library of the Fathers, and than those of the Ante-Nicene Christian Library. The text is in good readable Long Primer type, and the notes are in Brevier. The aim has been to make it a work for the scholar, one that he may

peruse with pleasure and profit, and such as may prove a lasting benefit to the Church everywhere, and especially among the English-speaking nations, who so much need it at this crisis in their history, on which hangs their future fate, when so many of their clergy, who know them not, are idolatrizing or infidelizing. It will have a tendency to keep them in the path of sound faith and to save them from bringing a curse on themselves and their people. This volume on Nicaea, with the forematter, makes about 500 pages.

The next volumes to be issued will, if God will, be the two or three of the Third Ecumenical Council, held at Ephesus, A. D. 431. They contain the first and only translation of the entire Minutes and Decisions ever made into English. The first volume will be issued as soon as the means are furnished. Subscriptions at \$3 a volume are desired. Send in name and full address. Pay on delivery of the volume.

LIST OF WORKS OF THIS SET AND THEIR PRESENT STATE.

COUNCIL.	VOLUME.	SUBJECT MATTER.	ITS STATE.
Nicaea, A. D. 325.	Vol. I.	The Undisputed Remains of Nicaea	Published.
Nicaea, A. D. 325.	Vol. II.	The Disputed Remains, and the Spurious. Notes on the Genuine Canons; and an Account of the Defence by Carthage in centuries V. and VI. of its Rights, by the Canons of Nicaea, against the attempt of Rome to get Appellate Jurisdiction there.	All of it can be made ready in a year. Part of it is now ready.
Nicaea, A. D. 325.	Vol. III.	A Dissertation on the words in the Anathema at the end of the Nicene Creed, " <i>The Universal Church anathematizes those who say that * * * * the Son of God * * * was not before He was born.</i> " It contains all the testimonies of Ante-Nicene Christian Writers yet extant, except some of Origen, on the question whether the consubstantial and co-eternal Logos of the Father was born out of Him eternally or only just before the Worlds were made, with the difference between the	Nearly ready, or ready for the press.

COUNCIL.	VOLUME.	SUBJECT MATTER.	ITS STATE.
Nicaea, A. D. 325.	Vol. III.	<i>Alexandrian School and the rest of the Church on it. Enough of Origen will be mentioned to show his mind on that matter. On Tertullian's testimony, and perhaps on one or two others, it is hoped that this volume will be fuller than even Bishop Bull's great Defence of the Nicene Faith.</i>	Nearly ready, or ready for the press.
Nicaea, A. D. 325.	Vol. IV., and perhaps V.	A Dissertation on the Question <i>Whether God the Father has a Body or not</i> , containing passages from ancient Christian Writers on that theme, which show how they differed. This, or another volume on Nicaea, will contain a Dissertation on the question <i>Whether the Apostles really made the Creed which is now commonly called the Apostle's</i> , with a Review of a writing of Natalis Alexander on that point; with extracts from Fathers, etc.	Partly ready. Nearly ready
Nicaea, A. D. 325.	V., perhaps.	This, or another volume, will contain a work on the Ante-Nicene Local Creeds, Questions in the Ante-Baptismal Offices, and Doctrinal Statements.	About ready.
I. Constantinople, A. D. 381.	I.	All the Remains of the Second Ecumenical Synod in Greek and English; with an account of the use of its Creed in Baptismal and Eucharistic Offices, etc.	Nearly ready.
Ephesus, A. D. 431.	I., II. and perhaps III	All the Minutes, Decisions, Canons, etc., of the Third Ecumenical Council; the Decisions and Canons in Greek and English; the only English translation of all of Ephesus ever made.	Ready for the press.
Ephesus, A. D. 431.	IV.	A Dissertation on the Difference between St. Cyril of Alexandria and the Orthodox on the one hand, and the Heresiarch Nestorius and his partisans on the other, on the Eucharist as it affects the question of the real or actual presence of Christ's Divinity and Humanity on the Holy Table, and the actual eating of His flesh there. Important passages of St. Cyril, as well as of Nestorius, are there given, with one of the Nestorian Theodoret relied on by the ill-read and idolatrous Keble to prove his heresy of Eucharistic Adoration. This work is most important at this time as showing the doctrine of St. Cyril of Alexandria and the Third Ecumenical Council on the Lord's Supper as against Nestorian and Roman error, after so much has been written by the heresiarchs Keble and Pusey against it.	Most of it now ready.

COUNCIL.	VOLUME.	SUBJECT MATTER.	ITS STATE.
Ephesus, A. D. 431.	IV., perhaps.	A Dissertation on the doctrine of St. Cyril of Alexandria on Economic Appropriation which was approved by the Third Synod. A Dissertation on the doctrine of the Third Council and the Fifth as to the worship of Christ's Humanity specifically, and the views of their teachers Athanasius and Cyril of Alexandria on it; with quotations from them and another on that theme.	Partly ready.
Ephesus, A. D. 431.	IV., perhaps.	A Dissertation as to the real author of the alleged <i>X Books of Cyril of Alexandria Against Julian the Apostate</i> , which is paganzizing in its present form in places.	About ready for the press.
Ephesus, A. D. 431.	V., perhaps.	A Dissertation on the differences between St. Theophilus of Alexandria and St. Cyril, his successor, on the one side, and John, afterwards called Chrysostom, on the other. Other matter on Cyril will be added.	Partly ready.
Chalcedon.	I., II., III. and perhaps IV.	The entire Acts of the Fourth Ecumenical Council translated into English; with the Definition, Normal Epistles read in it, and the Canons, in Greek. One of these volumes of Chalcedon will contain also a Dissertation on the Authority of the Canons of the first four Ecumenical Synods; and as to what Canons were approved in Canon I. of Chalcedon.	The Minutes are begun, and the Definition, Normal Epistles and Canons are finished.
II. Constantinople, A. D. 553.	I. and II.	All the Acts of the Fifth Ecumenical Council, including its famous Definition and all its other Remains. The Definition will be given in Greek and English.	The Definition translated; the Acts begun.
III. Constantinople, A. D. 680.	I., II., III. and perhaps IV.	All the Acts of the Sixth Ecumenical Council, including its Definition and the Epistle of Pope Agatho, a Report mentioned in the Definition and all its other Remains. The Definition will be given in Greek and in English. The groundwork and nearly all the translation of Pope Agatho's Epistle is the work of the learned Greek scholar, now deceased, Rev. Marcus F. Hyde, Professor of Greek in Burlington College, New Jersey, which he undertook, years ago, at the request of the editor.	The Definition, Epistle of Agatho and the Report are finished; the Minutes are begun.
The VI. Ecumenical Council in the Greek Original.	There will probably be about 8 or 10 volumes.	A critical edition of the Six Ecumenical Councils in the Greek original where it is extant, with the various lections where the texts differ; with the old Latin translations where they exist, with Prolegomena and Notes.	This will be begun as soon as the money necessary to pay the expense of securing and comparing texts, and publishing, are given to us.

SCRIPTURE AND CHURCH AUTHORITY FOR THE SIX COUNCILS OF THE WHOLE CHURCH.

SCRIPTURE AUTHORITY FOR THEM.

Matt. XVIII., 17; "If he neglect to hear the Church, let him be unto thee as a heathen man and a publican."

I Tim. III., 15, "The Church of the living God, the pillar and ground of the truth."

CHURCH AUTHORITY.

How they are respected among the mass of those who claim to be Christians.

I.

AMONG THE REFORMED COMMUNIONS.

1. *The Voice of the ANGLICAN COMMUNION for them.*


"THOSE SIX COUNCILS WHICH WERE ALLOWED AND RECEIVED OF ALL MEN," (The Second Part of the Church of England *Homily Against Peril of Idolatry* which is in that *Book of Homilies* of which the Thirty-Fifth Article teaches that it "*doth contain a godly and wholesome doctrine, and necessary for these times.*")

2. *The AMERICAN PRESBYTERIANS on the Six Ecumenical Councils.*

Pius the Ninth, Bishop of Rome, in an Encyclical Letter dated Sept. 13, 1868, invited "all Protestants" to join the Roman Communion at the Vatican Council to be held A. D. 1869.

"The two General Assemblies of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America" by their Moderators, M. W. Jacobus and P. H. Fowler, replied in 1869, and among other things said, with reference to their refusal to participate in that Council of the Vatican, which began soon after, on Dec. 8, 1869, as follows:

"It is not because we reject any article of the Catholic Faith. We are not heretics * * * * . *We regard as consistent with Scripture the doctrinal decisions of the first Six Ecumenical Councils; and because of that consistency we receive those decisions as expressing our own faith.* We believe the doctrines of the Trinity and Person of Christ, as those doctrines are set forth by the Council of Nice, A. D. 325; by that of Chalcedon, A. D. 451; and by that of Constantinople, A. D. 680." Then follows an excellent summing up on the Trinity and on the Incarnation and Christ's sole Mediatorship, which agrees with the Six Synods, and is found on page 5 below. Then they speak well of the Third Ecumenical Council. Below they condemn heresies condemned by necessary implication by the Six Councils; that is, Transubstantiation, the Roman doctrine of the Sacrifice of the Mass, the Adoration of the Host, the Worship of the Virgin Mary, the Invocation of Saints, and the Worship of Images; and, towards the end, well say,



"Loyalty to Christ, obedience to the Holy Scriptures, *consistent respect for the early councils of the Church*, and the firm belief that pure religion is the foundation of all human society, compel us to withdraw from fellowship with the Church of Rome."

The utterances of the CONTINENTAL REFORMED, that is, CONTINENTAL PRESBYTERIANS, as well as of the LUTHERANS.

The Declaration of Thorn approves the two Ecumenical Creeds, and the Confessions of the Six Ecumenical Councils. See pages 156, 157 below.

3. As to the *views of the LUTHERANS on the Doctrines of the Six Ecumenical Councils*, see further, below, pages 128 to 131.

AMONG THE UNREFORMED COMMUNIONS.

I.

How the GREEK CHURCH commemorates them.

"Be mindful, O, Lord * * * * of the Holy, Great, Ecumenical Six Synods, the First of the Three Hundred and Eighteen Holy Fathers in Nicaea; the Second of the One Hundred and Fifty in Constantinople; the Third of the Two Hundred in Ephesus; the Fourth of the Six Hundred and Thirty in Chalcedon," etc., (Diptychs in the Messina Manuscript, of A. D. 984, of the Greek Liturgy of St. James of Jerusalem, in Assemani's *Codex Liturgicus Ecclesiae Universae*.)

II.

How the BISHOPS OF ROME formerly received them.

In the *Indiculum Pontificis* or *Profession of Faith* of a Roman Pontiff after A. D. 680, the date of the Sixth Ecumenical Council, and during Century VIII., those Bishops swore as follows:

"I WILL KEEP UNMUTILATED, TO A SINGLE LONG MARK OVER A VOWEL, the holy Universal Councils also the Nicæan, the Constantinopolitan, the first Ephesian, the Chalcedonian, and the second Constantinopolitan, which was celebrated in the times of Justinian, a prince of pious memory. And together with them, and with equal honor and veneration, I promise to keep, TO THE VERY MARROW AND FULLY, the holy Sixth Council which lately assembled in the time of Constantine, a prince of pious memory, and of Agatho, my apostolic predecessor, and I promise in very truth to proclaim what they have proclaimed, and with mouth and heart to condemn what they have condemned. But if anything shall arise against Canonical Discipline, I promise to amend it, and to GUARD THE SACRED CANONS, and the constitutions of our Pontiffs, AS DIVINE AND CELESTIAL MANDATES."

The Second *Profession of Faith* of a Bishop of Rome in the end of Century VII. and in Century VIII., as given in the *Daily Book of the Roman Pontiffs*, after a full and excellent confession of doctrine, reads thus:

"Wherefore, whomsoever or whatsoever the holy Six Universal Councils have cast off, we also smite with a like condemnation of anathema. But whomsoever or whatsoever the same Six Holy Councils received, we, as sharers of the right faith, receive, and, with the same reverence, venerate with mouth and heart."

This language is general and absolute. It excepts nothing.

AN APPEAL TO SCHOLARS AND TO ALL LOVERS OF
CHRISTIAN LEARNING, FOR CONTRIBUTIONS
TO THE FUND TO PUBLISH THE SIX
ECUMENICAL COUNCILS, THAT IS

- I. Nicaea, A. D. 325.
- II. I. Constantinople, A. D. 381.
- III. Ephesus, A. D. 431.
- IV. Chalcedon, A. D. 451.
- V. II. Constantinople, A. D. 553.
- VI. III. Constantinople, A. D. 680.

A FEW FACTS AS TO THE GREAT IMPORTANCE AND VALUE OF
THESE COUNCILS.

(A). They are the only Synods of the whole Church East and West before its division in the ninth century.

(B). As such Christ commands us to hear them on pain of being regarded "*as a heathen man and a publican.*" He binds in heaven every heretic bound by them on earth, and he looses in heaven every one loosed by them on earth (Matt. XVIII., 17, 18). Their utterances are the sole Decisions of that Universal "*Church of the living God*" which an inspired Apostle terms "*the pillar and ground of the truth*" (I. Tim. III., 15). And Ecclesiastical History shows that by those utterances it has been such against the creature-serving deniers of the Divinity of the Logos, and of the Divinity of the Holy Ghost, against the Man-worshipper (ἀνθρωπολάτρης) Nestorius, against Eutyches the denier of Christ's humanity, who in fact worshipped it as God, against the Monothelite heretic, Honorius, Bishop of Rome, and against other One-Willites who denied that the Son possesses a whole humanity.

(C). Orthodox Christendom, East and West, was once united on the basis of those Six Synods, and no union among the sundered parts of Christendom is at all feasible which rejects any one of them.

To this very hour the formularies of different parts of professing Christendom profess respect for them. The Greeks profess to receive them in their entirety. The Latins profess to receive them with the exception of a few of their Canons. The Anglican communion in the *Second Part of its Homily against Peril of Idolatry* speaks of them as "*those Six Councils which were allowed and received of all men.*" Of the Presbyterian utterances, the Declaration of Thorn approves their Confessions, and the American Presbyterians in their reply to Pius the Ninth, Bishop of Rome, in A. D. 1869, profess to receive their doctrinal decisions, as follows:

"*We regard as consistent with Scripture the doctrinal decisions of the first Six Ecumenical Councils; and because of that consistency we receive those decisions as expressing our own faith.*"

And Lutheran theologians were among those who approved the Declaration of Thorn.

And the formularies of all the Reformed Communions follow them, to a great extent, on such themes as the Trinity, the Atonement by Christ's saving blood, the fallibility of the Bishop of Rome, and the sin of worshipping anything but God.

(D). A translation of them is necessary *as a guide to Church and State, as to the course to be pursued by both in the way of duty to God and man, and as to the relations which ought to exist in a Christian state between God's ministers in spiritual things, Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons, and His ministers in mere worldly non-religious things, the civil and military powers* (Rom. XIII., 1-8). For during their time, A. D. 325-680 Christianity was supreme, and as being the spiritual, and therefore the higher power, guided the secular, and hence the lower power, and brought to pass in Christendom a foretype and foretaste of that blessed state on earth for which every truly Christian soul yearns, when the secular power shall be absorbed into the spiritual, in the one Person of Christ, the Head and Source of both, when "*the Kingdoms of this world*" shall have "*become the Kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ*" (Rev. XI., 15), "*when He shall have put down all rule and all authority and power,*" when He shall have "*put all enemies under His feet*" (I. Cor. XV., 24, 25), including our corrupt low politicians, grog-shop aldermen, such for instance as now rule New York City, and help Satan against Christ by leaving open, gambling hells, hundreds of whore houses, and thousands of grog shops to tempt and ruin our youth, to waste their substance, and to send them to early graves and to hell; all creature-worshipping rulers, all Mohammedan rulers; and all unbelieving Jewish legislators, who are now, alas, by an accursed and Christ-forbidden false liberalism allowed in a Christian land to judge Christians who are to judge the world, and even angels (I. Cor. VI., 1-8), and that right against the plain prohibition of Holy Writ (I. Cor. VI., 1-8). For a connection of Church and state close, blessed, and undivided is coming when, as we read in Revelations XX., 1-8, Christ shall do away the power of Satan for a thousand years, and shall reign during that long period on this earth with His Apostles, the heads of His Universal Episcopate, and the sound Bishops who have taught His faith, and the martyrs who witnessed for him with their blood against unbelieving Judaism and against creature-invoking and image-worshipping Paganism, and with other saints of His (Rev. XX., 1-8; Matt. XIX., 28).

The nearest approach to the reign of Christ on earth in ancient times was during those times in the periods A. D. 325-680, when the Church was allowed by the imperial powers to govern herself by her own laws, the Canons, when her Bishops exercised without hindrance their canonical and New Testament power over both spiritualities and her own temporalities, and faithful monarchs, like Constantine the Great, Theodosius the Great, and Marcian, aided and served her; who in protecting and fostering true religion and in crushing error, followed in the steps of the good Kings, David, Hezekiah and Josiah, and so far made Christ's faith to reign on earth; and so Church and State were blessed and prospered. The nearest to that state of things in England was when Edward VI., and Elizabeth reigned there; when the Orthodox who obeyed the law to serve God alone were given all power in Church and State, and images, formerly worshipped, were destroyed, and creature-worship was forbidden and crushed, and Orthodox Bishops ruled their clergy and people according to Christ's Gospel,

and in the main, according to the faith of "*those Six Councils which were allowed and received of all men,*" as the *Second Part of their Homily Against Peril of Idolatry* terms them. Therefore was England blessed, the Invincible Armada of idolatrous Spain against her scattered and largely destroyed by God; and the little one has become a thousand, and the small one a strong nation, for the Lord has hastened it in his time (Isaiah LX., 22); so that a realm which at Bloody Mary's death had only about 4,000,000 of subjects and only about 100,000 square miles, has now more than 300,000,000 subjects, and about 9,000,000 square miles of land, that is about one-fifth or one-sixth of the earth's population and about one-sixth of its surface. So that true religion exalteth a nation now as it did in David's and in Hezekiah's day. So richly blessed in their results are the Scriptural doctrines of the Six Councils of which the Reformers speak so well above, and which they strove to follow, though some parts of them were not so well known then as now. But to-day the bulk of the clergy do not know them, and therefore they are going astray, some to idolatry, others to infidelity; and the pastors and people are following the God-forbidden infidel theories which by admitting unbelieving Jews, Anarchists, Nihilists, Socialists, idolatrous Romanists, and Christianity-persecuting Mohammedans to come among us, to be admitted to our suffrage, and so to rule us in Church and State, have resulted in a silly attempt to mix irreconcilable elements, the good and the bad together, have degraded the good to the level of the bad, have destroyed the soleness of the rule of Orthodoxy and virtue, and have in effect insulted both, exalted evil and have dethroned Christ in our land, aye, have taken away the canonical control of the spiritualities and temporalities of the Church from the Bishops and put them into the hands of laymen and laywomen and often into the hands of non-communicants, and even into the hands of unbaptized persons; so that they rule the Bishops and clergy and take away their freedom to proclaim God's message and enslave them, and hinder all discipline. And the State as well as the Church is demoralized and controlled by such Anti-Six Councils theories of the infidel Tom Jefferson and of our unbelieving and harmful and corrupting press. And the secret of the prevalence of his Anti-Christian theories which forbid any national support of Christianity and omit any mention of God in our very defective constitution, and put the Church under the heels of the mere worldly unchristian secular power, and force their own heresies as to the control of Church temporalities on the Church contrary to its Ecumenical Canons, is the prevalence of endless heresies and schisms among us, occasioned by our ignorance of the Decisions of the Whole Church in the VI. Councils, and our popular disregard of them.

A translation of them is especially necessary at this time when there is so much of doubt and of questioning and of agitation and strife regarding religion and the proper relations of Church and State in English-speaking Christendom; most of which has arisen from ignorance of them, misrepresentation of them, aye, downright falsehoods regarding their decisions, and contempt for them based on such lies. The consequences of such ignorance and disregard concerning them are appalling, for the result is contempt for all Church Authority, and the spread of damnable heresies such as denial of the Trinity and of Christ's Divinity, and of the inspiration of the Holy Scriptures; the heresy of creature-worship and of image-worship, of infidelity, and of religious anarchy. Take the results of ignorance of them in the Church of England

for an example. Pusey, Newman, and Keble, seeing the English Church to be endangered by the admission of Romish idolaters and of Anti-Episcopalian Protestants to Parliament to share the control of its affairs, started what has been termed the *Oxford Movement*; but alas! were utterly ignorant of some of their chief decisions, and especially of those against all forms of religious service to creatures by invocation, bowing, or otherwise, and against all image-worship and against all Consubstantiation and Transubstantiation errors and their idolatrous sequences. So while denouncing it as absurd for each ignorant to interpret the Bible according to his private fancy, they fell into the worse absurdity of interpreting it and the Fathers and early Christian writers by their own private fancies—right against the final and Holy-Ghost-aided and irreversible decisions of the Six God-led Ecumenical Councils. For they all fell into creature-worship abhorred of God and condemned by them, started afresh the Nestorian Theodoret's heresy on the Eucharist which St. Cyril of Alexandria well opposed and was approved in effect for so doing by the Third Synod, led or sent hundreds of the Anglican clergy and thousands of Anglican laics to the idolatrous Roman Communion, brought the rest of the Anglican clergy and the Church of England itself into suspicion of idolatrizing and Romanizing, a suspicion deserved and just in the case of hundreds of them, largely injured its once great power as a guide and support to the English people in the State to make their policy Christian, Protestant, and moral, and gave occasion to strengthen the idolatrous and degrading forces of Rome on the one hand, and of blasphemous population-depleting Bradlaughism, infidelity, and anarchy on the other. So that the state of England is to-day poor enough, and its punishment in the loss of India or worse not far distant. A less general backsliding toward Romish creature-invocation, altar-worship, and image-worship, in Archbishop Laud's days brought God's curse in the form of the Cromwellian Scourge on Church and State, reddened the fields of England with the blood of its own sons shed in mutual slaughters, disestablished the Church, beggared its clergy, and brought to the block Laud himself, who had befouled the churches by reintroducing into them again images of jealousy which provoke the Jealous God to Jealousy (Exodus XX., 2-7; Jeremiah VII., 17-21; Psalm LXXVIII., 58, etc.; Ezekiel VIII., 3, 5, 10; I. Kings XIV., 22, 23, etc.): aye, that backsliding into those sins brought to the block King Charles I. also, who had sinned by marrying, contrary to the law of God, an idolatrous wife, Henrietta of France, and allowing her to have idolatrous priests about her, to flaunt their paganism in the eyes of his Orthodox people, and so to influence his sons that both were at heart idolaters, and evil Kings, and so died, and when his line was driven justly from the throne, the descendants of the last one, James II., by their successive invasions and stirrings up of rebellions, kept the British Islands in disquiet and agitation, and brought on them for a long period internecine quarrels, divisions, conflicts, slaughters, deaths, and confiscations, till the last of the idolatrous line died a Cardinal of Rome and ended his family and his life together. Moreover, as the backsliding into Romish paganizing is greater in the Anglican Communion in our day than it was then, it may deservedly expect a greater punishment than came then, unless its repentance be speedy and its reform thorough and the Churches be cleansed and purified again and all the idolatrous clergy be deposed, and those of them who are dead, and especially, Pusey, Keble and Newman, be anathematized.

This series, if published, by the authority of the Ecumenically approved utterances in them will help on those pious ends, and will repay ten thousand fold in blessings the comparatively small amounts asked, and given by Orthodox servants of Christ to publish them.

On the Continent of Europe, ignorance of the Six Synods and disregard for them among the Presbyterians (there called Reformed), and among the Lutherans, has resulted in a large spread among them of Socinianism, Arianism, and neglect of the best things in their own Formularies, which had been incorporated into them from the Six Ecumenical Councils.

And in our own country, the results of ignorance of the Six Synods are 130 different Denominations, and an endless number of schisms and heresies, and quarrels extended to almost every town, and to family after family, so that we often have four rival places of worship where we can support only one, the confusing and bewildering of souls, and the weakening of Protestantism, the admission of foreign-born creature-servers and unbelieving Jews, and Nihilists and Anarchists to a share in governing a Christian Reformed people, and the spread of error and the weakening among us of that righteousness which alone exalteth a nation and the consequent demoralizing of the State, so that we have one of the most extravagant and corrupt General Governments on the face of the earth. Indeed, our divorce laws are often positively Anti-Christian. And the Tweedism and corruption of some of our cities ruled by the rabble and the low political newspaper is a burning shame, so that as a nation, though nominally professing the Christian faith, we have deposed Christ, to whom all power justly belongs in heaven and earth, for they have been given Him by His Father (Matt. XXVIII., 18), and whose laws are obligatory on us all to the exclusion of all which oppose them, and we have downed intelligent Christian men and their laws and have, like idiots and criminals, admitted to their places those elected by degraded Romish idolaters from Ireland, or Germany, or Italy, or Poland, or Bohemia, or Turkey in Asia, or Canada, many of whom can not read, whose fate is hopeless in their idolatry (Rev. XXI., 8), or by Christianity-hating and Christ-rejecting, ignorant and lying and cheating Russian Talmudical Jews who belong to what St. John calls "*the Synagogue of Satan*," and who by Christian law can not be saved (Mark XVI., 16; John III. 36; Rev. XXI., 8, etc.); so that we are ruled in our own land, in our largest city, New York, and elsewhere, by aliens to our race and to our religion and to God's laws; and we have even given them practically the casting vote in our National, and, in places, in our State elections, so that we have practically become their servants and they our masters, no matter how ignorant or vicious or Christ-hating they are. The Christ-rejecting hordes of Polish Jews who have been a curse in every land where they have ever been since they were cast off by Christ, and who have ruined the peasantry and business men of parts of Germany, Russia, Poland, and Roumania, and whom Christian governments wish to get rid of in justice to their own people and to induce to return to Palestine, which is their country and is now open to them, will not go thither, but taking advantage of our loose and idiotic laws which are traitorous to the best interests of our own Christian American people, come here by the hundred thousand, and after going through the farce of renouncing not their own Jewish nationality, but a nationality which was never theirs truly,

such as Russia, Austria, etc., become citizens equal in every right to ourselves who were born here, get our houses and lands into their own hands, make some of us mere tenants at their will, become our lawyers, and in some cases even our law-makers and judges, as in New York City and State now; get, through our folly, the trade of our Christian merchants who help to support our Churches, though Christian law tells us to do good "*especially unto them who are of the household of faith*" (Galat. VI., 10), drive them out of business and to poverty, and use the wealth gotten from our Christian people to support the synagogue which opposes Christ and his religion. For instance, within the last forty years they have driven out the old American merchants from Broadway and made it a foreign, alien, Jewish street, and largely control the dry goods trade of New York City. So that they are absorbing our wealth, for they hang together against us, and one has said that they would soon have the importing trade of the United States in their hands. Some of our papers are owned by them and others employ Jewish writers, and they exert a baleful influence against us, and against our religion, for they are hostile to Christ and Christianity.

Besides, the partisans of that slaughtering Creed of the impostor Mohammed, whose Koran proclaims war against us and orders its votaries to kill us or to reduce us to pay tribute to them, and to become their subjects, taking advantage of our accursed false liberalism which permits them, have set up proselyting establishments in England, and threaten us here. And the Jew, who in Spain, as Gibbon in his *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* shows, ungratefully united with them against the Spaniard who had suffered his evil presence for centuries, will unite with them here when it becomes his interest to do so, if we do not compel him to return to his own country, which is now open to him, as Egypt, near it, also is.

And we are getting the most superstitions and ignorant populations of the East, and making them the equals in governing our country, of our own intelligent native born American people. We are said, for instance, to have already about 10,000 of those bigoted and idolatrous Syrian Papists, formerly Monothelites, the Maronites, the chief partisans of Rome in the East, and they and such are pouring in fast upon us to curse us. And so the blood-poisoning of the national and social body politic goes on.

Besides we have vast numbers of low down debased, ignorant and superstitions and bigoted Romish Poles, Lithuanians, Bohemians, Canadian French, and Italians, who are alien to us in language, race and religion, who deem us heretics, and some of them would deprive us of the right to rule our own country if they had the power, and in places they do rule us even now. Oh! the folly of giving them the suffrage in our land, not theirs, and that power with it. We have degraded the suffrage and ourselves at the same time, and ruined our country to please our wind-bag politicians and editors.

We have been sadly remiss in neglecting religious unity in truth. But consider the trouble constantly made for Church and State by a Romish minority in Germany, Ireland, and Canada, and by Manichaeans and by Mohammedans when they once got a foothold in the Middle Ages in a Christian land, and by infidel Communists in France, and you will see that few curses can be greater than disunity in religion, and that religious unity is the guard of national unity. Christianity-hating Jews, Mohammedans, and creature-worshipping Romanists,

if we do not guard against it, will come into our heritage, make marriages with us, introduce and spread their errors among us, pervert the sons and daughters of our people, as indeed they often have, secure through the demagoguism of our good-for-nothing politicians a right to share the government of our Municipal and State and National affairs with us, and become to us what Joshna said the Canaanites would be to the Israelites if they intermarried with them. "*They shall be,*" said he, "*snares and traps unto you, and scourges in your sides, and thorns in your eyes, until ye perish from off this good land which the Lord your God hath given you.*" (Joshua XXIII., 13). They are such to us now in our great cities. Witness Americans driven out of business by foreign Jews, New York City government in the hands of Romanists, and the 90 murders by the Italian Mafia in New Orleans.

Against those terrible evils the Bishops and the Clergy must lead now, as they always have. The politicians and demagogues who wish votes and place and money will not. The spiritual forces are always chief in saving and lifting the individual, the family and the nation.

With all the faults of the two corrupt Churches of the Middle Ages, each of them at least unified the Christian nations under it and held them up against Mohammedanism and Manichaeism, till the Reformation came which gave the Christians victory against them. It was the Reformation and the Reformed Church in England which saved and lifted the English people and made the Anglo-Saxons powerful. And nothing but a sound Christianity, sober, without paganizing and without idolatizing, and on the basis of the Six Synods of the whole church can save us from Satan's chief ally, the false liberalism which spurns Christian faith and Christian practice, and gives the Devil as much freedom in a Christian State, aye, often more freedom and sway, than Christ himself. We can not look to the press. It is corrupt, and largely Anti-Christian, and falsely liberal. We must look to Christ's Gospel and to His Sound Church which He commands us to hear.

Moreover, another great peril may soon assail us, as the Romish Centre party in the German Parliament assails the Reformed in Germany and as the Irish Pope's Brass Band under Parnell, etc., assails the Faith in the British Parliament, for some Romish editors are trying to weld all the foreign Romish elements among us into a so-called Catholic Party, into one mass to rule and dominate us in our own land which has been built up by our own faith. And yet we are divided, split up into so many sects that we are not in a fit position to defend ourselves in our own home. We must then unite to save our nation and the Reformed faith which has elevated us and made us what we are; and to do so, we must return to the utterances of the Holy-Ghost-led Six Synods of the Christian world and manage Church and State in accordance with them, not in accordance with the theories of low pot-house Politicians and Infidels and Radicals and Romanists, and falsely-styled Liberals, who have substituted sometimes for Christian statesmanship and the sway of religion and virtue and intelligence, the sway of irreligion and vice and ignorance and superstition, and who have already wrecked so many of our city governments, and made them the scorn of thinking men and their plague and curse, and clear and permanent proofs of the incapacity of such errorists to rule. We must, in order to rally our disordered and disorganized forces to resist them, have a centre of Christian faith and order, and that exists

